

# The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MARCH 26, 1904.

Number 312.

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

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

The law student having the highest average in the law class which graduates at the University of Chicago this year is a woman—Miss Sophonisba Breckenridge. Her superiority to the men of her class is another argument against co-education; but it is not likely to achieve popularity among those who are looking for arguments with that bearing.

That the anti-trust decision of the Federal Supreme Court in the railroad merger case (pp. 784, 791), can have no important economic effect and that this restrictive method of dealing with trusts is in its very nature futile, is now likely to receive further confirmation. Reports from the East are to the effect that the Wall street merger conspirators are now arranging to close out the objectionable "holding" company, and to distribute the shares of the underlying companies in such manner as to enable the ring to control the affairs of the underlying companies and strangle competition between them quite as effectually as if the legality of the "holding" company had been sustained. Putting salt on birds' tails would be a good way to catch birds, if it would work,—but it won't; yet that plan is perfection itself as compared with the restrictive method of fighting the trust evil.

It is reported that many of the largest landlord corporations and estates in New York city are giving notice of an increase in rents. The Rhinelander Real Estate Company has announced that after May 1 all its rents will be

raised. "The property holdings," says the Herald, "of the Rhinelanders, the Astors, the Gerrys, the Schermerhorns and the Goelts include the homes of a large proportion of the salaried workers of New York. If the other large real estates follow the example of the Rhinelanders, the increase in rent bills will be felt so convincingly that it will pinch many thousands of heads of families." According to the census less than 5 per cent. of the homes in New York city are owned, free of mortgage, by the families who live in them.

Much patriotic vanity is displayed by the Chicago Tribune over the fact that while the population of the United States has increased only 470 per cent. since 1840, American exports have increased over 1,000 per cent. But it says nothing of American imports. Yet exports without imports are the same thing as outgo without income. What, then, has been the percentage of increase in imports? Has that also been 1,000 per cent., or has it been less. If it has been less, why boast of increased exports? If we really have surplus wealth to give away, would it not be better to give it all away to our impoverished fellow countrymen at home than to export it for nothing?

Rabbi Gries, of Cleveland, warns the people of Ohio of the danger that threatens them through "the power of an individual neither elected nor appointed, an irresponsible, uncrowned dictator." The distinguished rabbi's allusion is to "Boss" Cox, of Cincinnati, whose legislature and governor have abolished non-partisan Spring elections in the municipalities of Ohio and are moving against the non-partisan school system. But Rabbi Gries is mistaken in describing Cox as having been

neither elected nor appointed to his dictatorship. To elect Cox's known creatures and tools to office is for all practical purposes to elect Cox himself; and that is what the people of Ohio have been doing.

One of the best signs of a time which is not at all prolific of good signs, is the application of the Chicago Presbyterian Ministers' Association, made on the 21st, for the privilege of sending a fraternal delegate from their body to the Chicago Federation of Labor. When the attitude of the churches toward labor organizations is considered, along with the blighting commercial and social environments of most clergymen, it is not surprising that some objection was made to granting the application. But the experiment is well worth trying, and it is to be hoped the Chicago Federation of Labor will not lose this chance to neutralize the effects of the plutocratic poison in which the churches are so thoroughly steeped.

Desperate efforts are being made to keep the "public policy" ballot in Chicago (p. 787), out of the hands of the voters at the municipal election on the 5th. This ballot calls simply for an expression of public opinion on three questions. Two of them relate to the traction issue and one to the public school question. It is the former two doubtless upon which the attack is being made; for no special financial interests are at stake with reference to the third. As to the two traction questions a very great special financial interest is at stake. It is the interest of the traction companies which are trying to induce the city council to extend their monopoly privileges. While a popular vote for immediate public ownership would not be mandatory upon the council, its moral effect would be pronounced;

and therefore the high class grafters are extremely solicitous to prevent such an expression of popular opinion. They are trying to do it by attacking the petition on the ground that it is stuffed with false signatures. A man up a tree might suppose that an adverse vote at the election would be by far an easier, cheaper and better form of condemnation of that huge petition of 137,000 names than any technical withholding from the people of an opportunity to vote on the questions it proposes. And such a condemnation it would receive if the signatures were really fraudulent. But the local financial interests are evidently fearful of the opposite result of a popular vote. Therefore their plan is to prevent such a vote if possible. To that end they are employing high-priced lawyers (who are so much ashamed of the source of their employment that they refuse to disclose their clients), to pick flaws with the petition, and thereby if possible to prevent the printing of ballots on the questions petitioned for. It does sometimes look as if the best friends of reformers were their blind-mad enemy—maddened by the gods, that the gods may destroy him. The traction interests' idiotic attack upon the Chicago "public policy" petition is a case in point.

If the Republicans in Congress had not become morally callous as well as politically defiant, they would have adopted a different course in dealing with the circumstantial charges against Congressman Babcock and the post office department, which Congressman Baker put into the Congressional Record on the 18th, and which may be found in the issue of that date at pages 3603 and 3604. The evidence in support of these charges has been published by the Milwaukee Free Press, a leading Republican paper of Babcock's own State. On its face this evidence makes out a strong case of crime. Yet Babcock has not prosecuted the Free Press, although it persists in publishing the same evidence; and when Mr. Baker

brought this evidence to the attention of Congress, the docile Republican majority responded weakly to the crack of their party whip. Instead of proceeding against Babcock, they voted on the following day to strike the damning evidence from the Record.

As Congressman Babcock is chairman of the Republican Congressional committee, the party machine felt that it could not afford to permit the investigation. But can the Republican party afford to prevent an investigation? The party is already loaded down with the Bristow report, which caught, in a net set for grafters, over 100 Republican Congressmen, who are now being put through a rinsing process. It is still more heavily loaded down with the record of the refusal of the majority in Congress to allow the investigation of the whole post office department, which has been brought under just suspicion by disclosures that the Postmaster General vainly tried to hide. Another black record against the administration of this department is gradually accumulating in connection with the Russian censorship it is fostering. And now comes the attempt to cover up the Babcock case, with its circumstantial evidence of collusion with railroad rings for the purpose of robbing the Government through contracts for mail carriage. Do the pitiful creatures who make up the majority in Congress, suppose that the policy of suppression which they are supporting under machine orders can go on forever without an explosion?

The Grover Cleveland organs need not flatter themselves nor anybody else with the idea that they can stay the Hearst movement with any such "arguments" as the New York Times, that notorious organ of plutocracy, is advancing. To say that Hearst "makes his appeal solely to restlessness and discontent," is to make no meritorious argument against him. Restlessness is a

natural result of oppression; and discontent among the victims of oppression is as natural as smug contentment among its beneficiaries. To appeal to restlessness and discontent, may be one of the worthiest of appeals. It all depends upon whether there is cause for the restlessness and discontent; and the man or the newspaper that says there is none at this time in this country is either acting the part of a fool or filling the role of a liar. The day is gone by when discontent is viewed askance; it has become too common and for too good a cause. If the Hearst movement is to be stayed, it must be done in some other way than by sneering at the discontented and offering them Cleveland or one of his plutocratic ring for President as the alternative of Hearst. Bad as Hearst's character is alleged to be, insignificant as is his personality, and devoid as his mind appears of even a glimmer of political principle, there are hosts of people as good as the average who would prefer him to any favorite of the Hill-Lamont-Morgan-Cleveland group of able-minded and "patriotic" plutocrats.

It might be well to warn the Wall street combination of President-makers, that they are playing a dangerous game when they propose to abolish the traditional two-thirds rule at the Democratic convention next Summer. This is really a bad rule, and ought to be abolished simply because it is bad. So is the unit rule a bad rule. That also ought to be abolished. The one tends by making deadlocks to force weak men upon conventions; the other tends to place conventions within the control of cliques. But the Clevelandites do not propose to abolish the unit rule, and their proposition to abolish the two-thirds rule is not made in good faith; they want to abolish it only to obstruct Hearst. If its abolition would obstruct themselves they would retain it. The question they raise, therefore, is whether the two-thirds rule will operate for them or against them; and the warning

we beg to give is that, from present appearances, the abrogation of that rule may not improbably result in Hearst's election on the first ballot, or at any rate before his line breaks in favor of a worthier candidate.

The Cleveland "patriots" alone have made Hearst possible and are now augmenting his strength. Why do they not meet the Hearst movement with a democratic opposition instead of a Grover Cleveland opposition, if party harmony and not personal plunder is what they want? It is not for lack of men. There is Gen. Miles, of the District of Columbia. Is his reputation too exclusively military? Then there is John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi. Is the party afraid to go into the contest with a Southern Democrat? Then let it come farther North, on the border line, and take up Joseph W. Folk, of Missouri. Must we have a New Yorker in order to get the large electoral vote of that State? Then why ignore Edward M. Shepard. Is Shepard's professional connection with corporations as a practicing lawyer an element of weakness? Then why not Lucius F. C. Garvin. This is not all the list of men who may or may not be first favorites with democratic Democrats, yet whose nomination would not arouse their hostility. These are men upon whom compromise might be made, if that is what the "conservatives" want; and any one of them would be stronger, except in and about the offices of Hill, Harriman, Morgan, et al—than Grover Cleveland himself would be. But compromise is not what the Grover Cleveland contingent wants. What they want is Cleveland and the rich perquisites for plutocrats that would go with another Cleveland administration.

When we remarked that the Democratic party might go farther and fare worse in its search for a Presidential candidate than to Gen. Miles (p. 673), we were criticised by peace-loving friends for recommending a military can-

didate. This kind of criticism strikes us as taking more thought of clothes than of men. From the fact that Gen. Miles has worn a uniform and been all his mature life a military officer, it does not follow that he would be a military candidate. There is more repugnant militarism in one breath of a Roosevelt than in a whole lifetime of a Miles. Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, of Boston, is not famous for love of militarism, yet he advocates Miles. He does so on the express ground that the only great issue before the country to-day is the principle of peace versus the principle of war, and that Miles is our most distinguished representative of the peace principle. For ourselves there are other possible candidates that we prefer to Gen. Miles, but we prefer him infinitely to the two who are just at present in the lead. Aside from our preferences, however, we see no good ground for objecting to any military man who, although he recognizes the possibility of war and its necessity in defense of liberty, believes and declares as Gen. Miles does, that nevertheless "the spirit of peace should be cultivated rather than the demon of carnage."

The Progressives were again overwhelmingly victorious at the County Council election held in London on March 5th. Their representatives number 83 in the new council, as against 84 in the old, while the Moderates and Independents now have a combined vote of 35 as against 34 before. As the only loss of strength which the Progressives suffered was in the defeat of George Bernard Shaw, the brilliant author and opportunist socialist, and as his defeat was evidently due to his championing of Balfour's state church educational bill, the Progressives are virtually in the same position as before the election. The chief significance of this election is its indication that the bitter "patriotism" engendered by the Boer war, which was in progress at the time of the previous election, in 1901, could have had little effect. Lon-

doners appear to have progressed much farther than Americans in divorcing municipal questions from national party policies.

The recent election insures, of course, a continuation of the municipal policies that have made the Progressives strong ever since the creation of the London County Council some twelve years ago. Not only has the city acquired and successfully operated most of the street-car lines, and set about acquiring the London Water Company, but it is grappling, as no city in this country pretends to be doing, with the question of "overcrowding." Millions of dollars are being expended in taking over large tracts of land in the suburbs and erecting small dwellings thereon in such number as practically to found colonies. The Progressive programme calls for a great extension of electric street-car lines on the conduit system, operated by the Council itself; the acquirement of the entire water system; the acquirement of further large municipal estates for municipal cottages; reduction of the number of saloons; refusal of licenses to new music-halls; direct employment of labor; enforcement of trades-union wages with a "moral minimum"; and a persistent pressure on Parliament for the taxation of land-values to meet the cost of these reforms. When this London program is compared with the municipal policy of either of the great parties in any of our large cities except Cleveland, and it is remembered that these things are not merely talked about but are being done, how senseless appears our boast that Americans are the most progressive people in the world.

One of the best suggestions recently made by public school authorities is that of Edwin G. Cooley, superintendent of the public schools of Chicago, for organizing the pupils as citizens of a republic similar to that of the United States and thereby training them in the functions and principles of

citizenship, not merely from books but by actual experience. As outlined in the local press Mr. Cooley's excellent plan of civic education—

contemplates the election of a national house of representatives from the grammar schools, considered as separate States, and the election of senators from the high schools. Each elementary school will send one representative to the national congress, and each high school will send several senators—one or two from each year's class—to the higher branch of the mock national government. The project first contemplates the organization of the national government, and if this miniature United States is found strong enough to hold together without insurrections or political disturbances, the State and city governments will be formed in much the same way. The president and all officers of the different branches of government will be elected by the Australian ballot system, and in every detail the machinery of the national government will be copied. Young women not only will be given the right to vote, but also will carry such titles as "senator," "congressman," and "alderman." The little government will be founded upon the principles of coeducation and equal suffrage. The meetings of the different legislative bodies will not interfere with the regular school work, and enfranchisement as well as participation in the affairs of the governments will be voluntary. The conventions, congress, councils and the State legislature will meet in school halls after school hours on Fridays, as often as is determined advisable. The plan will be brought to the attention of the high school teachers at their next meeting.

Prof. George Baker, of Harvard, puts his finger upon the educational disease when he deplures, as a result too common in college training, the graduation of young men with minds "like a desk with pigeon holes." This is not usually the fault of the student. It is the fault of a scholastic system which mistakes tutoring for education.

In one of the newspaper comments on Prof. Baker's observation, it is said that the "pigeon hole mind" is not peculiar to the college graduate, but is "common to all of us in an age of voluminous literature and of manifold interests and activities." In elaboration of that thought the comment continues:

We take a lot of magazines and newspapers, instead of one or two good maga-

zines and newspapers, and we are surfeited with books on a wide range of subjects. We therefore read none of them thoroughly, and we find we have assimilated nothing. We want to take everything in sight. We scatter. What is needed is more thoroughness and concentration.

That view will not commend itself upon reflection. While every man ought to be concentrated and thorough on some subject or part of a subject, he ought not to lock up his mind in one pigeon hole.

Diffusion of reading, observation and study is a good thing if assimilated; and assimilation depends not so much upon thoroughness, in the sense of completeness, as upon a disposition and ability to relate miscellaneous facts to unifying principles. Every new fact intelligently related, counts for progress in the educative process, no matter what afterwards becomes of the fact. But accumulations of miscellaneous facts upon miscellaneous strings of theory, untested by the original thought of the student, only lumber up the memory and make chattering parrots of beings who might be thoughtful men, no matter how many magazines or newspapers they read nor how wide or superficial the range of subjects they explore.

The greatest lack among college students is lack of that intellectual independence the possession of which tends to make a man, and the lack of which tends to make a parrot; and this lack is no more peculiar to students than to professors and business and professional men. It is a phase of the socialistic trend of the time, one of the phenomena of a state of society in which individuality is tabooed and solidarity is deified. The student who takes his principles from the professor, is like the professor who yields his own perceptions to the standard of his cult, or the preacher who yields his own message to the creed of his sect, or the citizen who yields his own political conscience to the demands of his party boss.

## PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

Several weeks ago we criticised a speech of Archbishop Quigley, of Chicago (p. 595), in which he had advocated a division of public school funds. For this we are criticised in turn.

The part of Archbishop Quigley's speech to which we excepted was reported in the press as follows:

The State must provide schools for the minority as well as for the majority. The State should divide the public school system and maintain a separate system for the minority—separate in the sense of religious teaching. The two systems could be under one control, but in the Catholic division Catholic principles should be taught. This would give the minority an equal chance with the majority. This would be just and equitable, but not satisfactory to the Protestants. The cry all over is for non-sectarian education. The Catholic schools are recognized by the State, but they are not supported by the State because non-Catholics believe that it would be dangerous for the State to support them.

In our criticism of this pronouncement, we said:

We can conceive of nothing better calculated than this to revive in the United States the almost obsolete hatred once vigorously entertained by non-Catholics for Catholics. Moreover, the demand is utterly indefensible from any point of view but that of medieval European ecclesiasticism. The only defense of the public school system is that the State should provide opportunities for secular education, in order that all may have the ordinary educational benefits. Religious education is another matter. If the public school officials try to proselyte Catholic children through unfair teachers or unfair books, that is good ground of complaint. Any fair-minded non-Catholic will acknowledge it as such, and will volunteer his influence to correct the wrong—provided he is not thereby placed in a false position by demands of Catholic dignitaries for public money for church uses. But religious teaching is wholly a private matter. To make it a public matter with reference to one kind of religious teaching would make it so with reference to all kinds. Consequently if one division of the public school system were given over to Catholic teaching it could be logically insisted that the other should be divided up into sub-divisions of Presbyterians, Episcopallians, Methodists, Baptists,

Disciples, Christian Scientists and the rest, and also agnostics and atheists.

It is for that criticism that our critic, William L. Steele, of Wilkensburg, Pa., calls us considerably to account. He writes:

It may be that the Archbishop's remarks are "calculated" to revive in the United States "the almost obsolete hatred once vigorously entertained by non-Catholics for Catholics;" but if so, so much the worse for the non-Catholics. Like all other questions concerning the public welfare, the school question is open to discussion. Our public school system, highly successful as it has been (so far as it goes), is not so sacrosanct that hatred for Catholics need be stirred up because Catholics here and there are honest enough to express dissatisfaction with it. As American citizens that is their right.

The Catholic finds this indictment against the public schools: They are insufficient for the complete education of the Christian man or woman. Education should deal with the whole man—not merely sharpen his wits. It should regulate his emotions, call forth his higher nature. To neglect the spirit is to leave him an animal—and an educated animal is a dangerous animal.

The Catholic is therefore moved by his conscience to maintain schools in which the child is taught of his eternal destiny, where he may never lose sight of the fact that the life in this world is but a preparation for a higher life in the world beyond. In short, the Catholic school is based upon the most ambitious of ideals—its object is to educate the Christian man and the Christian woman. Whatever the shortcomings of the Catholic schools, their aim is nothing short of the highest.

Under existing conditions Catholics are forced to maintain their own schools and in addition are obliged to pay taxes for the maintenance of the public schools. This is a serious hardship and good ground for complaint. The large majority of Catholics are poor, or at least people of moderate means.

Whatever Archbishop Quigley's personal views may be, I do not understand it to be the position of the Catholics of America that they are demanding government aid for their schools. Not at all. They merely would like to be let alone. They would like to be permitted to cease paying taxes in support of a school system under which they do not wish to place their children. They are willing to submit their schools to government supervision and examination as a guaranty of good faith that they will maintain as high a standard and, if they can, a higher standard than is maintained in the public schools.

Let us not talk of sectarian hatred. As surely as the Christian religion makes true progress, the spirit of bigotry is doomed. This is a matter that concerns the deepest welfare of the nation. If there is any hope for our democratic institutions it lies in the spirit of Christ, the spirit of love.

Let us not be too well satisfied with our existing methods of education. There is complaint of the godlessness of our present system not only from Catholics, but also from prominent Protestant educators, if the daily press is to be believed. What if the sects should follow the leadership of the Catholic church and demand their share of religious instruction? Who can reasonably object if they are willing to pay for it as the Catholics have been and are? Is our present system a fetish that it must be jealously guarded?

What have we to show for our public school system in the way of results? Is The Public proud of our national course of imperialism? I know it is not. Is it proud of our private greed? our thirst for money, for luxury, our extravagance, our towering selfishness? I know it is not. What are all these things but phases of a terrific blight of materialism—the worship of earth and earthliness with God left out. Is our public school system a force opposed to this materialistic spirit? By its very nature it is not. God and the soul are left out of it.

All it has to show can be expressed fairly well by the averages at the head of an examination paper. We are an intellectual people. We have a wonderful command of scientific data, we have harnessed nearly all the forces of nature; we can read and write and cipher; but is there nothing more?

Would a religious education—and by that I mean an education of the whole man—have brought forth the armies of eager young men who are carrying the American flag to places where it never belonged and defying older and wiser men to haul it down? Are our teachers selected for their moral fitness, for their love of teaching, for their enthusiasm, for their joy in the highest of vocations?—or are they not rather chosen because of a set of well written papers prepared for the county superintendent? Too many of them are young women, who teach for a few years merely as a makeshift, intending to marry later on. Teaching is a vocation. The teacher should be as truly called of God as is he who preaches. The education of the child is far more than a question of averages and per cents. Let the American people, not Protestants or Catholics, but the whole people, look to it.

We are not so sure as our critic that bigotry is dead or doomed. And for that reason we are not so

sure as he that a revival of the old American hatred for Catholics would be "so much the worse for the non-Catholics" who foster it—in any other sense than that the martyr has the best of it in his martyrdom. It is very far from our wish that such a revival occur under any circumstances. Intolerance of adverse opinion is most detestable, but the sad fact is that such intolerance is always on tap. That is the fact to which we alluded; and we repeat that we can think of nothing better calculated to arouse anti-Catholic prejudice, with almost unexampled virulence, than an authoritative movement on the part of the Catholic church to secure control, as Archbishop Quigley proposes, of a department of the public school system.

It is quite true, as our correspondent asserts, that, "like all other questions concerning the public welfare, the school question is open to discussion." That is, it ought to be. It is also true, as he asserts, that hatred for Catholics ought not to be stirred up because they express dissatisfaction with that system. But other things are just as true. It is as true that expressions of dissatisfaction which are coupled with a demand that part of the public school system be placed under the control of the Catholic church do stir up precisely that hatred which our critic assumes to be dead. It seems to us to be important to warn the medievalists among our Catholic fellow citizens—a proper distinction, since American Catholics generally are by no means in sympathy with Archbishop Quigley's demands—that the enemy they suppose to be dead is only asleep, and that they will certainly arouse him if they seriously attempt to give vitality to such demands.

As to the merits of the Archbishop's proposition, it has none.

We concede our critic's contention that education should deal with the whole man—with the spirit as well as with the intellect. But it by no means follows that both should be dealt with by the same educational authorities. Neither does it follow that religious organizations should be supplied with common funds out

of the public treasury for teaching their own particular views of spiritual truth.

Our critic urges that nothing is asked from the common fund for Catholic schools but a return of taxes which Catholics, notwithstanding that they maintain schools of their own, are obliged to pay for public schools. All they ask, he says, is "to be let alone," "to be permitted to cease paying taxes in support of a school system under which they do not wish to place their children." That is certainly a reasonable argument, whether conclusive or not, against any public school system at all. Men may fairly object to paying taxes for the support of an institution from which they derive no benefits. But it is really no argument for collecting taxes for educational purposes and then distributing them among religious organizations. And being no argument for such a general distribution, it is none for a particular appropriation for particular religious organizations.

Of those pernicious tendencies which our critic ascribes to the public school system—imperialism, selfishness, sordidness, commercialism, materialism—we confess that we are no more proud than he. But how much better than the public schools in those respects have the religious schools proved to be?

Many men of all religious denominations have risen superior to those tendencies, but in which direction has the influence of the organizations themselves gone?

It may be that the graduates of Catholic parochial schools have been notable for resisting those tendencies, but if they have been the fact has not come to our attention. On the contrary, it has seemed to us that the churches and Sunday schools, and religious colleges of every religious connection, have contributed their full quota to the armies of greed and oppression.

The question which Archbishop Quigley has raised is not at bottom merely a Catholic question. Nor are he and his church alone responsible for it. Other forms of religion are equally insistent upon utilizing public school funds for propagating their religious views.

Nebraska furnishes a case in point. Public school authorities in that State, stimulated by Protestant influences, forced the reading of the Bible upon pupils, not as a secular study, but as an act of religious worship. But the Supreme Court of Nebraska has interfered. Although the reading of the Bible in the Nebraska schools is now permitted, its reading in such manner as to be worship or a religious exercise is properly forbidden.

The same question has been raised in Kansas and is soon to be passed upon by the Supreme Court of that State. In the Kansas case it appears that the daily reading of the Bible in the schools of Topeka, as part of the general school exercises, was petitioned for by the Ministerial Union, an organization of Protestant clergymen. They asked that the board of education make "the reading of a portion of the Bible and the repetition of the Lord's Prayer obligatory as part of the opening exercises in all the public schools" of Topeka; and they were particular to specify that it was as an act of religious worship that they wished this done. "We are not now asking for the reading of the Bible in our public schools as a feature of general literary instruction," they said; but "we are now asking for the daily reading of the Scriptures in the schools for their moral and religious influence." The petition was granted and the regular reading of the Bible and recital of the Lord's Prayer were adopted for the Topeka schools as religious features of the general opening exercises of the schools. One of the pupils—acting under instructions from his father, a taxpayer who opposed the introduction of religious exercises into the public schools—refused to participate in these exercises, but quietly pursued his studies instead. He was consequently suspended by the principal for having "refused to obey the order of the Board of Education of this city, namely, that all pupils shall refrain from study and be in order, subject to the direction of the teacher, during all general exercises." This order of suspension, approved by the Board of Education, was so drawn as to seem to eliminate the basis for religious

controversy, and some of the testimony given in court for the Board was similarly evasive. But it was clearly proved that the exercise was intended as an act of religious worship and that the only offense of the suspended pupil was his passive refusal to participate therein. So the issue is now squarely before the Kansas court. It is the same issue as that which the Nebraska courts have decided against the ecclesiastical theory of public school management; and however the Kansas court may decide upon the law of Kansas, there seems to us no reason to doubt that upon grounds of public policy the law ought to be as the Nebraska courts holds it to be in that State.

If one would know the dangerous reactionary tendency of obtrusions of ecclesiasticism into non-ecclesiastical matters, he has only to turn to the history of the Centrist party of Germany. It originated in a just protest against proscription of Catholics by the government, and made its appeal to the people of Germany as a democratic party demanding general suffrage. But now that it has gained popular strength it puts ecclesiasticism to the fore. Turning against its former democratic ideals, it is bartering its influence to the government for concessions to ecclesiasticism; and there is no difficulty in seeing that the concessions most often demanded are grants to the Catholic clergy of greater and greater authority in the educational regime of the country.

This is not a Catholic tendency peculiarly, nor a religious tendency at all. But it is peculiarly an ecclesiastical tendency. Though "the spirit of Christ is the spirit of love," as our critic reminds us, the spirit of ecclesiasticism is not. Be its type what it may, from oldest pagan to latest Christian, the ecclesiastical spirit is the spirit of power and persecution.

Should the Kansas court decide in favor of the suspended pupil in the Topeka case noted above, we can easily imagine the Ministerial Union of Topeka as joining in those complaints of Protestants and Catholics alike (to which our critic refers) of "the godlessness" of our public school system. But

how absurd. To call public schools godless because they are not opened with Bible reading and prayer, is like calling a blacksmith shop godless for the same reason.

Nothing useful is godless. It may be churchless; but it is not godless. The blacksmith who does his work conscientiously is worshiping. So is the school boy who pursues his secular studies conscientiously. To insist upon intermingling these duties with forms of church worship on the theory that only the latter are religious, is to reveal a very paganistic idea of religion.

While we agree cordially with our critic that a religious education should mean the education of the whole man—his moral and religious as well as his intellectual side, and for argument's sake will assume with him that religion and ecclesiasticism are one—nevertheless, it does not seem necessary to us that both sides of the man must be educated in the same schoolroom, or by the same teacher, or under the direction of the same educational authorities. The whole man should be clothed as well as educated; but who would therefore insist upon his getting his hat at the shoemaker's?

The truth about this educational controversy is simple enough. A secular education is at least part of the mental equipment which every person should have. It is the object of the public school system to provide this. Beyond that the public schools cannot safely go. Ecclesiastical instruction must come from ecclesiastical sources. The state cannot meddle or permit meddling here without promoting a reunion of church and state, and that would invite conditions the return of which could not be contemplated with satisfaction.

As to the essentials of moral and religious training, this never depends upon the inculcation of pious precepts. Even in the public schools under purely secular administration, moral and religious training can and do naturally proceed along with secular training—not by rote, but through the human association with teachers and fellow pupils. It is quite within the province of public school teachers, for exam-

ple, to teach the golden rule and live by it, without so much as even quoting it. The same is true of the first great commandment: "Love thy neighbor as thyself." To the principle of justice expressed in these two formulas no one objects; and the child that learns to love and live by that principle will grow up to be a good citizen though he never hears of a future state of reward and punishment.

Is it replied that the public school system does not require this instruction and that teachers do not give it, and consequently that an ecclesiastical system must be added? The all-sufficient answer is that of experience. The graduate of ecclesiastical institutions of whatever affiliation does not appear to be any more familiar with the vital principle of justice—love for his fellow men,—nor anymore devoted in the performance of his functions as a citizen, than is the product of our "godless" public school system. If, then, secular teachers do not inculcate the essential principles of justice, there is no reason to expect better things from ecclesiasticising the schools. Just as certainly as education of the intellect alone does not foster true spiritual growth or valuable civic qualities, just so certain is it that they would not be fostered merely by the addition of ecclesiastical tutoring.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON.

Washington, D. C., March 19, 1904.—The post office appropriation bill has held sway in the House during the entire week. Under general debate there were two or three speeches delivered for campaign purposes, the others were all germane to the bill. While there has been no such display of feeling as marked the closing scenes last week during the discussion of the "Hay" resolution to investigate the post office department, yet the hostility which is felt on both sides towards the Department has been evidenced on several occasions.

The investigating committee of seven appointed by the Speaker under the McCall resolution is perhaps as good a committee as could be expected. Of the Republican members McCall, the chairman, and Burton have some reputation for party independence; while of the minority Judge Bartlett, of Georgia, has a deserved reputation as a forcible, fearless and aggressive antagonist of "graft." As he combines with these qual-

ities quickness of perception and length of service he ought to be as successful in getting at the real facts as the scope of the resolution will permit.

The post office appropriation bill discloses the usual liberality in the dealings of the post office department with the railroads, a liberality which has forced the people to pay millions of dollars each year in excess of the real cost, to the railroads, of the service they furnish, the appropriations for "inland transportation by railroad routes" appropriated by the bill being \$40,000,000. As in the past, the old cry, "we must economize," is raised when it comes to the compensation for the great mass of the postal employees. It is true that the bill carries an increase of the pay of the rural free delivery carriers of from \$600 to \$720 per annum, but as from \$250 to \$300 of this represents the cost of purchase and maintenance of horses, wagons, sleighs and harness, and for repairs, even the \$720, means that these men will receive only from \$400 to \$450 a year for delivering and collecting the mail 300 days in the year over routes from 25 to 30 miles long, their net income heretofore probably averaging about \$300, and this during these much vaunted "prosperity" times. It's the old policy so popular where the interests of special privilege corporations (which have passes and other valuable favors to grant) are concerned, of opening the barrel at the "bung" for the railroads and closing it at the "spigot" for the carriers and clerks.

In this connection it is interesting to note a pamphlet charging Congressman Babcock, of Wisconsin—for several years now the chairman of the Republican Congressional committee—with "stuffing the mails," by sending into his Congressional district, during March, April and May of last year, tons upon tons of all kinds of books and public documents, mostly useless and many obsolete, there being hundreds of volumes of reports of the centennial exhibition at Philadelphia, of the first Paris exposition, and reports on the foreign relations of the United States during the administration of President Arthur. It is claimed and the facts are set forth with great particularity of detail, accompanied by affidavits of the contractors who hauled this perfect flood of printed matter to the local post offices, that in one city alone—Baraboo—Babcock sent eight to ten tons to one of his appointees alone. As this period coincides with the exact period when for three months—once in every four years—all of the mail carried by the railroads within that district was weighed and is made the basis for payments to them for the entire four-year period, it will be seen how good a friend Mr. Babcock was to the railroads traversing that postal division. Taken in further connection with the fact that as chairman of the committee on the District of Columbia, in the last Congress, he made a strenuous and successful fight for a bill which practically gave the rail-

roads centering here in Washington some \$6,000,000 of public money, it would be interesting to hear his explanation of why he sent this enormous number of books into his district during this weighing period.

As the pamphlet has been circulated in the House during the past three weeks, and some 20,000 have been distributed in his district, Mr. Babcock is unquestionably advised of its existence and has pretty good information of its authorship. One would naturally, therefore, have expected that, if he was careful of his reputation as a legislator, he would either have replied to the specific charges therein set forth or have initiated criminal proceedings against both its author and its publisher. In view of the fact, however, that these charges were printed in the Milwaukee Free Press, four months ago, we need not expect any steps will be taken which will attract attention to such serious charges. Those who care to become fully informed on the subject can obtain a free copy of the pamphlet by applying to the Free Press, Milwaukee, Wis. Excerpts therefrom appear in the Congressional Record of Saturday, March 19, page 3603.

That the people, the young voters especially, are giving increasing attention to economic questions is evidenced in the continued requests for copies of a "Compensating Wage" which Congressmen from different parts of the country are turning over to me. On one day this week I received letters from Wisconsin and Georgia, and from Honolulu, where it is stated that the speech has been translated into the native language. The writer, an American, asks for a large number for distribution among the English-speaking population. The Wisconsin gentleman assures me that the speech is well received by young Republican voters there, those who are not yet firmly wedded to the idol of protection and who are anxious to learn something of the real solution of the labor question.

The Pingree-Hall plan of cultivating vacant lots is about to be tried in Washington—this paradise of a city for land speculators. Many will, no doubt, remember that when the plan of utilizing the vacant lots in Detroit for the cultivation of garden truck was inaugurated by Mayor Pingree it was dubbed "Pingree's potato patch" plan. In Detroit, as in Brooklyn, where it was subsequently tried at the suggestion of Bolton Hall, it was shown that the poor will industriously cultivate land when it can be obtained at little or no rent and where they are assured of retaining the entire crop. The opportunities here for a demonstration of this character are numerous, as—owing to the 79,700,000 other people in the United States paying one-half of the expenses of its municipal government, and by reason of the large expenditures for buildings for the various Federal departments, and the consequent rapid increase

of land values—the assessment upon the land here is at a lower rate than in any other city in the country. This, of course, means that vacant land bears the very minimum of taxation, on an average probably not to exceed one-tenth of its rental value being paid into the city treasury. As graft is so universal here under the Federal government, the landlords probably consider that for them to put nine-tenths of that which the community produces—land values—into their own pockets, is but their proportion of "graft." As new departments are frequently created and old departments extended, the number of employes of the Federal government is ever increasing. This, and the fact that Washington is becoming more and more a residence city for the extremely wealthy, its social atmosphere appealing to their desire for exclusiveness and snobbishness, there is a constantly augmented demand for land with the consequent and inevitable increase in its capitalized value. The cost of "carrying" vacant lots in this city is really limited to the loss of interest upon the amount invested; and this loss of interest is but a fraction of the annual increment in value which attaches to the land both from the reasons before specified and because of the large expenditures for opening, grading, sewerage, paving, lighting, cleaning and policing of its streets.

A committee of philanthropists, those who are ever willing to aid the poor except by "getting off their backs," has been formed with a wealthy real estate dealer as chairman. The charitable will, no doubt, provide the funds required to put the plan in operation. The experiment has an added interest from the fact that two of the committee, Charles F. Nesbit and Jackson H. Ralston, are well-known single taxers, the latter having acquired national fame a few years ago through his unflagging, persistent and aggressive attempt to put the single tax in operation in the adjacent town of Hyattsville, Md. Let us hope that these two gentlemen will instill into the minds of those "philanthropists" an understanding of the basic cause of the existence in this city, as in every other, of the hovels of the poor alongside the palaces of the wealthy.

The Republican party has definitely adopted the policy of its recent greatest exemplar. The orders to "stand pat" have gone down the line. Congress has its orders to "do nothing and go home!" With an exhibition of the proper submissive spirit it is getting ready to obey orders. After May 1—or even April 15, if its master shall so decide—the calcium light will be permanently concentrated on the White House, and will no longer, as during the last four months, be deflected occasionally towards the capitol.

ROBERT BAKER.

AUSTRALIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Feb. 20.—No parlia-

ment is sitting now, so political matters are quiet. But Mr. Deakin, the Federal prime minister, recently made a speech in which he said that the present situation of three nearly equal parties in the Federal parliament is intolerable, and that some combination ought to be made to reduce the number to two. He indicated no intention of making any move in that direction himself, and made no hint of what side he would take. Nothing has yet been done, but it seems likely that before long the issue here will be Individualism versus State Socialism. This will be embarrassing for real democrats, who will probably have to join the conservatives, in opposition to the Labor party, with whose aims, but not its methods, they are in accord.

ERNEST BRAY.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, March 24.

The rumors reported last week (p. 791), that the Russians had evacuated Port Arthur are now known to have been false; but there is nothing more to report with certainty regarding the progress of the war. The excitable headlines which have appeared daily in the newspapers have related only to rumors. Some of these have since been disproved; others are still unverified. The most important report in the latter category comes by way of St. Petersburg from Russian official sources. It is to the effect that the Japanese attacked Port Arthur on the 22d, beginning early in the morning with torpedo assaults and ending with a bombardment by cruisers and battleships. The fight is reported to have terminated about noon by the Japanese withdrawing and to have caused but little damage to the Russians.

A vigorous prosecution of the American war upon the Moros of the Philippine Islands (p. 758) is reported from Manila. Under date of the 20th a Manila despatch tells of a report from Gen. Wood to the effect that—

the allied dattos in the island of Jolo drove the recalcitrant Datto Pangliman Hassan, the last of the hostile Moro leaders, from the place where he had been hiding since his defeat near Siet lake. One of the dattos, says Gen. Wood, killed two of Hassan's sons. A detachment under Maj. Hugh Scott of the Fourteenth cavalry surrounded Hassan on a mountain on March 11, and Hassan



was killed. He was an irreconcilable and was a promoter of trouble in the island of Jolo. His death will leave the island pacified, and no trouble is being anticipated from the other leaders.

Continued trouble is being experienced by the Germans in German Southwest Africa (p. 696), which is akin to that of the Americans in the Philippines, except that the Germans appear to be getting the worst of it. Press despatches of the 19th from Berlin report that

Germany's troops engaged in an effort to crush the rebellion of the black natives of German Southwest Africa have met with a serious reverse in battle. The tribesmen overwhelmed an advance column of the kaiser's troops. News of the rout came to-day in a dispatch from Colonel Loutwein, governor of German Southwest Africa. The fight took place March 13 near Owikokorero with the Tetjo tribe of Hereros, whom Commandant Glasenapp was pursuing. The enemy's loss is not known, but twenty dead natives were seen. Commandant Glasenapp, with a number of his staff officers and 36 cavalrymen, advanced ahead of his main body and overtook the enemy's vanguard, which had unexpectedly received reinforcements. Glasenapp was forced to retire after hard fighting, losing 7 officers and 19 private soldiers killed and 3 officers and 2 private soldiers wounded. Commandant Glasenapp is now taking measures to attack the Hereros position in force and probably will ask for reinforcements from Major Estereff's column. The news of the German reverse made a disappointing impression in Berlin, since it involved the most severe losses the Germans have yet reported and because it was hoped that the worst was over. In view of this latest fight it is regarded as possible that still further reinforcements will be sent to Southwest Africa.

Horrible reports of butcheries in connection with this German war against the natives of Southwest Africa are spreading in Germany. Press despatches of the 16th from Berlin tell of letters from German soldiers in German Southwest Africa which—

give details of the ghastly treatment of German settlers, 113 of whom were killed outright or tortured to death in the district of Okahandja alone. Women and children mutilated and left to die slowly were frequent spectacles. The expeditionary columns on coming in sight of a farmer's house would see the heads of its former occupants fastened to the roof. The letters of the soldiers express longings for revenge and a determination, as one writer says, "to kill

everything black." That causes some papers to urge the government to telegraph instructions to Col. Leutwein, the governor of German Southwest Africa, that he order the soldiers to restrain themselves and conduct the war in a civilized manner. Cbl. Leutwein himself comes in for criticism, as it is alleged that he left insufficient numbers of troops in the exposed districts and was misled by the temper of the natives, having frequently had at his own table chiefs who are now in rebellion and who are wearing decorations and swords of honor bestowed on them by the governor in behalf of the Emperor.

The reported savagery on the part of the natives is believed by some Germans to be retaliatory. One of these is Bebel, the Socialist leader in the Reichstag, who announced in that body on the 19th that after Easter the Socialists will interrogate the ministry on the subject. In making this announcement Mr. Bebel said, as reported in the dispatches, that the German campaign against the Hereros of German Southwest Africa—

had taken on a character prejudicial to Germany's interests and honor, since all Hereros were killed and no prisoners were taken. He referred to a letter from a veterinary surgon, Dr. Baumgart, in the *Leipsic Neueste Machrichten*, asserting that no quarter was given and that every black was shot down, Dr. Baumgart himself boasting that he had massacred wounded men, like a cannibal. "Therein can be seen," Mr. Bebel continued, "how far even our educated people are becoming brutalized. Let us not deceive ourselves with the belief that the present occurrences in Southwest Africa only make a demoralizing impression on the troops there. The descriptions sent home must also have a demoralizing and brutalizing effect on the German people." Mr. Bebel did not deny that the Hereros also perpetrated cruelties, but he intimated that the reports on the subject sent to Germany were purposely colored. The tales of horror circulated by the German press were at least partly untrue, "like the alleged murder of two women, who are still living." "The reports of the Rhenish Missionary society," continued Mr. Bebel, "show that things are by no means as bad as represented in the newspapers friendly to the colonial office. Those reports show that the Hereros spare the whites who prove to be non-Germans, like the English, Boers and Danes. It appears, therefore, that some of our countrymen have so maltreated the Hereros that they have generated a fanatical hatred against Germans in general. Samuel Maharaero, chief of the Hereros," continues the mis-

sionary report, "has given orders that no harm be done to non-Germans, missionaries, women and children, but that German men be shot down mercilessly. The missionaries further report that the Hereros begged pardon of white women wounded by stray shots in fights, saying they did not wish to hurt defenseless women. There is no word of truth in the assertions that the missionaries made common cause with the Hereros. On the other hand, many Hereros took refuge in mission stations, which apparently were regarded as places of safety."

Replying to Mr. Bebel, Dr. Arendt a ministerialist, questioned the veracity of the letter the former had quoted, and responded with the appeal that appears to be customary in all countries when any exercise of governmental power is criticized as unjust. He said:

The House must wait until the rebellion is subdued and then try to ascertain the facts. At any rate, all sides agree that the Hereros have devastated, plundered and destroyed in a frightful manner. Our only concern now is to help our countrymen without inquiring into the causes of the rebellion.

In the British Commons a positive test of ministerial strength (p. 793) was made on the 21st. The Liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman, had given notice on the 16th of the following motion of censure:

That this House disapproves the conduct of His Majesty's Government in advising the Crown not to disallow the ordinance for the introduction of Chinese labor in the Transvaal.

On the 17th the Premier, Balfour, announced that the motion would be taken up for debate on the 21st. Accordingly on that date the motion was debated, the Premier's opposition to it being based in his speech upon his contention that the ministry were forced to decide whether the Transvaal should be allowed to go through a grave commercial crisis rather than admit Chinese labor. Upon taking a vote the Commons rejected the motion by 299 to 242, a majority of 57 in support of the ministry. This majority is 6 more than was cast for the ministry (p. 729) against Morley's amendment; but 74 less than the ministerial majority returned at the last general elections (vol. iii., p. 441). The ministerial loss was due principally to abstentions from voting. On the 22d the ministry escaped a

vote of censure on an Irish question by a majority of only 6.

In the House of Lords on the 21st, in reference to the same subject that occupied the attention of the Commons on the same day, Lord Cole-ridge (Liberal), moved that "this House disapproves the importation of Chinese laborers into the Transvaal under the recent ordinance until that country has been granted a full representative government." The motion was defeated by a vote of 97 to 25 as reported in one despatch, and by a majority of 52 as reported in another.

Some importance is reported to be attached in France to the small majority which the French ministry were able to muster on the 17th in the Chamber of Deputies on a vote of confidence. The Socialist deputy, Mr. Millerand, had interpellated the ministry as to the nonexecution of pledges on the subject of workmen's pensions. Mr. Combes, the premier, replied that the ministry had not neglected any of its pledges and that the interpellation was merely a device to create a diversion from the struggle against the Roman Catholic orders. Mr. Jaures, the Socialist leader, strongly supported the government. The vote of confidence was carried by a majority of only 19—284 to 265.

**NEWS NOTES.**

—William R. Grace, twice mayor of New York, 1881-2 and 1885-6, died on the 21st of pneumonia.

—A federation of the local improvement societies of Chicago was formed on the 21st under the name of the Neighborhood Improvement League.

—By referendum vote of 98,514½ to 67,373½ the organized coal miners have agreed to accept a 5.55 per cent. reduction of wages rather than strike.

—The judiciary committee of the House of Representatives voted on the 21st to impeach Charles Swayne, United States district judge for the Northern district of Florida.

—President Roosevelt's nomination of Leonard Wood, of Roosevelt's old "Rough Riders," to be a major general in the United States army, was confirmed by the Senate on the 15th by 45 to 16.

—The Negroes of Ohio are circulating petitions to the Governor asking for the deposition of the public officials who

were unfaithful in connection with the Springfield anti-Negro lynching and riot (p. 776).

—Objections to the petition for a "public policy" referendum in Chicago (p. 787) on the traction and school questions were filed with the board of election commissioners on the 21st, and hearings are now in progress before the board.

—Prof. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, with a party of Ainu—four men, three woman, two children—a timber Ainu house, and a complete collection of Ainu objects, left Yokohama on the 18th bound for the St. Louis fair.

—A new departure in municipal charities has been undertaken by Harris R. Cooley, of the board of public service of Cleveland, in the establishment at the Cleveland City hospital of a sanitarium for the cure of victims of alcohol and drugs.

—The American Institute of Social Service, 287 Fourth avenue, New York city, reports that France has 131 movements for vacant lot farms, including 6,167 gardens spread over a space of about 500 acres, less than 8-100 of an acre per garden.

—John Turner, the English anarchist whose case is now pending before the Supreme Court of the United States (p. 758), speaks on "The Signs of the Times" at Cooper Union, New York, March 24, under the auspices of the Free Speech League.

—An earthquake shock occurred in New England at 1:04 o'clock in the morning of the 21st. The vibrations began at St. Johns, N. B., and extended through Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. They lasted several seconds and did considerable damage.

—The first issue of Hearst's Boston American and New York Journal appeared at Boston on the 21st. The presses were started by Gov. Bates, of Massachusetts, and congratulatory letters from Gov. Bates, Gov. Hill of Maine, Gov. Garvin of Rhode Island, and Mayor Collins, of Boston, occupied prominent places in the paper.

—By the will of the late Joseph Faldy, a single-tax man of New Orleans, \$100 is bequeathed to the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals for the purpose of exterminating homeless dogs pathlessly; and \$250 to Prof. J. H. Dillard, of Tulane university, to be used in his discretion to further the policy of land nationalization in New Zealand.

—The sixteenth annual dinner by the Manhattan Single Tax Club in commemoration of Jefferson's birthday is to be given on the 6th at the Hotel Marlborough, Broadway and Thirty-sixth street, New York, the price of plates to be three dollars. Toasts will be responded to by United States Senator

Edward W. Carmack, ex-Senator Charles A. Towne, Congressman James L. Slayden, Sadazuchi Uchida, Japanese consul general at New York, Congressman Robert Baker and John Z. White.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 730) for the eight months ending February 29, 1904, as given by the February Treasury sheet, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M ..	\$1,048,024,106	\$654,127,706	\$393,896,401 exp.
G ..	14,334,774	64,547,522	50,212,748 imp.
S ..	21,685,199	18,713,261	12,971,938 exp.

\$1,084,054,079 \$737,388,488 \$356,665,591 exp.

—The total of British fatalities in the Boar war in South Africa was officially stated on the floor of the Commons, on the 3d of March, by Mr. Arnold-Forrester, in answer to a question, to be as follows:

Officers:		
Killed or died from wounds.....		719
Died from enteric.....		183
Died from other diseases.....		123
Non-commissioned officers and men:		
Killed or died from wounds.....	6,863	
Died from enteric.....	7,807	
Died from other diseases.....	4,926	
Total .....		30,621

—The committee elected at Washington in January (p. 647) to arrange for an International Peace Congress, has elected Edwin D. Mead as its permanent chairman, and Dr. B. F. Trueblood as secretary, and has decided to present the name of Robert Treat Paine, president of the American Peace Society, for president of the congress, for the meeting of which it has fixed upon Boston as the place and the first week in October as the time. It has also advised that in connection with the congress, and immediately following it, important meetings or series of meetings be arranged in New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, and perhaps other cities, with addresses by leading foreign delegates and strong local speakers. Large English and French delegations are already assured, and strong representatives are expected from Germany, Switzerland and other European countries. Special efforts are to be made for influential representation from South America.

**PRESS OPINIONS.**

**THE HEARST CANDIDACY.**  
Life (neut.), March 17.—The Evening Post has virtually admitted that, if the Democrats nominate William Hearst, it won't support him. . . . The mere suggestion of Hearst as the Democratic candidate excites the Post to use epithets. It speaks of him as "unthinkable," and declares in effect that, if he should be nominated, adequate discussion of his candidacy would make newspapers unsuitable for admission into families. This would be detrimental to the Post's business interests, for, as it stands, it is an excellent family newspaper. Yet it cannot be doubted that it would deal conscientiously with Mr. Hearst, if it became necessary, even if for a time it had to give up its family circulation and declare in big, black letters that its pages were For Voters Only. It is possible that

If Mr. Hearst ran his own newspapers would be the only ones that would be nice family reading, and so he might get all the family trade. . . . Hard work and money will accomplish extraordinary things in this world, and Hearst and Brisbane work hard and Hearst has got money. If it should be said of them that they are destitute of principle, we may expect to be told (in private) that principle no longer counts for much in this country, and that what is valued is results. Men who work hard and do what is necessary succeed, and men who succeed are respected. If the methods by which they have succeeded are criticised, we are used to be told that circumstances and the depravity of mankind made such methods necessary, and that what was done could not have been accomplished without them.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), March 18 (w'kly ed.).—It is not alone the character of Mr. Hearst which unfits him for popular leadership in a Presidential canvass, or his utter lack of any demonstrated capacity for the office which he seeks. He is openly in sympathy with policies which are wholly subversive of democratic government, and which identify him, in his underlying convictions and leanings, rather with those influences in the state which the Bryan Democracy is fighting. . . . Hearst is an imperialist, and is hand-in-glove with the "plutocracy" on that point. He is a promoter of militarism, and has done all he could in his peculiar newspaper way—doubtless very effective with a large class of people—to spur the country on to the creation of great armaments, the burden of which falls heavily upon the very people whose interests he pretends to champion; and here again he is cheek by jowl with the influences which he pretends to be fighting against. It is further true that he has never shown any evidence of "well-grounded conviction on any essential of real democracy," and his only known claim to the favor of the working classes lies in a noisy identification with certain isolated causes.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), March 19.—The reorganizers are beginning to shriek for Mr. Bryan and Mr. Bryan's friends to save them. The Hearst apparatus has thrown them into a state bordering upon panic, and since they find themselves at sea in an open boat without rudder or compass and with the tempest rising, they realize that their situation is indeed desperate.

San Francisco Star (Dem.), March 19.—We are not a "reorganizer," but we tell our good friend Bailey, editor of the Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, that as between a "reorganizer" and Hearst, we will be for the former.

**THE NEGRO QUESTION.**

The Woman's Journal (eq. suff.), March 19.—Now that Mississippi has burned a woman at the stake, perhaps the public will realize that lynching is not practiced merely for the protection of women.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), March 21.—The "race problem" at the South involves what is known in the North as the "labor question." The desire of Southern employers of labor to keep the "Negro in his place" is merely a manifestation of the spirit which in the North has "nothing to arbitrate." In the South the labor question is interwoven with the "race problem," but at the bottom of the "race problem" will be found the same spirit that has ever dominated the master class. This spirit is seen in the vagrancy and penal laws designed to force the Negro to work, not that he is a Negro, but because he furnishes the labor supply. These laws and the obstacles that are placed in the way of the laboring class of the South to better its condition ostensibly are directed against the Negro, but in reality they are designed to affect him as a wage worker or tenant. This is seen when the question of educating the Negro arises. There is no objec-

tion to the Negro fitting himself for manual labor. Every encouragement is given to education that will "keep the Negro in his place," the "place" being as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. In the North this spirit finds exemplification in hostility to labor organizations. . . . The similarity between the effects of the vagrancy laws in the South "to keep the Negro in his place" and the vagrancy law in Colorado serves to emphasize still further the fact that it is the worker at which they are aimed.

**THE SPLIT INFINITIVE.**

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Dem.), March 20.—But the most violent shock to the old-time pedagogue is that given him by Prof. Lounsbury, the professor of English at Yale. In a paper in the April Harper this authority on the "best English" comes to the defense of that black beast in the eyes of the strict constructionists, the "split infinitive." He says it is as old as the 14th century and has been used in every century since. Robert Browning used it frequently in the second part of "A Soul's Tragedy," which is written in prose, and this ought to commend it to all the intellectuals who compose the multitude of Browning clubs. Most shocking of all, Prof. Lounsbury declares his belief that the "split infinitive" adds both clearness and force to expression, and that it seems probable it will be adopted in the face of the purists' protest.

**THE PANAMA QUESTION.**

"The Lion," in Out West (Charles F. Lummis), February.—The Lion is no partisan. He was born a Republican, and he still does business at the old stand—except when he has to shut up shop for a few days to avoid compounding a felony. But while there is room in America for several parties, there is room for only one America in any party; and that is Our America—a decent, manful and sober nation, kept clean by our insistence that public business must be held to the same standards of honesty and morals that we exact of the individual. . . . If "Civilization" is nothing but increased opportunity for the trader to Make Money, for the strong to take from the weak, then perhaps the first day on which the canal could be opened would be the chief question. But if Civilization has some little meaning to enable people to Live Better by practicing the rules of honor that obtain between man and man; if it means Right, not Might; if it means that every man and every nation, big or little, rich or poor, shall have justice—if Civilization means these things, the Panama business is a serious set-back. The "interests" of any decent Civilization can never be advanced by violating its principles.

**IN CONGRESS.**

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

Washington, D. C., Mar. 14-19, 1904.

**Senate.**

On the 14th the Senate considered the fortifications appropriation bill (p. 3373), continuing the same subject on the 15th (p. 3436) and then with amendments passing the bill (p. 3446). No business of general interest was done on the 16th, 17th and 18th. Adjournment was taken to the 21st.

**House.**

Consideration of the post office appropriation bill (p. 3401) was resumed on the 14th, and continued on the 15th (p. 3447), 16th (p. 3485), 17th (p. 3528) and 18th (p. 3593). In the course of the debate on this subject Representative Baker, of New York (p. 3603), spoke on alleged misconduct of Representative Babcock, of Wisconsin, relative to postal matters, and under the usual

"leave to print" added in the report of his speech in the Record parts of a pamphlet of the Milwaukee Free Press regarding such misconduct. Adjournment was taken to the 21st.

**Record Notes.**—Speech of Representative Fitzgerald on judicial record of Judge Parker, of New York, in labor cases (p. 3463).

**MISCELLANY**

**GIVE ME NOT TOO MUCH FINISH.**

Give me not too much finish. Let me be To cold perfection strange, if so I must Refine away the ardor of the soul And catch the plague of wordy nothingness.

Let me not learn the trick of cunning terms,

That in a careful angulish mince along, If so I place a barrier to truth, Or bate the springs of natural eloquence.

There is a primal fury of the mind, A rich despair, an all-consuming fire, Won out of knowledge and of vital force, Born of the heavens and of solitudes: That let me keep for language with my kind,

For bridge from them to thee, Almighty Love,

O'er the stupendous gulfs of whirling thought;

Nor sell it for the pottage of fine tongues. —Evelyn Phinney, in Century.

**THE UNFAITHFUL MESSENGER.**

A certain man was made Ambassador of the Great King, and the messages of the King were delivered unto him.

Now this was a wise and prudent man: therefore he said: "I will not deliver the whole of the messages, lest I run my head against a wall." So, where the King threatened, the Ambassador softened the threats. Said he: "Such hard sayings will weaken my influence; and it may be that the King's business will suffer, unless, indeed, I am cautious."

But the King laughed when he heard what his servant had done, and put him down from being his Ambassador. And those came after him that did deliver all the messages of the King.—Bolton Hall, in The Arena for Oct., 1903.

**A HERO IN POLITICS.**

"If our failures," says Thoreau, "are made tragic by courage, they are not different from success."

It has rather an odd sound, "a hero in politics," but I want to tell of just such a hero. His name was John D. Huffman, and he lived at Bluffs, Scott county, Ill. A few years ago his neighbors, who knew him well, elected him to the State legislature, at that time, perhaps, one of the most corrupt legislative bodies in the world. He had a seat on the Democratic side of the house; he seemed out of place there; he was not well dressed; his hands

were hard and rough with work; he couldn't make a speech to save his life. Indeed, he was only a farm laborer earning \$25 a month. But he sat there, day in and day out, listening intently, making up his mind as to the simple rights and wrongs of the question, and then voting right. Sometimes his "No"—his voice was always loud enough when he voted—was the only negative on his side of the house. Once—by the word of the "leader" who offered the money—he could have had \$10,000 for his vote. But he shook his head, and when the bill came up he voted an honest vote. In a sense he was an outcast; he could not herd with the "good fellows" who were banded together for plunder; he took no part in the horse-play of those around him; some even accused him of stupidity, but no one ever said that he was dishonest. Before the session was over old John Huffman, of Bluffs, stupid, perhaps, uncouth, unlearned, came to be a marked man, a monument of decency and dignity of character, winning the respect of the corrupt men around him, even coming to prominence in the Chicago newspaper dispatches for the very miracle of his honesty. And when the session was over he went back to work again on the farm, having done his duty.

One Chicago newspaper said of him:

He saw Senators and Representatives voting for boodle measures. He saw men of wealth and social position accepting bribes. He saw the Governor of the State—but that is another story. But John Huffman, of Bluffs, in Scott county, could not be coaxed by fair words or persuaded by foul money to violate his duty to the people. He voted on all measures and he voted right. When the noisy crew of thieves, flown with insolence and wine, left Springfield to spend in barroom or brothel the wages of their infamy, John Huffman, of Bluffs—God bless him!—returned to Scott county to earn his daily bread by the valor of his hands.

—Ray Stannard Baker, in McClure's Magazine for December, 1903.

#### TOM L. JOHNSON ON THE PRESIDENTIAL SITUATION.

An interview reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Mar. 21.

The rather chaotic condition which confronts the Democracy in the selection of a presidential nominee has not claimed the serious consideration of Mayor Tom L. Johnson, according to his own statements. Mr. Johnson returned yesterday from a several days' visit in the East, where it was presumed that he was making a few political observations on his own account.

At his home yesterday afternoon May-

or Johnson 'ceased puffing at a formidable looking and peculiarly redolent pipe long enough to deny that politics cut any figure in his Eastern tour. "It was business, purely business," said he. "I have not kept in touch with the situation and don't really know what is being done in a presidential way."

"Mr. Hearst's boom seems to be taking on rather serious proportions," was suggested.

"That so? I hadn't noticed that he was gaining any especial ground."

"Seems to be gobbling up all of the delegates hereabouts and in other states."

"Well," mused the mayor, as he puffed at his pipe reflectively, "there are almost 1,000 votes in a national convention and it is a pretty hard job for a man to corner the market. Besides," he added significantly, "I have observed that it doesn't matter much what the talk is before the convention, the delegates usually select the man the occasion demands. Look at the first nomination of Mr. Bryan. There was nothing prearranged about that, was there?"

"Judge Gray seems to be pretty popular in the East, does he not?"

"The judge is a splendid fellow, and has a great many supporters for the nomination. And, by the way," Mr. Johnson recalled, "I had the pleasure of meeting him a few days ago in Philadelphia. I got off one train just as he was about to get on another. He had a few minutes, however, and we had a very pleasant talk. No politics, though; just a plain social chat."

"Well, there's Mr. Cleveland. You and he are very good friends, are you not?"

"We are quite friendly, indeed."

"But do not share the same views?" This inquiringly.

"No, we do not," Mr. Johnson said with some emphasis.

"Naturally, then, Mr. Cleveland would not be your choice for the nominee."

"Naturally he would not."

"What about a boom of your own? It has been stated that Mr. Salen has been trying to line up the Ohio delegates for you."

Mr. Johnson smiled. "Has Charley actually been accused of that?" he asked.

"There is nothing in it," he said. "If the election last fall did nothing else it has saved me from being mentioned in connection with higher political honors this fall. And I am glad of it. So long as I am mayor of the city of Cleveland I have my work to do and I propose to do it. There is plenty of it ahead of me just now, and I am free to discharge it without the handicap of politics."

"Did you discuss national politics on your Eastern trip?"

"You are evidently not familiar with my methods. I make it a rule never to discuss politics away from home or to discuss business affairs at home. Reporters tackled me at several points, but I explained my rule."

"Whom do you consider the logical Democratic presidential candidate?"

The mayor tapped the ashes from his pipe in a manner that indicated that the interview was at an end. "It is hardly a fair question, and I must decline to answer," he said.

#### THE WISDOM OF DOING RIGHT.

An extract from a speech delivered by Wm. Jennings Bryan at Jacksonville, Fla., Feb. 16, as reported in The Commoner of Mar. 11.

I am glad that there is a democracy that is as broad as the nation—a democracy that can be proclaimed in any part of this country; and a democracy that is not as broad as the nation is not a democracy that can hope to draw to itself the patriotism and intelligence of the American people. As I understand democracy, it means the rule of the people—a democracy that is founded upon the doctrine of human brotherhood—a democracy that exists for but one purpose, and that the defense of human rights. That kind of democracy can be proclaimed wherever man lives, and is willing to respect the rights of his fellow-man.

I am not only a private citizen, but I can prove by every gold paper in the United States that I have excellent prospects of remaining a private citizen all the rest of my life. And now because, as a citizen, I attempt to speak the sentiments that are in my heart, they say that I am trying to dictate. They seem to be very much afraid of dictation. Those who have stood on the outside of the party and tried to dictate to it for eight years are afraid that some one on the inside of the party may attempt to make suggestions to the party now. The anxiety that they feel lest the party be dictated to reminds me of something I read a short time ago. A man was all crippled up; he was limping and had his arm in a sling and patches on his face. Some one asked, "What is the matter?" and he replied, "I was coming downstairs and my wife told me to be careful, but I won't allow any woman to dictate to me." He would not be careful just because his wife cautioned him to be careful, and some of these people feel about as much exercised. I ask them to be honest—but they would rather suffer than follow such advice. Now, my friends, I am not try-

ing to dictate; I am not in a position to dictate. What authority have I, or what power, to coerce anybody? If I was the head of a railroad corporation I might have the power to coerce or to withdraw employment from those who would not vote as I desired; if I was a manufacturer and employed a large number of men I might do what many manufacturers did in 1896, namely, give the employes a choice between voting a given ticket and idleness. But what power have I? I have none, and I have no desire to dictate. I have no power to grant favors to you; if anybody does what I advise, he must do it, not from hope of reward from me, but from hope of reward from his own conscience. I have no power, I repeat, to confer favors on you; I have no power to give you office. If I had that power there would be many men with me who are now talking about harmony and the reorganization of the Democratic party.

What is it that they are afraid of? I will tell you. If a group of men are assembled in a room contemplating larceny, and a little child comes in among them and says, "Thou shalt not steal," he will put them all to rout. They will not be afraid of the child, but they will be afraid of the doctrine that he proclaims. And so, it is not because I have power to coerce, or to command, or to dictate, but because the doctrine of honesty is a doctrine that the reorganizers have never yet dared to meet and which they will not meet in this campaign. I want to preach the doctrine of honesty and I want to preach it, first, because it is right, and because people ought to do right without stopping to count the consequences; and, second, because I believe that in doing right we lay the best foundation for complete and permanent success. So, whether you reason from the standpoint of expediency or from the standpoint of principle, you will be brought to an honest course in this campaign. You have heard some say that I am disturbing the harmony of the party. I have had men within the last few days tell me that instead of criticising things that I believe to be wrong, instead of pointing out dangers that I believe to exist, I ought to "pour oil on the troubled waters"—I have examined the oil that they want me to use and find that it is Standard Oil. I am not willing to use that kind of oil; I am not willing to harmonize on that basis.

I desire to present to you what I believe to be a moral issue, and to appeal to you to fight this battle upon the moral issues involved. I want to appeal to you to make the Democratic party the champion of morality in politics. I want you to help put the Democratic party in a po-

sition where it will arouse the conscience of the American people—the conscience which is the most potent power in the world when it is once awakened.

AN OHIO MAN'S ESTIMATE OF HANNA THE MAN.

The Public's remarks anent Riley's effusion regarding Hanna's death (p. 779) are exceedingly apropos. Such is the shriveled fruit of genius when it prostitutes itself for profit. For, despite this doggerel, which all friends of the poet must regret, Riley is a genius; and genius, perforce, must live. But this unfortunate eulogistic expression in Hudibrastic verse should be regretted by the friends of the dead senator, not less than by those of the author. Emphasizing those things which Hanna was not, is calculated to direct an unpleasant attention to what he really was.

And, instead of your merely suggesting the potentialities of post-mortem criticism, were it not well to have utilized the occasion for candid statement? There can be no intrinsic impropriety in expressing a just estimate of the dead. Death does not defy one who in life was but common clay. And in the case of a public man of such prominence, his character and career are public property, subject to analysis and for use as an object lesson in those things to emulate or to avoid. The epitaph is, more often than otherwise, a monumental lie. Mortuary mendacity should receive no more respect than is accorded to any other kind. And, in view of the volume of platitudinous praise, superlative sentiment and ardent absurdity that has been uttered concerning Hanna since his demise, there should be some honest pronouncement for the sake of wholesome judgment and to give a truer perspective to the popular mind.

Imprimis, to be entirely just, there was much to admire in Hanna's make-up, if there was little to commend in his achievements. There always is something admirable in the strong man who can compel success from adverse conditions and wrest victory from the desperate clutch of a near defeat. Hanna was a man of tremendous personal force, a man of courage, a man of independence and initiative. In a public capacity hard as granite, quite as heartless and altogether as unyielding, he was nevertheless in his private life a person of kindly nature and generous impulses. He was devoted to his family and faithful to his friends.

Perhaps the most distinguishing trait of Hanna's character was loyalty. He was unswervingly loyal to any cause he might espouse; he was loyal to his friends; he was loyal to his own personal

interests. But there is reason to believe he would sacrifice something of his personal interests to serve a friend. This, as is the case with most rare things, is truly admirable.

Senator Hanna's unusual ability is something that must be universally admitted. He possessed great powers of organization and a remarkable administrative genius. He may not have been exactly a leader of men, but he certainly succeeded in controlling them. He was upright in business, as rectitude is reckoned in the commercial world of to-day. As much cannot be said for his political methods.

But Hanna was nothing of a statesman, as the elegiac eulogists would have us believe. He was a practical politician and a successful one. A successful politician may be briefly defined as one who has succeeded in solving the problem of how to buy the largest number of votes for the smallest amount of money. Hanna was also the type of the business man in politics. And the business man considers close buying commendable always.

It is to be doubted that Hanna had a mentality sufficiently exalted to grasp the higher principles of actual statesmanship. He was not a man of fine fiber. His was that excessive coarseness which so often is the complement of exceeding strength. Allied to capitalistic interests, he was thoroughly class-conscious. To his mind, with its narrow economic understanding and limited altruistic attributes, bounded wholly by a commercial comprehension, imperialistic expansion seemed proper and wise and the apotheosis of progress.

As a reformer, too, Hanna is worthy of remark. His transformation from labor crusher to labor sympathizer was so sudden, so complete and so incongruous as to constitute a phenomenon. But the object of the change was so obvious that it never deceived any discerning person.

As an employer Hanna was the uncompromising foe of labor organization. He destroyed the Seamen's union on the lakes, for that purpose hiring a known murderer to direct a gang of thugs that infested the docks to intimidate and assault and, on occasions, to assassinate. His oppression of the Spring Valley miners is a matter of industrial history, while the hard struggle and bitter defeat of the Boilermakers' and Iron Shipbuilders' union in the strike at the Globe shipyards in Cleveland is but a consistent chapter from the same stern story.

After Hanna was permitted to take his contested seat in the Senate and became the acknowledged high priest of the party of plutocracy, he ostensibly originated and veritably stood sponsor for a pe-

cular creation known as the Civic Federation. The avowed mission of the organization was to adjust differences existing or which might arise between capital and labor; but in whose favor the adjustment would be made, was a point upon which the promoters of the Federation did not commit themselves.

In the opinion of many thoughtful persons the primal purpose of the Federation was to beguile the workingman with pleasant pledges and then betray him; to disarm him under promise of protection and then leave him helpless, at the mercy of the enemy, to contemplate the folly of a suicidal surrender to pretended friends. The further opinion was held that in carrying out this plan the Federation received the cooperation of certain labor leaders.

Under the most charitable characterization, the successive efforts of the Federation have spelled failure. Its first folly and crowning crime, the settlement of the miners' strike in the Pennsylvania anthracite region under the conditions provided, was the most flagrant farce ever enacted in the name of arbitration. Fair and favorable as may appear their specious phrasing, the articles of agreement, under even a superficial analysis, resolve themselves to a complete surrender on part of the miners. And so runs the record from first to finish.

And this is Hanna. It will be long before the world will see his like again, and perhaps it is well for the world that this is so.

WALTER HURT.

Camden, Ohio.

#### EUGENE F. WARE ON JOHN JAMES INGALLS.

Up was he stuck;  
And in the upness  
Of his stultitude,  
He fell!  
—The Pilgrim.

"Thou shalt not kill."

Except:

By locked exits, subway explosions,  
adulterated food, slums, fire-damp, fast  
trains, sweat-shops.

In short, in the regular course of  
trade.—Life.

There is no natural reason why the inhabitants of one country should wish to fly at the throats of the people of another country. There never would be war if the passions of the ignorant and heedless were not played upon by the shrewd and unscrupulous for purposes of personal aggrandizement, either of wealth or power. The beating of tom-toms at the slightest provocation and the ostentatious preparations for war

by the rulers of great nations serve to kindle the passions of the masses to their own undoing.—Robert Baker.

"The franchise was corruptly purchased," whispered Rumor.

The church people shuddered perfunctorily and went their ways.

"The session of the legislature at which the franchise was passed," persisted Rumor, "was not opened with prayer."

The church people stood aghast.

"A blasphemy!" they exclaimed, in horror, and rose to a man, and carried an election for the fusion ticket.

First Reporter—The Daily Sensation has discharged its Chefco correspondent.

Second Reporter—Why?

First Reporter—Found him too reliable.—Puck.

"Do you think the Administration was premature in recognizing the new republic?"

"The new what?"—San Francisco Star.

The war news jumps the open switch,

And scares the heathen Jossky;

But I can't tell a fakeovitch

From a canardovsky!

—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

Do right though the skies fall, and then be sure they will not crush you.—Diary Consolidated Stock and Petroleum Exchange, of New York.

### BOOKS

#### IMMORTALITY OF ANIMALS.

Any plea for kindness to the lower animals should be welcomed in these days of savage vivisections, and Dr. Buckner's book ("The Immortality of Animals." By E. D. Buckner, M. D. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.) is especially worthy of welcome. It is a sincere and thoughtful attempt to place the whole animal creation upon the same spiritual plane, with a view to securing thereby something of the same consideration from man for the lower animals that man has come to regard himself as obliged to give to his own kind. In pursuit of this purpose Dr. Buckner brings the question to religious, philosophical and scientific tests.

With reference to the religious tests, he appears to acknowledge a reason for human immortality to which he gives an importance much beyond its deserts, if indeed it deserves any importance at all. It is the argument that as righteousness is not always rewarded in this world and sin is not always punished, there must be a future life in order to

equalize such differences. Rightly enough he insists that this argument for immortality applies as well to the lower animals as to man. But does it apply to man? Must not the hypothesis of human immortality rest upon some fact inherent in man's nature?

The fact usually referred to is man's power of moral choice; and if this does not imply immortality, there would seem to be nothing outside of verbal revelation from which the inference might be drawn. But if the power of moral choice is essential, animals must be shown to have it or their immortality cannot be inferred. Dr. Buckner fails to make that proof.

Although he brings forward evidence to show that animals have the power of what he calls moral choice, his instances do not meet the contention that power to choose the right for its own sake, is the characteristic from which immortality is inferable.

It is questionable whether any other of the reasons the author advances will appeal to readers who, though they believe in immortality and love animals, rest their faith in immortality upon rational as distinguished from credal grounds. They would not be satisfied with Dr. Buckner's idea of mind as identical with soul, nor would they be likely to accept his view that the mind of a being which is capable of exercising will power with reference only to material or merely intellectual concerns, differs only in degree and not in kind from one that can exercise it with reference to moral principle. Neither would they admit that power to reason necessarily implies power to choose between right and wrong.

Granted that differences in mind are only differences of degree, and it certainly follows that if man's mind is immortal, the animal's mind also must be immortal. Granted that mind is a force, which, while it directs the material body is not a product of the material body, and it must be conceded that under the theory of indestructibility of forces, mind, whether of man or animal, is not annihilated when separated from the body by the phenomenon we call death. But the conclusion by no means follows that this force retains its individuality. And that, after all, is the real point involved in the immortality problem.

To show, then, that when the mind, which animals as well as men possess, leaves the body, it "wings its flight to God who gave it," as Dr. Buckner essays to do, falls short of showing that it is immortal. There is still no proof of immortal individuality—no proof of retention of identity. To merge again into the infinite mind-force whence the minds of animals and men are supposed to proceed, is not to be immortal in any other sense than that in which all forces may be said to be immortal. The vital point is whether in this immortality of mind individual identity is retained.

To answer that question we must know what it is that perpetuates individual identity after the separation of the mind from the body. If we conclude that it is the quality out of which moral character may be developed, we cannot concede individual immortality to any class of beings whose minds are not in the natural order of things endowed with that quality. It is therefore necessary to the author's theme that he show animals to be thus endowed; and this he fails to do.

Dr. Buckner lays much stress on one of the difficulties that are encountered by man in his efforts "to build up some strong line of difference between himself and some particular lower animal." Man finds, says Dr. Buckner, "that that difference is supplied in some other species." But does this fact tend toward the conclusion that there is no gulf-like difference in kind between man and the animals? Does it not rather tend to confirm the theory that animal life is in some sense a manifestation of man-life? Some one has said that "animals are man taken apart"—the distinguishing characteristic of each species of animal being representative of one or another human quality. Upon this theory the totality of animal life would be representatively equivalent to the totality of human qualities; and in entire harmony with it lines of difference between man and animals would progressively fade as the comparison approached completeness by the addition of one species of animal after another. At any rate, the point is quite as strong a buttress for that theory as for the author's.

It would seem that a stronger spiritual appeal for kindness to animals might be made than an argument for their immortality. But it would also seem that the being who asserts immortality for himself might welcome every sort of identification of animal life with his own. There must, therefore, be a field of usefulness for Dr. Buckner's stimulating book.

The religion of the book is in some respects very materialistic. In one place, for instance, the author considers the question of whether there would be room enough for the animal souls in a future life; and he does so in such manner as to imply that the future life would be in a finite "place." Yet it is no more materialistic than most of the conventional religious literature of the time; and judged by those standards it is a superior piece of work.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

—The Oligarchy of Venice. An essay. By George B. McClellan. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. To be reviewed.

—The Truth About the Trusts. A Description and Analysis of the American Trust Movement. By John Moody, editor "Moody's Manual of Corporation Securities." New York and Chicago: Moody Publishing company. To be reviewed.

—Standard Second Reader, and Teachers' Manual for Second Reader. Edited by Isaac K. Funk, LL. D., editor in chief of the Standard Dictionary, and Montrose J.

Moses, B. S. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls company. To be reviewed.

—Proportional Representation, including its relation to the Initiative and Referendum. By Alfred Cridge. With appendix by Robert Tyson, and a biographical sketch of the author. Memorial edition. San Francisco: The Star Press—James H. Barry. To be reviewed.

—The Socialization of Humanity. An Analysis and Synthesis of the Phenomena of Nature, Life, Mind and Society Through the Law of Repetition. A System of Monistic Philosophy. By Charles Kendall Franklin. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Price \$2.00. To be reviewed.

—"Justice the Object, Taxation the Means." An address in the Metropolitan Hall, San Francisco, February 4, 1890, by Henry George, on his way to Australia on a lecture tour. A limited edition of 300 copies privately printed January 15, 1904, at Fargo, N. D., for Robert Brooke Blake-more. An extraordinarily handsome bit of printing.

**PAMPHLETS.**

The Milwaukee, Wis., Free Press offers free a pamphlet which essays to prove by documentary evidence that Joseph W. Babcock, a Republican leader in Congress, is a tool of the railroad companies in connection with the adjustment of their periodical contracts for carrying the mails.

A readable pamphlet, which is also very well worth reading, has been published by George L. Fox, New Haven, Conn. (price 5 cents), under the title of "President Roosevelt's Coup d'Etat." Presenting "the Panama affair in a nutshell," it asks and answers two questions: "Was it right?" and "Will the canal pay?"

"A Socialist Publishing House," by Charles H. Kerr (Chicago), is the title of an interesting account of what its author describes as a method by which the house in question has "succeeded in publishing literature of a class not acceptable to the ruling capitalist classes."

Persons interested in the affairs of the American Indian will be glad to see the leaflet (No. 68, second series) of the Indian Rights association, 1305 Arch street, Philadelphia, which is entitled "Another Century of Dishonor." It deals especially with the Rosebud Indian lands, which Congress is industriously engaged in turning over in fee, at nominal prices, to a pack of frontier land grabbers. Another valuable pamphlet on Indian questions is the report to the President (Fifty-eighth Congress, second session, Senate document No. 189) by Charles J. Bonaparte and Clinton Rogers Woodruff, regarding alleged abuses and irregularities in the public service of the Indian territory.

A very good and timely pamphlet is W. C. H. Church's on "The Surplus of Imports Over Exports," to be had of the Personal Rights Association, 32 Charing Cross, London, S. W., England. It considers the subject, of course, from the British point of view—"Imports" referring to shipments to Great Britain and "exports" to shipments from Great Britain. The British statistics are very valuable to students on either side of the Atlantic. It appears from them that the annual average excess of British imports, 1893-1902, has been \$775,000,000 in merchandise and \$30,000,000 in gold and silver. Great Britain, therefore, has paid nothing in gold for her excess of imports; and the pamphleteer draws the conclusion that "trade is simply exchange and mutuality is involved." He has in various ways met the vague feeling that this cannot be quite true. But he still leaves an open door for doubt, when, "for the purpose of simplicity," he ignores counter claims against the exporting country. For thereby he ignores those increases in incomes from land investment which John Stuart Mill describes as "the unearned increment." If for illustration, a British capitalist invests \$10,000 in New York ground rents; and upon re-rental the income trebles—say from \$400 net to \$1,200 net—this increase of \$800 a year will swell American exports and British imports annually; and to that extent there will be no exchange nor any mutuality. The item will be tribute. Such counter claims cannot be safely ignored by anyone who would remove the vague popular impression that somehow

or other international trade is not exchange of goods for goods.

**PERIODICALS.**

Mr. Eugene E. Prussing, writing to the Nation from Chicago, says that 10 per cent. of the time of the trial courts in that city is taken up with the hearing of personal injury cases. The disregard for life and limb under corporate management, especially railroad management, has become, he says, "a distinct social and legal evil, the effect of which is plainly manifested in the congested condition of court dockets throughout the country." J. H. D.

The charming essayist, Agnes Repplier, has a clever word to say in *Lie of March* 10 on biographies of the living, and aptly points her moral by citing Mr. Koss's current papers on President Roosevelt. Nothing could exceed the triflingness and toadyism of these papers. Well may Miss Repplier ask: "Has our sense of humor departed in company with our lost reticence, and our misconception of the dignity of office?" J. H. D.

The Artsman, edited by Horace Traubel, Hawley McLanahan and Will Price, and published at Rose Valley (Moylan, Pa.), offers in its March issue a half hour's reading of good thoughts well expressed on art in the concrete, and with none of the foolishness about "art for art's sake" which one sometimes sees in art papers. A facsimile fragment of a Whitman manuscript, which goes with this issue, is interesting both for its associations and its sentiment.

"Coming Down in the World," by Marion Foster Washburne, which sees the light through Willis J. Abbot's Pilgrim for March, is one of the breeziest of wholesome essays. "The Man with the Pack," by Edward A. Steiner, published in the same periodical, is a startlingly suggestive description of recent immigration—startling because it plainly intimates that the usefulness of these immigrants will depend not so much upon their own qualities as upon our example.

The excellent and satirical Juvenal said once of a certain foblie: "We have reached the limit; future generations can go no further." Is it not probable that we shall this year have reached the limit in the exposition idea? There are signs that thoughtful folks are beginning to look upon the growing extravagance of these displays with some doubt as to whether the light is worth the candle. "It is just possible," says the Nation, "that a cheaper way to teach American history might be found." After the Louisiana Purchase exposition we seem destined to have an Oregon Lewis-and-Clark exposition, a Jamestown exposition and a Hudson River exposition—all expecting liberal appropriations. J. H. D.

On February 29 was celebrated at Deerfield, Mass., the two hundredth anniversary of the sacking of the town by the French and Indians. The orator of the occasion was the Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, of Burlington, Vt. His address, as reported in the Springfield Republican, was full of vigorous thought and language. "Liberty," he said, "cannot be the safest way, the easiest thing, but liberty is and ought to be incomparably the best thing. . . . Republics are worth revolutions; democracy is worth the possibility of lawlessness. . . . There is laid upon us the obligation of being true to those obligations upon which, as upon a rock, the American state is based, and I believe there is laid upon us the obligation of contending for the veracity of those principles forever wherever they are challenged." J. H. D.

Our mothers and grandmothers read Charlotte M. Yonge. "The Heir of Redclyffe" and the "Daisy Chain" were great books in their day and had tremendous circulation. The first was published in 1853, the latter in 1856. It seems queer to think that she died so recently as 1901. In the long period of her writing she published about 170 books, and few English writers have had so many readers. The Church Quarterly Review (London), apropos of her recently published "Life and Letters," gives a very interesting account of her work and its influence. She was intensely religious, devoted to the Church of England, and led a life of such quiet

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

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### JOHN Z. WHITE'S MOVEMENTS.

Mr. White will begin a month's engagement in New York City, Friday, April 1st. He will begin a week's engagements in Cincinnati on Sunday, May 1st. He returns east for a thirty-day engagement through New Jersey beginning Monday, May 9th. Mr. White will make dates for conventions, teachers' institutes, Chautauquas, etc., during the summer months. For particulars address, **F. H. MONROE, Prostr., Empire Hotel (63-Br'd'y) New York City, N. Y.**

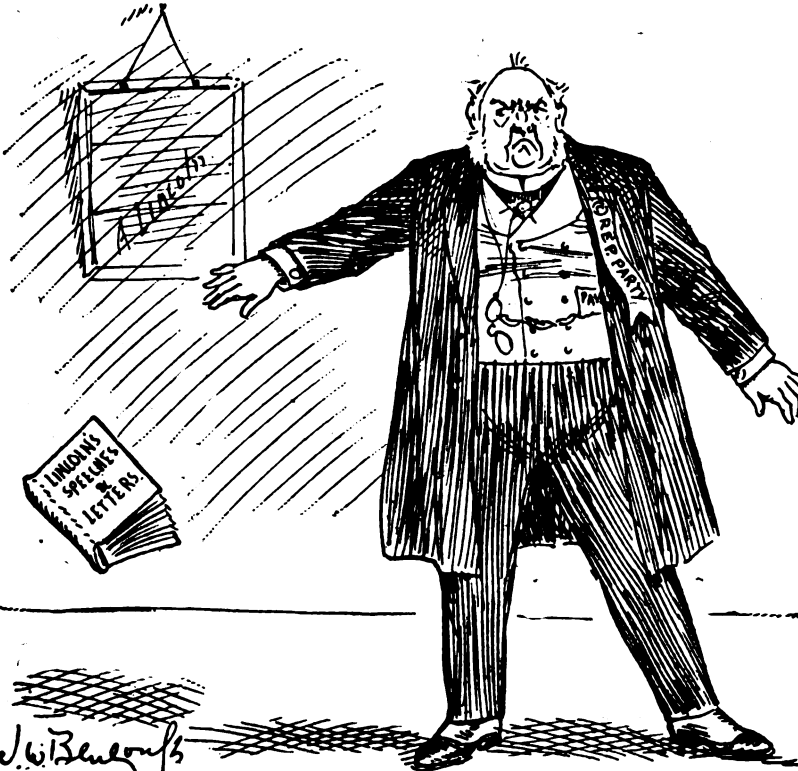
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A CHANGE OF VIEW.

**Republican Party**—I used to think a lot of Lincoln in my young days, but now he has got his head full of Bryanism and Tom Johnsonism, and I have no use for him!

piety, never traveling and always loathing notoriety, that she seems hardly a part of the busy, prurient, scientific half century just past. Yet her biographer tells us that her mall was enormous and came from every quarter of the globe. J. H. D.

or a Protestant?" "Indeed, St. Peter, I've never been able to make up my mind which I am." "All right, Pistol Blake, step in and take your choice of seats." J. H. D.

It is most interesting to note how in the case of all wars there is not only a deeper cause, but some trifling flagrant occasion. It is as if two boys, who don't like each other anyhow, wait to start fighting until one steps on the other's toe. The toe in the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been the grant of a special privilege to cut timber on the Yalu river. The Russian promoter soon began to interpret the grant to include not only the Yalu proper, but its tributaries, and not only the timber, but the land. This led to troops and forts and protests, etc. The story is entertainingly told by Mr. Joseph H. Longford in the Nineteenth Century in an article entitled "Japanese Relations with Korea." "Japan," says the writer, "had before her eyes the object lesson of Manchuria. Might not the same happen in the case of Korea?" And the independence of Korea, Japan thinks, is of vital moment to her own national existence. J. H. D.

Blackwood's Magazine has a charming sketch of old Galway life back in the days when postage cost a shilling a mile, and it took three days to go from Galway to Dublin. One of the stories told of a noted character known as Pistol Blake is good enough to quote. There was a religious controversy over what Blake considered to be trifles. "Well, I believe," he says, "when any one leaves this world and passes to the upper regions, St. Peter meets them at the gate. 'Who are you?' he asks. 'Please, St. Peter, I am So-and-So.' 'Are you a Protestant or a Catholic?' 'A Catholic, St. Peter.' 'Come in and turn to the right.' Another soul appears before him. 'Who are you?' 'Please, St. Peter, I am Such-a-one.' 'Are you a Protestant or a Catholic?' 'I'm a Protestant, St. Peter.' 'Go to the left.' Well, when my turn comes to quit this world and I arrive at the gate above, St. Peter will say to me: 'And who may you be?' 'Please, St. Peter, I'm Pistol Blake, of Galway.' 'And are you a Catholic

## Special Course of Lectures

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### PROGRAM:

- March 31—Wm. M. Salter, "Tolstoy's Resurrection;" or the Story of a Soul's Awakening.
- April 7—W. M. R. French, "Wit and Wisdom of the Crayon." Illustrated with Chalk Drawings.
- April 14—Charles Zueblin, "Aesthetic Poverty of Chicago." Illustrated with Stereopticon.
- April 21—William D. Mac Clintock, "Readings from Whitman the Poet of Democracy."
- April 28—Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Ibsen's "Enemy of the People."

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