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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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Persistent "unrest" of the native tribes is reported to be rife in South Africa. It is feared that if what the dispatches call "Ethiopianism" should produce a leader capable of overcoming the jealousies of the various tribes and uniting them in common action, the trouble will assume an acute form. The reported doctrine of Ethiopianism has a familiar as well as an ominous sound. It is "Africa for the black man." And why not? If we have "America for the white man," why not "Africa for the black man"?

Without love for President McKinley or loyalty to his memory, the school text-book commission of Kansas have badly discredited McKinley's military promotion of Gen. Funston. Although everyone knew that Funston was promoted for having worked a confidence game, adorned with forgery, upon Aguinaldo, yet the promotion was made nominally for his bravery in swimming the Bag Bag river, in the Philippines, in the face of a severe fire. This exploit has been made much of in a school history of Kansas, and now the school text-book commission orders the story expunged as false. "We will give credit to Privates Twombly and White, to whom it belongs," said one commissioner; "we are tired of seeing the misstatement that Funston ever swam the river paraded before pupils in the Kansas schools. It will be stopped now while there are men living in the State who know it is not true." And thereupon comes Funston himself, asserting that he did

swim the Bag Bag, but confessing that it wasn't much of a swim. "The event has been confused," he says, in an interview in the Chicago Tribune of the 23d, "with the swimming of the Rio Grande the following day by two Kansas soldiers." And then he goes on:

Why, I could not swim the Rio Grande. Its current runs at the rate of seven knots, and the stream is fully half a mile wide. The gallant Kansans breasted the current with a light line to the opposite shore, where 4,000 Filipinos were entrenched. A heavier rope was drawn over and then a raft with eight soldiers, including myself. The honor belongs to the two volunteers.

Thus does the glamour of benevolent assimilation in the Philippines, upon which the "greatness" of the McKinley administration depends, begin to dissipate; and the end is not yet. Gen. Funston's confession would have done him more honor had he made it earlier. About the "confusion" which he now explains he has heretofore been perniciously silent.

When Raymond Robins, one of the practical sociologists of Chicago, whose fame extends to the coast in at least one direction, said in a public speech recently that John Brennan, a "gray wolf" alderman, comes nearer to living up to the teachings of Scripture than some of his very good fellow citizens, Mr. Robins was guilty of no mawkish sentimentality. He did not assume to judge the spiritual differences, nor to draw moral comparisons. He was contrasting one kind of goodness with another kind—human feeling and generosity on the part of an open law breaker against the coldness of pharisees. He did not commend the open badness of Brennan. What he commended was the good he found in the man. He did precisely what pharisees urge us all to do when we condemn the wickedness of their own class; he hunted for the good in Brennan

instead of the evil. And the lesson he drew was a valuable one. Brennan's "influence is due," said Robins, "not to his corruption and baseness, but to his generosity and kind heartedness." That is one of the most important lessons in practical civics. In dealing with civic affairs we are dealing with all classes of men. This is something which the Brennans understand, and which they utilize for selfish ends. It is something which we must all understand and utilize if we would acquire, for promoting better social conditions, the influence which the Brennans acquire for corruption.

Superintendent Cooley, of the Chicago public school system, is to be credited with a reform of a high order in connection with the Fourth of July. He has appointed a special committee of principals to act with the Chicago Amusement Association (p. 73) in presenting plans for a new kind of celebration, and this committee has gone actively to work arranging for a sane programme for the approaching Fourth. Among the plans adopted with that end in view is the printing of 300,000 copies of the Declaration of Independence, so that every child in the public schools may know what it means before the schools close in June. With the distribution of the Declaration the teachers in all the schools are to spend some time during the last week before the summer vacation in writing paragraphs from the Declaration on the blackboards. This is immeasurably superior to "Old Glory" paganism and riotous fireworks. But what will happen to some of "our cherished institutions"—imperialism and the like—if the children of the public schools become familiar with the Declaration of Independence? President McKinley suppressed

that document in the Philippines, just as George III tried to do in the old American colonies. It was regarded as insurrectionary. But if the Filipinos could not be trusted to read the American Declaration of Independence, is it quite safe to thrust it upon the attention of American school children? Is there no danger of hypnotizing them with its "glittering generalities"?

In the reasons which Gen. Bell, of Colorado, gives for his resignation may be seen the image of a general condition which the public generally have been slow, altogether too slow, to recognize. The criminality of labor mobs could be seen by merely looking, but the criminality of employers' conspiracies could not be seen. The difference has been that labor mobs have committed their own crimes, whereas employers' conspiracies have utilized government agencies to commit their crimes for them. The Colorado case is an example. The employers' conspiracy in that State—really a land owners' conspiracy, for the power of the employers rests upon their ownership of the rich mining lands of Colorado—secured control of the Governor, and the Governor turned the militia into a mob acting under military orders, to suppress a strike. The militia has been used as lawlessly as any labor mob could be, and far more dangerously to law and order; but its conduct has had the surface appearance of enforcing the law, and so the people were deceived. Gen. Bell has undeceived them, as to that case, whether he intended to or not; but that case is typical of most cases in which the military arm of the government is used to intimidate strikers at the call of the big corporations against which they strike.

Reasons for believing that Grover Cleveland (p. 97) is really the Presidential candidate of the "remorganizers" and that the Olneys, the Walls, and the other "favorite sons," even Parker, are only stalking horses for him, are accumulat-

ing. His own Western organ, Mr. Walsh's Chicago Chronicle, nominated him on the 21st in a long editorial. And what nomination could be better than Cleveland's, if the "remorganizers" are to regain control at all? Cleveland's name would draw the line, better than any other, between the democratic and the plutocratic currents in the Democratic party. Some democratic Democrats would be swept along with him in some eddy or other, and some plutocratic Democrats would be swept away from him in other eddies; but on the whole he would be very distinctive in his representation of Democratic plutocracy. And then what a beautiful and spectacularly instructive disaster his defeat at the election would be! Better for the democracy of the Democratic party, if it must court disaster, to encounter it before the election than after the inauguration; and all the better, in that case, if the disaster be spectacular.

A significant bit of legislation is reported from Massachusetts, through the regular news channels. The report tells of the passage of a bill providing that—

whoever gives, offers or promises to an agent, employe or servant any gift or gratuity whatever with intent to influence his action in relation to his principal's, employer's or master's business, or any agent, employe or servant who receives or accepts a gift or gratuity or promise, under an agreement or with the understanding that he shall act in any particular manner in relation to his employer's business, shall be punished by a fine of not less than \$10 nor more than \$500, or imprisonment for not longer than one year.

This bill, reported to be awaiting the signature of the Governor, is also reported to be loaded only for small game. It reads:

The act is designed to prevent the payment of commissions on purchases of supplies or payment for the use of employes' influence. It probably covers the cases of butlers and other domestic servants who have understandings with the butcher, the grocer and other tradesmen from whom employers purchase household supplies.

Whether or not the Massachusetts bill is intended to affect only

domestic servants, it would apply as well to modern business methods, and upon a very extensive scale. At any rate, the bribery of employes who control their employers' purchases is far from being an evil peculiar to domestic service. It is universally practiced. And the bribed employes are not underlings alone. This species of "graft" extends all the way up to business managers and even to boards of directors and presidents of companies.

One of the well recognized arts of the modern salesman is to know how to "sweeten" a proposal so as to make it palatable to purchasing agents or officials; and the business house which refuses to keep a "slush" fund for bribery purposes of this kind must be content not only not to augment its trade, but to lose much of what it already has. For the practice is misnamed when called bribery. It is really blackmail. That is to say, its universality is attributable less by far to salesmen who tempt with bribes than to buyers who intimidate with hold-ups.

This species of business "graft," this blackmailing of supply houses by purchasing agents, is not nearly so new as it is general and demoralizing. It probably had its beginnings in the operations of public purchasing agents. Whether or not they were bribed by strenuous salesmen representing unscrupulous houses, the custom early developed into blackmail and was charged to "political corruption," the "failure of democracy," etc. Similarly with sales of school books by publishing houses to school boards. But the evil broke out in non-political places when railroad directors began to make contracts with express companies with a view more to their own personal profit than the benefit of their companies; and it had the business world by the throat, morally speaking, when the organization of side-companies by directors in corporations, for the purpose of making contracts with the corporations, came to be recognized as legitimate. Since then

the evil has spread through all the ramifications of business. The petty tips from small tradesmen to butlers and other household servants are comparatively mere trifles. They are hardly worth considering except as they picture forth to the common observer, as in a camera obscura, what actually is going on beyond the range of common observation. The old idea, sane and healthful, that no man can serve two masters, and that therefore a trusted intermediary must not take pay from both sides, has been crushed out of the modern moral sense by modern business methods.

In calling this evil blackmail rather than bribery, we are distinguishing a very pronounced difference. The business "graft" custom has become so fixed, that supply houses are confronted with a more complex problem than the one of increasing their business. The problem affects the very life and existence of their business. To refuse to bribe purchasing agents is not merely to lose custom. It is to risk destruction. This is made possible by the fact that while expertism has taken a high place in business the parties in interest in purchasing establishments are seldom experts. When the owner of an establishment is not an expert in any particular department of his business, he must employ an expert for that department; and if this expert chooses to buy only of supply houses that "sweeten," both the competitors of these supply houses and the head of the purchasing house are helpless.

Suppose a defeated competitor complains to the owner of the purchasing house that its purchasing agent buys where he gets "sugared." The answer of the corrupt agent is baffling. He glibly remarks that the complaining house sells inferior goods and is a "sorehead." What is this rascal's employer to do then, if he is not an expert in these goods? He is practically helpless, and the probabilities are that the complaining house will be much more likely to

avoid breakers if it cultivates the good will of the buyer regardless of the interests of his ignorant employer. So much as to getting the custom of that buyer's house. But suppose the house to be influential in the trade. Then its refusal to deal with a supply house gives the goods of the latter a black-eye throughout the trade which may easily be destructive. With purchasing corporations, the power of the "grafters" is much greater. All the officials of a corporation are employes. The persons in interest are only stockholders. If the employes are stockholders, too, then "graft," plus their legitimate dividends, may be more valuable to them than no graft with larger legitimate dividends. In this case a complaining seller cannot reach the real party in interest, and if he complains of a "grafting" purchasing agent or manager his complaint must go to a board of directors or a president, technically ignorant it may be, or possibly themselves getting a "rake-off" from the graft.

Rather than risk his business under these circumstances, the seller "gets wise," looks virtuous, talks patriotism, and submits to the extortion. For illustration: A dealer in some line of supplies resorts to all the legitimate arts he knows to secure the patronage of a leading corporation. He wants the profits of dealing with that house, and he wants the prestige in order to hold his present trade with other houses and to get more. But he is unable to make a single transaction with the managers. Pretty soon hints circulate that he deals in inferior goods, hints which travel all the faster and hit all the harder because they are reinforced with suspicions that this is the reason the leading house won't touch his goods. Some day another kind of hint reaches him. He acts upon it, and, without one word of negotiation, nor any reason for the change whatever except what is suggested by the increase in his expenditure for "commissions," this leading house becomes a regular

customer. He has bribed a buyer, and under the proposed Massachusetts law would be amenable. The buyer has taken the bribe, and under that law would also be amenable. Wherefore both would probably cover their tracks and let the law take its futile course.

What else is there for the seller to do but submit to the extortion? He is conducting a legitimate business in a state of society where legitimate business cannot be legitimately done. Bribery is a necessity where extortion is the rule; and that extortion is the rule, every selling house which deals with hired buyers knows. Such a custom cannot be uprooted by restrictive laws; it is too firmly entrenched in a perverted moral sense. It cannot be uprooted by elevating the moral sense; few men are capable of being, and none ought to be, so ascetic as to abandon useful work rather than submit to extortion as a condition of doing it. It can be uprooted only by freeing the channels of trade from legalized obstructions. The moral sense to be elevated is not that which makes for asceticism in business, when business opportunities are congested and business conditions are thereby demoralized. It is that which makes for greater freedom of opportunity.

#### CONSERVATISM AND RADICALISM.

The conviction that our social system must be reformed on conservative lines if we are to avoid its being changed on radical lines, is present in the minds of the great mass of independent thinkers on social conditions, and it finds quite frequent expression even among professed teachers of political economy, who are generally so far from being alarmists as to fairly subject them to the charge of being blind leaders of the blind. Prof. Ely, in discussing "The Possibilities of Social Reform," argues strongly that the reform of our competitive system is the alternative of socialism. The question whether conservatism is equal to the task of making adequate reform, and whether it

is ready for the emergency, is an interesting and important one.

A reputation for conservatism is distinctly desirable in the business and political world. But, like some other reputations, it is not infrequently both acquired and forfeited undeservedly; and this is especially likely as to a reputation for conservatism because of a general lack of any distinct conception as to its essential characteristics. We not infrequently hear men somewhat deprecatingly admit that they are conservative; but as a matter of fact they obviously feel quite virtuous both because of the alleged fact and of the frankness of the admission—which is an entirely agreeable frame of mind. However, it is noticeable that the statement is not always made in a mere spirit of self-complacency, but that it is often made to serve as an excuse for cutting off discussion or consideration of questions which suggest unwelcome answers. It is interesting to notice, also, that this avowed conservative will at times become vehement in his condemnation of persons whom he denounces as opposers of progress because they fail to approve of or support certain strenuous policies to which his own broad mind has given welcome acceptance; and this without arousing any misgivings as to what the perverse opposers may think about the quality of his conservatism, or any suspicion that the said opposers may pride themselves upon their conservatism in rejecting such policies. From which it would apparently be natural for a third person, disinterested, and therefore, neutral concerning the particular question at issue, to infer that a conservative is one who is strongly opposed to change—so far as his own opinions are concerned—and who effectually shuts off the possibility of such disaster by giving no consideration to facts or arguments which might tend to change them.

The acceptance of such a definition, however, would hardly support the good reputation which attaches to conservatism. And since good reputation, though to be sure somewhat unreliable, is not to be lightly set aside as unwarranted, it is worth while to see

if possible what there is in conservatism to justify such good repute. In this connection the story of the Negro orator in Texas, who, in beginning a political speech, said: "When you are a-going to talk about Democracy you want to name the brand," is suggestive of the advisability of not accepting as genuine all that is labeled conservative.

Among the different brands under which conservatism is marketed, as it were, there is, presumably, a genuine article, on the real merits of which fraudulently or ignorantly circulated counterfeits are trading; such counterfeits being passed, however, with considerable success among easy-going respectable people who readily accept what is presented with a label that appears reputable and to whom genuineness is too unimportant to call for troublesome investigation so long as proper appearances are maintained.

To recognize the genuine article, we must first know its essential characteristics. To conserve, the dictionaries agree, is, broadly, "to keep from loss, decay, or injury". But what would conservatism thus care for? Evidently something that is already held, for we can only keep safe that which we have. It therefore concerns itself with holding rather than acquiring. It will not play the part of the foolish dog and drop the bone from its mouth in order to grasp at the shadow in the water. What has been attained it would hold safely, avoiding risk of loss rather than greedily reaching for that which has not been attained.

But evidently this does not sufficiently answer the question, To conserve what? Must conservatism concern itself equally with preserving all that is in possession? Must it be content to preserve what has been attained, and oppose the attainment of new things. Is the advocacy of change from existing conditions necessarily inconsistent with conservatism and a lapse toward radicalism?

To answer these questions in the affirmative indicates a lack of capacity for distinguishing between conservatism and what may be termed inane old-fogyism.

But if we answer no, we must determine what line, if any, can be drawn between a sane conservatism and radicalism.

To conserve what is of value is certainly a fair statement of the primary object of conservatism. What one man considers of value, however, another may consider useless or harmful; and when it is a matter of public interest their attitudes with regard to it will be antagonistic. One will aim to conserve, the other to abolish. If we conclude from this that the one is a conservative and the other a radical, we may find on further acquaintance that their positions concerning another matter of equal public interest are reversed, the first leaning towards abolition and the other towards conservatism, and, therefore, that a reverse conclusion as to their conservatism would be equally warranted. One's views on a particular question, therefore, cannot be reasonably assumed to indicate a conservative disposition or the reverse, and we must look for a common impulse or tendency which, though leading to opposite attitudes on particular questions, in each case forms the basis of the conservative position taken. This may be found in the fact that each seeks to conserve that which he himself conceives to be of value. Therefore they differ finally in their opinion as to what is of value. Each can lay claim to conservatism so far as yet appears. From which the conclusion follows that conservatism must relate to and be indicated by the spirit in which opinions are formed rather than the opinions themselves. In addition to this it relates to the spirit in which endeavor is made to carry opinions into effect.

True conservatism does not require that whatever is in possession or in vogue must be considered good, and its retention unchanged be insisted upon. It does not assume that there is nothing further to be attained; or even that further attainment shall not involve eventual radical change in what now is. It may even require the advocacy of decided changes, not only in the interest of progress, which is entirely consistent with conservatism, but particularly for the preservation of

some fundamental value in possession, which it believes to be otherwise endangered, and the safe keeping of which is its primary object.

But if all this may be required by conservatism, it becomes interesting to determine in what respect it differs from radicalism; for in such case the two are apt at times to be found in close company. It is a common experience, however, for extremes to meet; and even when thus brought together, the differing characteristics of conservatism and radicalism will not be lost any more than those of forcibly mixed oil and water.

The spirit in which the conservative mind will consider a question is one in which the element of caution is never lost sight of; in which whatever is established is assumed to be worthy of preservation, to the extent of throwing the burden of proof upon the advocate of change. Moreover, proofs submitted are considered with jealous regard for the probability of their having been offered and duly weighed and found wanting, before the institution antagonized could have become established. A decision presumably based on the experience of the past is not to be lightly set aside; the superior wisdom of the present is not to be arrogantly and ignorantly assumed. Eternal vigilance is the price not only of liberty but of the maintenance of all that has been attained in the progress of the race; retrogressive movements are started by insidious changes. Conservatism, therefore, stands on guard. No pretended friend shall be admitted too easily or too fully until proven.

But conservatism cannot perform its full duty as a guard in a negative way. It must give warning of danger and adopt positive plans for avoiding it. More than that, it must not refuse to listen to demands for admission. It must not and dare not act as an indiscriminating bar to what is new, lest it be discredited and the gates be opened wide for radicalism to run riot. Conservatism must distinguish between what it considers fundamentally good and what not, among existing institutions and policies, and be ready to give up that which is found wanting,

whenever required; and especially to note when such surrender is necessary to the preservation of the fundamental good.

But, while conservatism thus enters into the consideration of abstract questions, and effects the forming of opinions regarding them, another important influence is evidenced in determining action rather than opinion. The conservative mind can be induced to form what might be termed radical opinions; yet, when asked to advocate radical measures designed to carry such opinions into effect, it does not yield ready assent. Not so much because of any misgivings as to the correctness of the opinions formed; for, though there will be an ever present desire to test them practically as opportunity offers, yet the careful mental experiment to which they have been subjected before adoption gives a confidence amounting to deep-seated conviction. But because of an inherent dislike of any change involving upheaval and savoring of revolution; a lack of confidence in the soundness and stability of results attained under the impulse of abnormal excitement, such as is commonly incident to radical movements; and a fear that the guard of conservatism will be so broken down as to expose what is fundamentally good to danger, and ultimately produce a reaction that will injure the good cause which it is desired to further—these considerations will largely influence the actions of the true conservative and not infrequently force him into an attitude of antagonism to particular measures intended perhaps to advance just what he desires to achieve.

But if it be true that conservatism and radicalism may have the same good end in view, then it is unfair to dismiss radicalism with the mere statement that it is the antithesis of conservatism; the more so as radicalism is not of good repute and therefore stands in far more need of honest defense. Briefly, then: While conservatism looks mainly to the preservation of what it conceives to be good, radicalism looks to the overthrow of what it conceives to be bad. Appreciation of what has been attained on the one hand, is equaled by appreciation of what

needs to be attained on the other; regard for legal rights is met by the plea for moral rights; the claim of vested rights by the condemnation of vested wrongs; the charge of blindness to threatened dangers by that of blindness to existing injustices; the charge of recklessness by that of cowardice; the charge of irresponsible revolutionism by that of easy going selfishness.

Now, while it is true that these claims and countercharges of radicalism have little force against genuine conservatism, it is also true that they have great force as against much that passes current as such. And, on the other hand, it is true that there is a sane radicalism against which the charges and denunciations referred to are in large degree unjustified.

Radicalism, as the word indicates, looks to the roots for primary causes of defective fruit; and having as it believes discovered such deep cause, it is not content to potter over defective twigs and branches, but would endeavor to apply what it conceives to be adequate though heroic treatment. It has no patience with the policy of concocting and applying poultices and lotions to persistent sores which it conceives to be mere symptoms of deep-seated disease.

It will not be questioned that the good physician must look for the underlying cause of evident abnormal physical conditions before he can intelligently prescribe for the sufferer. While he will not disdain prompt palliatives in acute cases his chief concern must be to ascertain the cause, direct or remote, and to remove it. He must thoroughly diagnose the case.

As concerns the body politic, radicalism accepts and boldly acts upon this principle. It does diagnose the case. Whether thoroughly and intelligently or not is another question. Nor can conservatives refuse to indorse this principle, or fail of an honest effort to apply it. It cannot stop short of finding an adequate cause without being guilty of the charge of incompetence or dishonesty. And having determined such cause it must act upon its knowledge or be guilty of cowardice or deliberate malpractice.

Conservatism and radicalism, therefore, go so far together. Both may be assumed to approach the case with an honest desire to thoroughly diagnose it, and both with the same ultimate object in view of attaining the normal state of social health.

WALTER G. STEWART.

**EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.**

**AUSTRALIA.**

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, April 22. —The Federal ministry was defeated in the House last night on the arbitration and conciliation bill, an amendment moved by a Labor member to include all Commonwealth and State public servants under the provisions of the bill being carried against the ministry by nine votes. The voting was as follows:

	For the Amendment.	Against.
Labor .....	23	0
Ministerialists .....	2	19
Opposition .....	13	10
	<u>38</u>	<u>29</u>

Several members of the Opposition voted for the amendment to wreck the bill and overthrow the ministry. Mr. Reid, leader of the Opposition, voted against the amendment.

Last year the same amendment was proposed, but negatived, and an amendment to include railway (State) employes was carried against the ministry, which then dropped the bill. It was not thought that the Labor party would carry the public service amendment this time, but it was expected that, as before, they would win over the railway employes.

Mr. Deakin, the ministerial leader, will resign, and it is considered probable that Mr. Watson, leader of the Labor party, will be sent for by the Governor General to form a ministry.

ERNEST BRAY.

**NEWS**

Week ending Thursday, May 26.

Notwithstanding the startling headlines of the daily press during the week, relative to the progress of the Russo-Japanese war (p. 103), nothing of serious concern has been reliably reported since our last issue, except the destruction of a first-class Japanese battleship, the Hatsuse, by Russian mines off Port Arthur, and the sinking of the Japanese cruiser Yoshino in a collision. The total loss of life reported by the Japanese vice admiral, Togo, was 210 on the Yoshino and 441 on the Hatsuse.

A diplomatic event, reported on the 20th, is of more importance than any of the military occurrences so far as they are known. It is the revocation by Corea of all treaties and agreements with Russia. This revocation comprises the Yalu timber concessions, which are said to be one of the principal factors in bringing about the war. So long as the Russians remained on the western bank of the Yalu the Japanese, though very much discontented at the failure to evacuate Manchuria, were not willing to plunge into hostilities; but the procurement by Russia through M. Pavloff, the resident Russian agent and minister at Seoul, of a large concession of land on the Korean side of the Yalu precipitated the crisis. The Japanese felt that the alleged timber concession was really intended for military purposes, and they were confirmed in their suspicion by Russian opposition to the application of Japan, England and the United States to have free ports opened at the mouth of the Yalu river and above at Wiju and Antung.

Reports of the 22d relative to the British invasion of Thibet (p. 104) tell of an engagement near Gyantse on the 21st in which three farmsteads occupied by Thibetans were captured by the British. In this report, a special to the London Times, it is said that the British losses within the preceding two weeks were 57, which, the report continues—

perhaps will surprise men who have been inclined to underestimate the importance of the present military operations. The self-confidence and military ability of the enemy [the Thibetans] has increased greatly of late. Diplomacy has failed utterly, and the commanders of the British forces now see that it will be necessary to carry out the fight to the end.

France is in a diplomatic controversy with the head of the Roman Catholic Church over the relations of the Church to the French government. This controversy appears to be supplementary to the closing of the Catholic schools in France (vol. vi, p. 822) and to promise a complete dissolution of the French union of church and state. The immediate pretext is a diplomatic note of protest sent

to some of the Powers by the papal secretary of state with reference to the French government. In consequence of this the French government has withdrawn the French ambassador, Mr. Nisard, from the Vatican. In announcing their act the council of French ministers said on the 24th:

The government is convinced of the authenticity of the reported protest sent by the Vatican to the Powers, and therefore has decided to recall M. Nisard, leaving routine business in the hands of the third secretary of the Vatican embassy.

The resulting situation is reported from Rome to be regarded there as hopeless with reference to the relations of the Vatican and France. The Pope himself is described as being convinced that the separation of church and state in France is now only a question of time. He is quoted, however, upon high but anonymous authority by press dispatches to have observed that the presence of a French ambassador at the Vatican has not prevented the French government from adopting measures extremely objectionable to the Church, and that the separation perhaps might prove not an unmitigated evil. In this connection he is reported to have pointed out to the cardinals that, wherever the Church is supported wholly or in part by the state, it is made subservient to the political exigencies of the government, while in those countries where the Church gets only voluntary support it generally is untrammelled in the exercise of its rights. The prosperity of the Catholic Church in England and the United States is said to have been referred to by him with a statement of his belief that French Roman Catholics also will supply their clergy with the support which the French government will refuse.

On the American side of the globe labor disturbances upon a large scale are attracting attention and causing alarm. The largest of these is the general strike, begun on the 24th, of the freight handlers employed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad in New York and New England and the marine firemen employed on the boats of this railroad system. The strike was or-

dered by the International Freight Handlers' Union. It is reported to have grown out of the refusal, several days before, of freight handlers on the Fall River Line of steamboats to work under a non-union foreman; but the scope of the dispute appears to have been much enlarged, for the company and the strikers could not come to an agreement although, as the president of the international union, Lawrence J. Curran, said on the 24th, the union receded from the original demand. Mr. Curran said:

We offered the management every concession we possibly could make. We were willing even to forego the question of the discharge of Assistant Foreman William McCarthy, and we would not insist upon his discharge. We were even willing to arbitrate.

A suspicion is gaining ground in labor circles that the railroads of the country are forcing a policy of glutting the labor market by wholesale discharges of men. It may be possible therefore that the strike noted above has been provoked as being in harmony with that policy. At any rate many of the great railroads are discharging men in large numbers with a view, as they explain, to reducing the number of employes to the basis of 1902. The Pennsylvania system alone will discharge about 22,000 men. No cut in wages is contemplated at present, but it is believed that the glut in the labor market, caused by the discharges of men, will react upon the wages of those retained. The reason given by the roads for these discharges is decline in volume of traffic.

Another large strike began in Chicago on the 24th—a strike of machinists for a renewal of their agreement as to wages and hours with a slight increase of wages for certain kinds of work. The employers insist that business conditions are too poor to warrant an increase in wages.

The nature of the labor troubles in Colorado (p. 106) has had light thrown upon it by a public statement made at Denver on the 22d by Adjutant General Bell, who has been using State troops against strikers in the southern and west-

ern parts of Colorado. His statement refers to their contemplated use in Denver on the occasion of the city election there. While it is somewhat enigmatical, it is significant of some power of the corporations which makes him indignant. Gen. Bell says:

I shall resign the office of adjutant general probably Monday, and by the 1st of July there will be another man in my place. I don't approve of using the militia of the State to help any political movement, and I object, whether it is in a positive or negative way. I am accused of using or attempting to use the military in the late campaign. This is false, but the corporations used the militia for their purposes and instead of the militia being used to protect the people and uphold the law, that force was actually degraded to the uses of the local corporations who connived at the breaking of the law. I found last Sunday that there were many familiar faces upon the streets of the lower part of town, and that they were of the worst type of men in the West. I then discovered that the corporations had sent out all over the West and brought them here. I thought then more than ever that the militia ought probably to be in the vicinity of Denver in case of trouble, but imagine my surprise when I was given orders on Sunday night by the Governor not to call out a single man and to abandon my plan of assembling the troops for practice. It was then that I became convinced that the militia was to be used, not to enforce law and protect property, but to encourage trouble. The very men whom we used the militia to protect, imported all-round bad men—the very men I ran out of their camps—to break the law in Denver and carry the election in their interests. I am sick of the whole thing, and I will hand in my resignation, probably Monday, to go into effect as soon as I can clean up department business, which will not be later than July 1.

Gov. Peabody's reply, made on the 23d, was as follows:

I saw the papers were full of gossip about the necessity of mobilizing the militia for the city election. I saw several petitions printed in the papers purporting to be addressed to me by the Honest Election League and other independent political organizations, but I never received any formal application for troops. Riots cannot be anticipated. When they come action should be quick. I knew that eight companies of the National Guard in Denver, with artillery and cavalry, could be in the field two hours after any call for their services. I was satisfied to let it go at that. The good citizens of Denver seemed to be of the same mind,

for they did not urge me to any other policy.

The political difficulties in the Republican party of Illinois (p. 105) are still unsettled. After taking 58 futile ballots for candidate for governor, the convention agreed to a recess until May 31. Following is a comparison of the 47th ballot, the last ballot reported in these columns, with the 58th, the last one taken before the recess:

Candidate.	47th Ballot.	58th Ballot.
Yates .....	482	483
Lowden .....	403	392
Deneen .....	432	385
Hamlin .....	111	113
Warner .....	38	53
Pierce .....	33	29
Sherman .....	2	46
Necessary to a choice.....		752

Following the bolt of the Payne-Babcock faction in Wisconsin (p. 105) two Republican conventions were held and on the 19th two State tickets with two sets of delegates at large to the national convention were chosen. The regular convention nominated Robert M. La Follette for reelection as governor, and chose Gov. La Follette, Isaac Stephenson, State Senator James H. Stout and W. D. Connor as national delegates at large. The choice of the bolting convention was as follows: For governor, Samuel A. Cook; for national delegates at large, United States Senators Spooner and Quarles, Congressman Babcock, and Judge Baensch. Both conventions named the same presidential electors; the bolting convention accepting those named by the regulars, though only by a majority vote. Both conventions indorsed the national administration and instructed for Roosevelt. The action of the bolting convention was supported by the two United States senators from Wisconsin, not only by their acceptance as delegates at large, but by their speeches at the convention.

The Republican convention of Wyoming, which met on the 19th, nominated a State ticket. It also named national delegates at large, but did not instruct them.

Four Democratic conventions (p. 105) have been held this week. One of them was the Arizona con-

vention, which met on the 24th and instructed for Hearst. Another was that of Tennessee which met on the 25th and instructed for Parker. A third was that of Alabama, which also met on the 25th but voted down instructions for Parker and made no instructions at all. The fourth was the convention of Ohio.

The Ohio convention referred the question of unit rule to the national delegation, refused to instruct for any one, and named as delegates at large Will S. Thomas, John A. McMahon, Ed H. Moore and Charles P. Salen. Salen is Mayor Johnson's lieutenant. The Republican and the so-called "reorganizer" newspapers report the result as a victory for the "reorganizer" faction; but the names of the delegates at large, the fact that M. E. Ingalls was defeated for delegate at large, the refusal to instruct, the defeat of the "reorganizer" candidate for Secretary of State, and the adoption of an emphatic plank in the platform demanding 2-cent fares per mile on Ohio railroads (which was opposed by the "reorganizers") indicate that the "victory" was barren.

Prior to the Ohio convention, Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, was elected, along with John H. Clark, as a district delegate from the 21st Congressional district of Ohio, he having refused to allow his name to be considered in a proposition to name the four latest candidates for governor as delegates at large. Upon being chosen as a district delegate, Mayor Johnson spoke to his Congressional convention — which nominated for Congress Edmund G. Vail, the candidate of two years ago—as follows with reference to presidential nominations:

I sincerely hope that the Ohio delegation to the St. Louis convention will go uninstructed. The best results have always been obtained when the Democrats of the nation have gathered together not instructed for some particular candidate, but simply standing upon the great and eternal principles of the party. We are told that the Senate of the United States is hopelessly Republican and it would do us no good even if we should capture the lower branch of Congress and elect a President. I am not here to dispute the statement that the Senate is Republican, but I do take issue with any

statement that it would be useless for the Democrats to elect a President. A few years ago an unknown young man way out in Missouri, commenced to talk about honesty in public life. He was elected Circuit Attorney. From that moment millionaires as well as the cheapest political grafters learned that Joseph W. Folk believed what he said. Mr. Folk pursued the crooked millionaires as well as the cheap grafters and landed them in the penitentiary. The supreme court resolved itself into a jail delivery commission and set the prisoners free. The end is not yet in the chase for criminals in Missouri and to-day this fearless young Democrat is as good as nominated as candidate for governor. There are political grafters in Washington. We know that to our sorrow. Perhaps Mr. Folk could find labor for his talents as the President of the United States, aiming his giantlike blows at official rottenness at Washington. I am not attempting to forecast the action of the coming national convention, but the fearless Joe Folk should be kept in mind.

Subsequently, in an interview in explanation of this speech, Mayor Johnson is reported as saying:

I believe that the two wings of the Democratic party can unite upon this man. As the situation now stands the two factions of the party are clearly defined by the candidates themselves. Judge Parker represents the "conservative" Democracy, so-called, and W. R. Hearst, the "radical" Democracy. Now it will follow that if Judge Parker be nominated the Hearst fellows will sulk in their tents. It is unlikely that there will be any real bolt, but there will be ill-feeling and no disposition to hustle for the success of the ticket. I do not mean to apply this to Mr. Hearst, for I believe that he will personally support the Democratic nominee. On the other hand if Hearst be made the nominee we should find the same condition true of the other wing of the party. The Parker fellows will revolt, secretly if not openly. So in either event the outlook for Democratic success would be very discouraging indeed. Folk is unidentified with any faction of the party. He is a plain Democrat without any entangling alliances. I take it that he is not really objectionable to David B. Hill or Mr. Cleveland, and I feel quite sure that he meets the approbation of Mr. Bryan. More than any other man I can name at this time Joe Folk would bring peace into the party and foster its chance of success. And I don't want it to be understood that Mr. Folk is my choice. He is not that, exactly. There are men in the party who stand more nearly for the things in which I believe and whom I would rather see in the race for office. But such men, as I have said, would be antagonized by the other wing of the party were they successful in landing the nomination, and I realize that the success of the

ticket must come largely through a compromise candidate. In nominating Folk either faction would have to make its concessions, but such concessions would be for the present good of the whole party. I am not sure that Mr. Folk will regard any efforts which may be made to put him at the head of the ticket as friendly ones. I do not think that he is seeking Presidential honors. He is as good as elected governor of Missouri, and it is unlikely that he will be anxious to give up a sure thing for an uncertainty, even though the uncertainty be the Presidency of the United States. But it is also quite improbable that if the nomination were tendered him that he would refuse. No man has ever done that. The honor of being the leader of a great party is much too great to be turned aside.

In further promotion of its policy to secure direct popular expression of opinion on questions of government, like that on the traction question in Chicago (p. 55), the Referendum League of Illinois, 52 Dearborn street, Chicago, have begun the circulation of a petition for a vote next Fall throughout the State of Illinois, under the Illinois "public policy law," on three propositions. The petition reads as follows:

To the Secretary of State, Springfield, Ill.: We, the undersigned, registered voters of the State of Illinois, respectfully petition that the following questions of public policy be submitted to the voters of the State of Illinois, at the regular State election, to be held in the said State of Illinois on Tuesday next after the first Monday of November, A. D., 1904, and file this, our petition, as provided by statute:

Shall the State legislature amend the primary election law so as to provide for party primaries at which the voter will vote under the Australian ballot directly for the candidate whom he wishes nominated by his party, instead of voting for delegates to convention or caucus; the primaries, throughout the entire district affected by the offices for which nominations are to be made, to be held by all the parties conjointly at the same time and polling places. This law not to prevent the nomination of candidates by petition as now provided.

Shall the State legislature pass a law enabling the voters of any county, village or township, by majority vote, to veto any undesirable action of their respective law-making bodies (except emergency measures) whenever five per cent. of the voters petition to have such action referred to popular vote. This law to apply only to such localities as may adopt the same.



Shall the State legislature submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following State election an amendment to the State Constitution, which will enable the voters of any county, city, village or township of the State of Illinois to adopt such system of assessing and levying taxes as the voters of any such county, city, village or township may determine.

The number of signatures required is 100,000, and the petition must be ready for filing by August 1st.

The religious news of the week furnishes a Presbyterian item of more than sectarian interest. It relates to the possible reunion of the Northern and the Southern branches of that denomination. The separation of this church into Northern and Southern branches occurred in 1861, at the outbreak of the Civil War between the North and the South. The Southern bodies of the church then withdrew and organized the General Assembly of "the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States." They changed the name at the close of the war to "the Presbyterian Church in the United States." This title differs from that of the other body in the omission of the final words "of America." In 1882 the Southern body made overtures of reconciliation to the Northern body, then in session at Springfield, Ill., sending to it a request for reunion and declaring that—

while receding from no principle, we do hereby declare our regret and withdrawal of all expressions of our Assembly which may be regarded as reflecting upon or offensive to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America.

Instead of receiving this overture as the Southern body desired, the Northern body, while it adopted a resolution repeating verbatim the fraternal words of the overture, preceded them with the following resolution:

Resolved, That in the action now to be taken we disclaim any reference to the action of preceding Assemblies concerning loyalty and rebellion, but we refer only to the action concerning schism, heresy and blasphemy.

This was not regarded as satisfactory by the Southern body, and no reconciliation resulted. During the past week the General Assembly of the Southern body has been in session at Mobile, Ala., while

that of the Northern body has been in session at Buffalo, N. Y. On the 20th the Northern body enthusiastically adopted the following resolution and forwarded it to Mobile:

Resolved, That this General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America hereby removes all aspersions and charges of any and every kind made by previous Assemblies reflecting on the Christian character of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, and is ready at any time to confer on the subject of closer relations whenever such conference shall be agreeable to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.

On the 21st the Southern body received this Northern overture with fraternal expressions and on the 23d referred it to a committee appointed to consider all overtures from other Calvinistic churches.

Still another breach in the Presbyterian denomination is in process of being healed. At the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, in session at Dallas, Tex., on the 25th, this body, which has developed from the secession in 1810 of the Cumberland Presbytery (Kentucky and Tennessee), adopted a resolution favoring complete reunion with the Northern branch of the church—the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The resolution was carried by a vote of 162 to 75, an excess of 4 over the requisite two-thirds.

A declaration on the subject of marriage and divorce was adopted on the 25th by the Northern branch of the Presbyterians at Buffalo. It reads:

Recognizing the comity which should exist between the denominations of the Interchurch Conference and believing that it would be desirable and tend to the increase of a spirit of Christian unity, we earnestly advise all the ministers under the care and authority of this General Assembly to refuse to unite in marriage any person or persons whose marriage such ministers have good reason to believe is forbidden by the laws of the church in which such person or persons seeking to be married may hold membership.

**NEWS NOTES.**

—At the Cobden centennial in Boston on the 3d, the speakers are to be Har-

vey N. Shepard, chairman, Charles Francis Adams, Edward Athinson and Louis R. Ehrlich.

—The city of Yazoo, Miss., was destroyed by fire on the 26th.

—The general convention of the New Jerusalem, or Swendenborgian, church met at Washington on the 21st.

—A collection of 33,000 volumes on economics and finance, gathered after long and patient labor in Europe by Clement W. Andrews, librarian of the Crerar library at Chicago, was received in Chicago on the 22nd.

—James N. Tyner, formerly postmaster general and recently an assistant attorney general in the post office department, was acquitted on the 25th, of charges of fraudulent conspiracy in connection with that department. (See vol. vi., pp. 425, 562.)

—The National and International Good Roads convention concluded its session at St. Louis on the 21st. It recommended that county, State and Federal aid be enlisted in furthering the good roads movement and utilizing the services of vagrants and prisoners in bettering roads.

—It was reported from Panama on the 23d that late advices from Bogota say the Colombian government has notified Alban G. Snyder, United States charge d'affaires, to cable his government not to send Minister Russell or any other diplomatic representative to Bogota until further notice.

—After closing a single tax lecture engagement of 77 days in the East, delivering 90 lectures, John Z. White is upon his return to Chicago to be tendered a dinner at the Albion cafe, Pullman building, Michigan avenue and Adams street, on the 20th of June, at which he will give an account of his Eastern tour.

—The second anniversary of Cuban independence was enthusiastically celebrated at Havana on the 20th. A display of troops and a parade of police and firemen were the features of the morning, and the National party held a meeting in the afternoon. In the evening there was a nonpartisan mass meeting at the National Theatre and an exhibition of fireworks in the open air.

—The first mass meeting of its kind in the United States was held at Providence, R. I., on the 19th. It was called by the governor, Gov. Garvin, was paid for out of his contingent fund as governor, was non-partisan, and was designed to educate the public in their duties as citizens. The meeting was addressed by Gov. Garvin, Lieut.-Gov. Utter, Prof. MacDonald and President Faunce, of Brown University, John P. Beagan and Bishop McVickar.

**PRESS OPINIONS.**

THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE. Columbus (Ohio) Press-Post (Dem.), May 24.—The increasing favor with which the

name of Joseph W. Folk, the fearless district attorney of St. Louis, is mentioned in connection with the Democratic nomination for the presidency, does both Mr. Folk and the party great credit. . . . No one at all conversant with the career and achievements of the late Samuel J. Tilden can fail to discern a most striking parallel between the work done by Tilden in the destruction of the Tweed ring and the work accomplished, to date by Mr. Folk in purging the municipal government of St. Louis of its thieves and rascals.

Goodhue County (Minn.) News (Dem.), May 21.—Bryan is dead. Dead and buried in 1846. Dead and buried in 1848. Dead and buried in 1860. Every time he opened his mouth or took up pen since the famous Chicago convention, Bryan's every utterance has leaped more earth on his tomb. We know that so because we get it from the Republican papers. And yet this man who has been dejected eight years is the target of more shafts from the opposition press than any other man. Bryan, the dead and down, the excoriated and eviscerated, the obliterated and annihilated, is to-day one of the most potent forces in America.

Solon (Ia.) Economy (Dem.), May 19.—We would just a little rather see such a man as Joseph W. Folk, of St. Louis, put at the head of the Democratic ticket, and a genuine platform of true principles for him to stand upon. But if money must be the deciding factor, let it be Hearst and his money backing rather than Parker and his plutocratic backers. We have one political party so completely under the dominion of the plutocracy that it cannot sustain its President, if he takes a decided stand against the money power; and to put the other party in the same position seems to be the wish of that class of Republican politicians who keep throwing bouquets to Grover Cleveland and his candidate.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), May 24.—Mayor Tom Johnson says: "I am not attempting to forecast the action of the coming national convention, but fearless Joseph Folk should be kept in mind." Samuel J. Tilden was not nominated in 1876 because he was a great lawyer, but because he had fought rings and corruption in his State. Mr. Folk has been in the same business in Missouri. If the Democrats want a candidate who has done things they have one ready to their hand. Mr. Folk may not be so able a lawyer as Judge Parker, but what has the Judge done except to keep his mouth shut? . . . The Democratic party might do much worse than to choose for its leader the ardent young Missourian whose honesty has been so effective.

#### CLEVELAND VERSUS ALTGELD.

The Commoner (Dem.), May 21.—Mr. Cleveland waited until Governor Altgeld was a long time dead before breaking into print with a defense of his actions during the Chicago strike. But Governor Altgeld's speech on that topic still lives to refute the "explanations" of the man who used the United States army to do the bidding of corporation managers.

#### MILITARY CRIME IN COLORADO.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), May 24.—The Gen. Bell who has just resigned his position as adjutant general of Colorado on the ground that the National Guard is being used as the tool of the large Colorado corporations is the same Gen. Bell who told Ray Stannard Baker that he had taken the field "to do up this anarchistic organization, the Western Federation of Miners." It is clear, therefore, that Gen. Bell's resignation does not spring from preconceived radical sentiments. Evidently he began with believing that the true function of the National Guard was not merely the maintenance of order, but also the destruction of the organization to which the disorderly people belonged. He adhered to the same school of economic philosophy as Gen. Chase, who said: "The militia will remain in Crumble Creek until every vestige of unionism is wiped out." To-day the man who pointed for the annihilation of the Western Federation of Miners is giving up his campaign against it because he thinks that the National Guard has been turned into the physical force department of organized wealth. What were the circumstances that could bring such a man to such a conclusion?

#### ANARCHISM.

Goldwin Smith, in Toronto Sun, May 18.—Anarchism, taken literally, means nothing

violent or criminal. It expresses the belief that human nature left to itself is good, and that the world would do better and be happier without compulsory laws or government. It was the dream of Shelley. It, or something like it, was the dream for a time of Coleridge, Wordsworth and Southey. It is the dream of the truly lamb-like Kropotkin. To treat a mere visionary as a criminal is absurd. We might as well imprison a man for believing in the near advent of the millennium, which would certainly put an end to government and police. If an anarchist commits murder, hang or electrocute him. If he incites to violence, imprison him. Of the three Presidents who have been assassinated, McKinley alone was the victim of anarchism. Lincoln was the victim of Southern vengeance; Garfield of private malevolence. The McKinley tragedy seems to have hurried the Americans into panic legislation, inconsistent with their allegiance to liberty of opinion.

## MISCELLANY

### CARGOES.

Quinquireme of Nineveh from distant Ophir,  
Rowing home to haven in sunny Palestine,  
With a cargo of ivory,  
And apes and peacocks,  
Sandalwood, cedarwood, and sweet white wine.

Stately Spanish galleon coming from the Isthmus,  
Dipping through the Tropics by the palm-green shores,  
With a cargo of diamonds,  
Emeralds, amethysts,  
Topazes, and cinnamon, and gold moidores.

Dirty British coaster with a salt-caked smoke stack,  
Butting through the Channel in the mad March days,  
With a cargo of Tyne coal,  
Road-rails, pig-lead,  
Firewood, ironware, and cheap tin trays.

—John Masfield.

### OUR NEW ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.

There is but one brave thing to do  
Let all views be heard, by whomever  
voiced, from wherever drawn.

It is the only brave way, it is the only safe way. The right of free speech is guaranteed to American citizens in the Constitution. Let us not lessen or circumscribe it by silly laws shutting out men like Turner. If his doctrine is false, still let him proclaim it freely. Self-governing people who are going to be seduced by the first prophet of false doctrines that visits our shores are not worth saving. If they are so easily led astray they have already lost the power of self-government. We don't believe that of the American people, and we won't believe it.

Let there be a howling agitator on every street corner. A sound government will be by that the more established.

O, ye of little faith! France tried to check agitation—and brought on the

reign of terror. Germany tried to suppress socialism—and the socialists are winning Germany. The Federal party passed alien and sedition laws—and that was the end of the Federal party.

No state can be overturned that does not deserve to fall. No government can be destroyed that is not rotten. To suppress criticism is to admit it.

Is the man preaching wisdom? Let us hear him. Is he a mere blather-skite? Let him blatt.

Wise or foolish, when we shut the doors on him we shut the doors on ourselves. We have sinned against our faith in the right of free speech.—Goodhue County (Minn.) News.

### A WOMAN ANY RACE MIGHT BE PROUD OF.

From an article by Booker T. Washington, published in the Ethical Record for May, 1904.

Some years ago I had occasion at Tuskegee to call a young girl into my office and tell her our teachers had decided that by reason of some weakness in her studies she could not graduate with her class. She rose to the emergency and accepted her own failure as an incentive to make the most of what she had. In a very noble spirit she said: "It is all right, I do not complain. I have some education, Mr. Washington," she said to me, "and I will go where it may be useful. I am going to find people who are so far down that perhaps in some way I can give them a little of what I have learned."

That girl, Anna J. Davis, left Tuskegee, and we lost sight of her for awhile. She went into the black belt of Alabama, and picked out the most hopeless, degraded community in which to do her work. She found the people living from hand to mouth, and they had never been in school but three months. She found the men poverty-stricken and illiterate, and unable to use to advantage what little they had. They mortgaged their crops every year to pay the rents of their hovels. She found the wreck of a log cabin which on infrequent occasions was used as a schoolhouse. That girl took this school as a nucleus. First, she installed herself in this tumble-down log schoolhouse and won the interest and sympathy of the children; but she did not stop here; she went into the homes of these people and met the parents and induced them to come there to a meeting. The girl would sit down, and, in a plain, common-sense manner, teach them enough arithmetic to know the value of their

scant earnings, and to appreciate the folly of their mortgages and improvidence. She taught them a better method of agriculture (for we teach a girl agriculture at Tuskegee); she taught them what to buy and what not to buy, and she went from cabin to cabin to teach by example a better way of living. After she had remained in that community for some months, a few of these people began to build better houses, others began to get out of debt, ceased to mortgage their crops; and the very first year she worked in that community she taught them to build a better schoolhouse, which the next year was added to, and has continued from year to year; and in three or four years there was a frame schoolhouse on the site of the old log wreck, and all the children were going to school eight months a year, instead of practically not at all.

I wish you might have been with me when I last visited that community a year ago, have gone with me into their cottages containing two or three rooms, into their school, their church, and seen the complete revolution wrought in the entire life of the community.

I asked her one morning if she could tell me more in detail how the changes had been made. "I will tell you how I did it," the girl said. Then she showed me an account book, recording that John Jones had contributed 50 cents, another had given a chicken, another a dozen eggs—these things to be sold for the school. The blacks had scraped and saved to put up that frame schoolhouse before bettering their own homes. And then the girl pulled open the door and showed me two bales of cotton, and said: "We have a little cotton plantation of our own. I have closed my school two hours each day," she added, "and together we have cultivated the grounds around the school. That will give you some idea of how these changes have taken place."

And I am glad that we have been wise enough at Tuskegee to do since what we should have done before, present that young woman with her diploma.

**AN ARGUMENT AND A PLEA FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE EXPLOITED PEOPLES OF THE EARTH.**

Portions of an article written by Sixto Lopez and Thomas T. Patterson for the Springfield Republican, and published in the Weekly Republican of May 6, 1904.

The "blessings of civilization," in their application to what are termed

"nature peoples," form a concise, and, in almost every case, a similar history. The "blessings"—in inverted commas, which should not be confused with the real blessings or benefits attendant upon those within the centers of civilization—are the lees of a purer distillation; they are found only in foreign countries, and are bestowed upon those who have no means of comparing the spurious with the real. Their history begins with the discoverer, continues with the missionary and the trader, and ends in the extinction or the subjugation of the nature peoples and the forcible seizure of their territory. A curious blend of religion and rum, of beads and beatitudes, of grace and greed—the decalogue written with the heart's blood of dark men; a picture of mercy seared upon quivering flesh; a proclamation of love that reaches the heart through an opening made with the sword—these are the "blessings of civilization." A curious blend and a tragic inconsistency; they tell of the glories of heaven—and lay hands upon the treasures of earth; they teach the beauty of chastity—and spread unmentionable diseases; they preach the wisdom of temperance—and open saloons at the corner of every street; they proclaim to the "children of nature" that peace is a jewel from heaven—while Krupp and Maxim ride at anchor in the bay! And when the circle of their destruction is complete, the missionary—still unconscious of the wrong he has unwittingly done—seeks for a new sphere of activity; the trader smiles at the planter and speculates upon future increases of profit; while the politician at home, in a burst of post-prandial eloquence, extols the beneficence and profitableness of "manifest destiny!"

Deny it? No one denies it, but those who have commercial or political interests to serve endeavor to place the responsibility upon some irresponsible agency: "It is fate"—"it is destiny"—"it is Providence!" As if every ill, which we try to overcome or eradicate, were not equally attributable to these agencies. But, then, the self-interested apologist is always ready to humbly submit to Providence—when it pays!

The decay and subjugation of the Hawaiian race have been attributed to several causes; but the explanation which is generally accepted, and which serves to still the conscience of all good men who feel an undefined responsibility for the wrong that has been done, is that it is the inevitable result of an inferior race coming in

contact and in racial competition with a superior—an outcome of the law of the survival of the fittest; and that there is therefore no cure, and only a philosophical regret for such a condition in the supposed natural order of things.

This popular misapprehension and misapplication of Darwin's admirable theory is only another evidence of the truth that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. No one will deny that there is a difference between the Anglo-Saxon and the Hawaiian. The one belongs to an advanced, the other to a primitive race. Each has its place in nature, and the two are no more comparable than a musician is comparable with a mechanic. Now please observe, the contest of the survival of the fittest is not between two different races or species, any more than between musician and mechanic; it occurs between individuals of the same species, or between musician and musician. It is because of this that the highest and the lowest forms of life co-exist at the present time, with innumerable intermediate gradations. For the same reason the Indian prince co-exists with the pariah; the competition is not between the two, but between prince and prince, pariah and pariah.

Nevertheless, Darwin's theory is applicable to the Hawaiian situation, but not in the form of a contest between a superior and an inferior race, and not in a manner that will ease the Anglo-Saxon's conscience or prove creditable to his pretensions. Thus, the contest of the survival of the fittest is not only for food and area, but in the avoidance of enemies and beasts of prey. And here we reach the real solution of the Hawaiian problem. It is the beast of prey that has caused the downfall of the Hawaiian. It was not due to the contest of an inferior with a superior race, but to the contact of a primitive race with the poisonous dregs of an advanced race. It was the whaler and the early trader, steeped in rum and lust, that brought disease and devastation to the Hawaiians; and it was the trader and the planter, possessing some of the intellect of the advanced race, but lacking its moral qualities, that continued the work and consummated the final overthrow of this once vigorous people. A superior race indeed! If the Hawaiians had come in contact with such their history would have been very different. A superior race would have healed, not spread disease; it would have protected, not rebuffed its newly-found fellow man; it would have confirmed him in his territorial possessions and given him of its religion, its wisdom, its mor-

ality and its law, protecting him from the vampires of its own race. A superior race would have lived its religion, not merely preached it; its morality would have been of everyday practice, not something merely to point to in a book containing ten commandments. But instead of all this there was the missionary, who, though self-denying and devoted, was usually narrow-minded, without knowledge of the world and its larger problems, and quite unconscious of the mischief he was working. By his "zeal without knowledge," he gained for the white man the confidence of the native population; he unwittingly became the "confidence-man" of the vampire who followed him. The vampire was in turn succeeded by the wolf in sheep's clothing—the "respectable" trader and planter—who scorned to indulge in petty fraud, and so took the whole country, in order that there should be no more defrauding of the natives!

These are the processes which have gone on in Hawaii for the last century, and which are now going on in the eastern and southern seas. In order to succeed in such a contest, the Hawaiians might have had to evolve, not, mark you, a higher or a more moral type, but a new type of vampire—a vampire capable of withstanding rum and the diseases of licentiousness, and an equal or a superior in every form of devilry condemned between Genesis and Revelation! Besides, there is this important point: the contest is never a fair one, for if the vampire be overthrown by the rough-and-ready methods of the primitive race, the advanced race sends a warship to his rescue. The contest might be simplified if the primitive race were allowed to treat the vampire according to his deserts. But although the advanced race will not protect the primitive race from the vampire, it protects the vampire from the primitive race. It is, therefore, not the survival of the fittest, but the survival of the worst, owing to the protection of the strongest.

But in any case, responsibility cannot thus be avoided by an appeal to natural law. Leprosy and smallpox are natural products; do we bow resignedly to Nature in these cases? Do we allow leprosy to wither, and smallpox to run riot, and then wait for the survival of the fittest? Nature might, indeed, evolve a type of being which would be immune to these diseases; it would be the fittest, but would it be the best? We know that it would not necessarily be a high or a moral type,

for the set of conditions which evolve an immune are not the same as those which evolve a moral or an intellectual being. The philosopher and the divine are just as likely to fall a victim to these diseases as are the farm laborer or the burglar. Accordingly, we apply our best energies to isolate, to prevent, to cure and to eradicate disease. But we do not isolate our moral leper; on the contrary, we turn him loose and protect him while he works destruction upon those whose confidence has been gained by missionary enterprise, and by the preaching of a religion, which, if lived, would not result in the extermination of a race or the seizure of its territory.

It is still a far cry to a realization of the great wrong that is being done to primitive peoples; and until the wrong has been realized, and especially by those in high places, there is little hope of salvation from the curse of "the blessings of civilization."

#### MULLIGAN ON PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.

For The Public.

"I see be the Dally Pathriot that Bryan won't endorse Parker's candidacy," remarked Donovan, between the striking of the match and the applying of it to his pipe. Mulligan made no reply.

"Schmeel thinks Bryan is hard to please," Donovan added. Still Mulligan was silent. Donovan puffed industriously for a few moments, and then tried again:

"Parker has a good rippyation; he never done any dirt fo Bryan; he voted for Bryan."

"And ye think it would be the part av an amiable gintleman for Mither Bryan to return the compliment be voting for Mither Parker?" suggested Mulligan.

"I do," answered Donovan.

"So oo I," said Mulligan.

Donovan glanced inquiringly at his friend, but got no satisfaction.

"So you think Bryan ought to support Parker?"

"I do not."

"But ye said—"

"I said it would be the part av an amiable gintleman to return a compliment. But there's such a thing as being too amiable, Donovan. Ye might lend me tin dollars, and ye'd get it back again; but what if I'd lend ye tin dollars?" said Mulligan, with a wink at Flynn.

"If ye'd lend me tin dollars," retorted Donovan, "I'd buy out Flynn's

grocery; an' no man be the name av Mulligan would get any credit at my shtore!"

"Wouldn't ye give me credit to the extint av tin dollars?"

"I would not; nor tin cints!" cried Donovan, puffing hard at his pipe, in keen enjoyment of the banter.

"Did ye ever put any money in the bank, Donovan?"

"More nor ever ye did, begorra!"

"And they tuk good care av ut, an' gave ut back when ye axed for ut?"

"They did; as much as I wanted."

"Did the bank ever return the compliment be axin' ye to take care av any av its money?"

"Never."

"It's a wonder the bank wouldn't do so amiable and gintlemanly a thing by ye, Donovan!"

"But I can get money of the bank be giving security."

"And Parker could 'ave had Bryan's suppoort on those same turrums," exclaimed Mulligan. "Circumstances have made Mither Bryan a principal custodian av the political interests av the American people; and the man to whom he delivers up those interests will have to put up securities, the forfeiture av which would leave him as morally bankrupt as Grover Cleveland has been, from the day that he betrayed the people into the hands of that captain av industrial and commercial piracy, J. Pierpont Morgan! Mither Bryan is a leader among men by virtue av the only 'divine right,' that av dimonshtrated fitness. And wan ilimint av 'is fitness is in the fact that no man nor coterie av men can injuce him to resign his sacred trust to the keeping av a suspicious character—even though that same suspicious character voted for Mither Bryan when he was up for the presidency. The bank is trustworthy because av its caution as to whom it trusts—and so is Bryan!"

"But how does Bryan know that Parker isn't thrustworthy?" persisted Donovan.

"He infers it, from the names attached to his credentials," answered Mulligan: "Grover Cleveland, a political traitor; D. B. Hill, a political hypocrite, who speaks when he thinks he can mislead, and otherwise is still—very still; the Brooklyn Eagle, a 'Democrat' paper that hates the thing from which its false name is derived; these are leading names on Parker's credentials. Grover Cleveland was elected to the presidency on the Democrat ticket, betrayed the party and the people while in office, and fought against it in the last two campaigns.

D. B. Hill deserted his party the moment it became democratic in fact as well as in name. He has been politically dying or dead ever since, though the reorganizers and demoralizers trot out his ghost to scare cowards with now and then. But he's still dead—very dead.

"The signatures to Parker's credentials are enough to discredit a man whose political principles are known and approved; and the gentleman evidently realizes the fact, for he doesn't seem to think it worth while, under the circumstances, to let the public know what he thinks his principles are."

Mr. Smeel, the editor of the local Republican organ, "The Daily Patriot," had entered the store in time to hear Mulligan's last speech, and he now interjected:

"Mister Parker is the chosen candidate of the leading Democratic statesmen of the country, Mister Mulligan, and—"

"Mister Parker is the candidate av a bunch av political bunco-steerers!" retorted Mulligan.

"That's a hard name for a Democrat to apply to an ex-president who was elected to office by the Democrat party," said Smeel.

"Cleveland's character, by any other name, would smell as bad!" retorted Mulligan.

"Why, Mister Mulligan," said Smeel, in a burst of supercilious magnanimity, "even we Republicans, though differing from him, politically, nevertheless hold Mister Cleveland in very high personal esteem."

"That wouldn't condemn him, Mister Smeel," answered Mulligan, "but for the fact that he deserves it!"

Smeel paled (his face did not flush; if he had ever known how to feel shame, he had forgotten it) and he said, deprecatingly:

"Sarcasm isn't argument, Mister Mulligan."

"It's the only kind av argymint that a Republican organ-grinder can comprehend, who has the impudence to seriously propose a candidate for Democratic voters! Mister Cleveland has no call to charge the Republican press wid ingrattichude; it has discharged its obligations to him, to the extent av its ability, for valuable services rendered the Republican party. Mister Cleveland's fate is determined; a man may survive the condemnation of his own party, but not the plaudits of the enemy! A statesman may, through a mistake of judgment, incur the censure av 'is constituents, and surmount the misfortune, if he will; but he cannot

deliberately and persistently betray the confidence of his friends, and, after basking in the exultant approval of the enemy for the third part av a generation, regain his former place."

"You can't win with any other man," said Smeel.

"I think ye're mistaken, Mister Smeel."

"Well, what other man could you stand any show of electing?"

"Theodore Roosevelt."

Smeel seemed puzzled, for a moment, and then said: "You're getting funny, Mulligan."

"Not at all, Mister Smeel," said Mulligan; "democracy and plutocracy are the political principles that are fighting for supremacy; and Cleveland is more emphatically plutocratic than Roosevelt."

"Let me tell ye something, Mister Smeel," continued Mulligan; "those campaigns of education in 1896 and 1900 were not in vain; for, as the result of them, millions of men have learned that party success, at the cost of political principle, would be worse than failure. Millions of men have learned, from the lips of Bryan, and others av 'is kind, the holy lesson that it is better to go down in defeat again and again, and yet again, fighting for righteousness, than to win a partisan success at the sacrifice av essential principles. Those campaigns av education taught us a lesson that the plutocrats little dhreamed of. They have taught us that a party's success means the success av the principles for which the party stands; and henceforth increasing millions av American citizens will scorn anything short av that."

"It's too bad," said Smeel, "that such honest and sincere Democrats as you, Mulligan, cannot see your way clear to follow the really great leaders of your party. Hear what one of them says: 'We are mighty tired of shooting blank cartridges out of flintlock muskets against an enemy armed with Mauser rifles and occupying all the strong positions upon the field of battle.'"

"What is a political battleground composed of?" asked Mulligan.

"Principles, of course," answered Smeel.

"And this great Dimmycrat leader thinks the Raypublicans occupy all the strong positions, in that respect?"

"Exactly," answered Smeel.

"Then what for does 'e want to shoot them?"

"Eh?"

"I say," said Mulligan, "if the Republican party occupies all the strong

positions—the positions that this great Dimmycrat leader wants the Dimmycrats to take—why doesn't 'e step across the line and fight wid those that believe as he does?"

"He might consistently do that," admitted Smeel.

"And he would do that, if 'twas principles he was after," exclaimed Mulligan. "The 'great Dimmycratic leader' that ye have described, Mister Schmeel, looks to me like a sort av popato popgun politician."

"The name of the man that I have quoted is—"

"Howld an! Schmeel," cried Mulligan; "the man's yer frind—don't give 'm away!"

HORACE CLIFTON.

#### WHAT JOSEPH W. FOLK STANDS FOR.

Portions of a speech delivered by Joseph W. Folk in Kansas City, Mo., May 12, 1904, as reported in the Kansas City Journal.

We have passed through one of the fiercest political contests in the history of American politics. This history is not the triumph of a man, but of a principle. The battle has been won by the rank and file—the men in the hills and the hollows—the farmer in the field, the merchant in the country store, the mechanic in the shop. The professional politicians for some reason or other have been strangely blind and impotent in this fight. They did not appreciate the strength of a moral idea.

I have come to-night as a Democrat to talk to Democrats; I have not come to tear down, but to build up; I have not come to divide, but to unite; I have not come to say anything unkind or harsh, but with malice towards none and charity for all, to discuss the principles of true Democracy. The time has now come for Democrats to rally around the old flag, and to present a united front to the opposition. The Frenchman who heard the thunder of the cannon at Austerlitz forgot his hatred of Napoleon, and remembered only the glory of his beloved France. So may all good Democrats, forgetting personal differences, remember only the good of the party and the welfare of the State. As victors we can afford to be generous to our former antagonists and to forget the unkind things they have said, but we cannot honorably give up any of the principles for which we have contended. These principles of right and justice are the foundation of true Democracy. Though the party may sometimes seem to wander away from them, it can only be for a time, until the people rise up, as they have in Missouri, and take control of the party themselves.

The Democratic party has always been equal to every emergency. Take away from the history of the United States the history of the Democratic party, and there would be little left. The Democratic party in this, the most critical, period of Missouri's history, has boldly and fearlessly taken up the fight for civic honor against sordid greed. The wealth and prosperity of the State cannot be questioned, but the party is now going further than that.

There is more in life for an individual than merely to pile up his gold mountain high. There is more for a State than merely to fill her treasury full to overflowing. There are things the value of which cannot be measured in money. The honor of a man is one thing, and the honor of a State is another. The Democratic party declares that the paramount issue before the people of Missouri is the stamping out of corruption from public life in this State. There may have been as much corruption in other States as in Missouri; there may have been as much venality in other cities as in St. Louis; but it is true that at no time or place in the history of the United States has so much official corruption been uncovered and laid bare as in Missouri. The great Democratic party has made the cure of this corruption an issue, and it invites all the honest and patriotic of all parties to unite with it in bringing about a better condition of affairs in this regard.

Some would have us believe that the Democratic party is responsible for boodling in this State. That, of course, is not true. The Democratic party is not corrupt, though there have been corrupt men in it, and an attack on them is by no means an attack on the party. If a party is liable for the misdeeds of the individual members of that party, then a terrible load is put around the neck of the Republican party in Missouri. The Democratic party is no more responsible for Lee's boodling than the Republican party is for Fratz's boodling. For every Lee in the Democratic party there is a Fratz in the Republican party. The effort to charge the Democratic party with the responsibility for boodling done by members of the party, or to lay at the door of the Republican party the shortcomings of members of that party, is a mere bandying of words and serves no public good. Good citizens should put the welfare of the State above mere party advantage. Let's be just and fair. Neither the Democratic party nor the Republican party is responsible for the existence of boodling in Missouri, but there is honor in store for the party that stamps

it out, and I want my party, the Democratic party, to have that credit.

Some weak-kneed brethren have expressed a fear that exposures of the past two years might hurt the Democratic party, because Democratic rascals, as well as Republican rascals, have been dragged before the bar of justice. I say it is an honor to a party, not a disgrace, to get rid of its rascals. The shame would be in toleration, it is certainly not in correction. The more the Democratic party can show that it does not hesitate to hit corruption and hit it hard, whether in the ranks of the Republican party or in its own ranks, the more deserving it is of public confidence and support. Instead of there being anything in the revelations of the last two years for Democrats to be ashamed of, there is everything for Democrats to be proud of, for the last two years have been the two years of all others that have enabled every Missourian to hold his head higher as a citizen of a State that is taking the lead in the fight for good government now being made all over this land of ours. From Missouri the patriotic idea has spread from city to city, and State to State, until now every city is waging war against corrupt officials and every State is fighting the powers of evil. All are following in the lead of the Democratic party of Missouri, which has stamped the Missouri idea of unrelenting exposure and punishment of the givers and takers of bribes on the minds of all mankind. There is nothing in this for Democrats to be ashamed of; there is everything for Democrats to be proud of. There has been boodling in the Democratic party and there has been boodling in the Republican party, but the Democratic party has shown it will not tolerate boodling, and what will the Republican party do? I do not like to hear it said that there have been so many Democratic boodlers and so many Republican boodlers, for, after all, a boodler belongs to no party; he is a partisan only to give him further opportunity for plundering. He is a Democrat or a Republican, merely as a cloak to his villainy. I say the boodler is not a Democrat, he is not a Republican; he is a criminal, and he ought to be treated as such by all political parties. The boodler is first of all a corruptionist, and it will be found that the boodlers who have been wearing the Democratic livery will this fall unite with the boodlers who wear the Republican livery in an effort to obtain political control of the State. It is time for all good citizens to combine to oppose them. Let it be a combat against wrong; of decency against indecency; honesty against dishonesty, if you please.

Boodle is an issue in Missouri, and the Democratic party has the anti-boodle side. Boodlers do not care anything for your laws, so long as they control your politics. They do not know good from bad; all they know is politics. But they do know good politics from bad politics. Teach them that boodling is bad politics, and you will do more to eradicate bribery in Missouri than could be done by putting a hundred men behind prison walls. Do not forget that in fighting corruption the ballot is more effective than the prison. The remedy for corruption is in the hearts of the people. Penitentiaries might be filled with boodlers, yet if the people be indifferent and the public conscience asleep, corruption would flourish. If, on the other hand, the people are aroused to the enormity of the offense that if tolerated destroys civic life, and will express themselves in the drastic form of a ballot, boodling will be stopped even though none gets behind prison walls. They do not fear the penitentiary so much—they hope to escape that by hook or crook or technicality; but they know they cannot get away from the wrath of an outraged public. They may view with indifference indictments of grand juries, but they tremble as they hear the distant thunder of the people's indignation. So with boodling as an issue, and by a plain vote of the people of the State on this issue the foot of public opinion will be put upon the neck of the monster of bribery in this great commonwealth.

There is one thing certain, and I want you to understand this—that if I knew I could get the governorship by compromising with undesirable elements or by giving up any of the principles that I have been advocating, and if I knew that without this I could not get it, I would not have it.

I have been fighting bosses, and I do not propose to take the place of those who have been dethroned. The people should be the only boss in the Democratic party. They can be depended upon to settle all questions and to settle them right.

If I am made governor, the first legislator who takes a bribe will find a message to the general assembly demanding his impeachment. The first rumor of bribery around Jefferson City will be answered by an investigation, thorough and complete, if I have to conduct it myself. I propose to stamp out bribery from legislative halls. It can be done and will be done. The first legislator who accepts a railroad pass, so long as the laws remain as they are now, will be faced by an indictment for his violation of the statutes of the State.

and the constitution of the commonwealth. In investigating State corruption I have found that the most insidious form of bribery is the railroad pass. If a legislator accepts a pass he puts it in the knowledge of the representative of the railroad that he has violated the law and is subject to indictment. If the legislator after that hesitates to do what the representative of the railroad wants him to do, it has only to be suggested that the number of his pass might be published, and the legislator will bow his head and, like the galley slave scourged to his dungeon, do his master's bidding.

I do not propose that a corrupt lobby shall operate in Jefferson City and will drive the corrupt lobby from the State capitol. If any bill is passed for sand-bagging purposes or by the use of money I shall not hesitate to veto it. I will not permit railroads to make the legislature merely a tool to corporate interests. I shall see that railroads and all other interests, as well as individuals, are treated fairly and justly. They, as well as individuals, shall have all the rights that the law accords to them, but no more. They shall have equal and exact justice, but no special privileges. I propose further to put an end to that Indian business in Kansas City and St. Louis. Every Democrat, whether he be for the machine or against the machine, every Republican, every Populist, every Socialist, every man of every party and of no party, shall have the right to go to the polls and vote just as he pleases without interference and without being slugged by a lot of ruffians. I want to make the ballot in Missouri honest and free; I want political liberty to reign supreme in this State; and to that end the police shall be taken out of politics, and politicians will not be allowed to wear blue coats and brass buttons. The cities shall have more home rule and less police rule.

There are some who seem to fear for Democratic success because they say that boodlers are going to bolt. I say that is just what I want them to do, and for every boodler vote we lose there will be gained ten honest and patriotic Republican and independent votes. Honesty is the best politics, as well as the best policy; the trouble has been that professional politicians have not recognized the truth of this. They have been astounded as this movement has swept from one end of the State to the other with cyclonic force. They have had no conception of the strength of a moral idea, and have failed to perceive the moral sentiment in the hearts of the people. There has been too much

attempt at conciliation of corrupt elements. If they had been run out of the party long ago, an appeal to the honesty of the people would have brought a response giving ten where one would have been lost.

The people have spoken, the battle has been won; the white flag of surrender is waving from the ramparts of the opposition. When we reflect upon the conditions that existed a few months ago, the present situation seems marvelous indeed. Then on the other side were all the great corporations of the State, all the professional politicians and a gigantic political machine entrenched behind 30 years of unbroken victories. It seemed a hopeless task to think of overcoming that mighty array of wealth and political power. Some of you thought that it could not be done. But on our side we have had the people and we have had the right. Right will in the end always be triumphant. There is no force, there is no power in all this world that can successfully contend against right, for

Right is right,  
Since God is God,  
And right the day must win.

"You teach too much arithmetic," said a Japanese visitor to an American school. "In Japan we teach our children manners, then we teach them morals; after that we teach them arithmetic, for arithmetic without manners and morals makes men and women sordid."—The Youth's Companion.

BOOKS

A POLITICAL DRAMA.

If the author of "Young America in the Hands of His Friends" (by Arthur W. Sanborn; James H. West Company, Boston, 75 cents) knew his meters better he might have made his clever effort much more effective with a larger circle of readers. He seems to trust entirely to his ear, which is dangerous unless one's ear is rarely perfect. As it is, many of his lines are only prose, and would please better by being printed so. Occasionally so very slight a change would make a line smooth, that it is hard to understand what perversity prevented him. Take at random the line—

And plain enough to anyone but a heathen,  
is it not plain enough that the omission of the useless word "one" would have made a better verse?

But there are some strong lines and passages, and the book is quite worth reading, if one does not expect too much in the way of meter and dramatic action. The principal characters are Young America, John Bull, Mr. Monopoly, Col. Gorgon (Roosevelt), Senator Jingo and

Miss Empire. Some of the satire is good, and Col. Gorgon is well touched off.

The following, on the colonel's round of public speaking, applies to other orators than him, and is a satire on popular audiences as well as popular speakers:

FIFTH SECRETARY.  
It's a fact, the Colonel far surpassed me,  
SENATOR JINGO.  
He advanced better arguments?  
FIFTH SECRETARY.  
Not an argument, not one.  
SECOND SECRETARY.  
Solid facts?  
FIFTH SECRETARY.  
No, he contradicted 'em.  
FIRST SENATOR.  
New Ideas?  
SECOND SENATOR.  
Come, you know better than that.  
FIRST SECRETARY.  
Jokes, perhaps.  
FIFTH SECRETARY.  
You're all wrong.  
FIRST SENATOR.  
I give it up.  
SECOND SENATOR.  
Come, now, what was it?  
FIFTH SECRETARY.

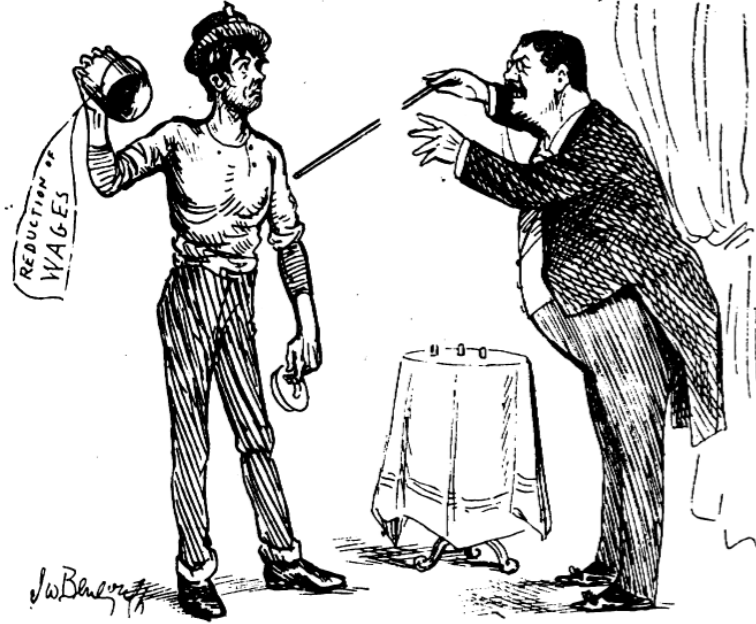
Proverbs!  
Such as: Be good, and you'll be strong; be strong, and you'll be good; or, be both good and strong. The agitators might out-argue arguments, outquote statistics, or outjoke the jokes, but they can't down the proverbs.

The following episode related in the speech of the War Correspondent will be readily recognized:

Now Fustian, closely squatted in the swamp,  
Assayed his wits, and soon this plan devised:  
First he laid off his khaki uniform  
And donned the native garb; then he concealed  
His sword behind him, in his right hand held,  
And, like a fearless lion stepping forth,  
He cried out: Amigo, a friend! a friend!  
Straightway she rose and welcomed his approach.  
With friendly salutation he drew near  
And begged a portion of the scant repast.  
A stratagem! When Filipino turned  
And stooped down to the basket at her feet,  
Quick as a flash he seized her by the hair.  
And, brandishing his sword, with joyful shouts—  
Reechoed 'round the world from sea to sea—  
He dragged her, walling, to captivity.  
Heroic man! The earth's declining years  
Shake off their weakness, and the fire of fame  
Once more burns brightly, by a Fustian stirred!  
As denouement, Young America, overcome with conflicting sentiments, falls asleep at a ball in honor of Miss Empire, and before him appear the warning shades of Old America and the empires of the past, urging—  
To pause and meditate these many ills  
Before you fill up your allotted page  
And blot your future with calamity.  
J. H. DILLARD.

PERIODICALS.

The New York Independent of the 28th puts forth a collection of Herbert Spencer's unpublished letters on the Henry George controversy. Another collection on the same subject is to appear in the Independent's issue of June 2. Readers of George's works will recognize these letters as referring to his "A Repressed Philosopher." They are Mr. Spencer's reply to the book,



THE FAKER EXPOSED.

Coal Miner—Go on, professor. I'm waitin' for a full dinner-pail. What's wrong? Bryan is dead, Johnson is snowed under—why can't you do the trick?

and as such will be considered editorially in The Public in due time.

"Successward," a new magazine published by the Success Club of the Y. M. C. A., of San Antonio, Texas, and edited by E. G. Le Sturgeon, presents in its first number an article on Helen Keller, by Wm. J. Bryan. Among the other contributors are Orison Swett Marden, Louis F. Post and Paul H. Scholz.

People who are following the war news would be interested in an article by Angus Hamilton in the last fortnightly. The article was of course written before the recent operations of the land forces, and yet he argues that Russia's proper plan was to do precisely what seems to have been done, namely, to fall back, with occasional stubborn contests. "It would simplify," he says, "the position of Russia, and endow her arms with their sole prospect of success if she could bring herself to evacuate her position in the Liaoning peninsula and fall back in successive

stages upon the pivot of her interior lines." Perhaps there is method in her retreats and defeats. Napoleon found it so. J. H. D.

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EWING & RING, ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS, HOUSTON, TEXAS. Presley K. Ewing, Henry F. Ring

FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHER, COUNSELLOR AT LAW, BENNETT BLDG., 99 Nassau St., Borough of Manhattan, Tel. Call, 4834 (Cortlandt), Rooms 1011-1012, NEW YORK.

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PUBLIC NOTICE is hereby given that at a special meeting of the stockholders of the American Bank Service company (a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Illinois) held at the office of said corporation in the City of Chicago, Illinois, on the 25th day of April, A. D. 1904, at the hour of seven o'clock p. m., pursuant to notice duly given, the amount of the common capital stock of said corporation was increased from \$36,000 to \$37,500, and the amount of the preferred capital stock of said corporation was increased from \$4,000 to \$12,500; the name of said corporation was changed to that of "Foyer Manufacturing Company," and the object for which said corporation was formed was changed so as to read as follows: "The object for which this corporation is formed is to manufacture bank, office and stationery articles and specialties and all other articles and specialties, and to sell the articles so manufactured." That the certificates of such changes have been filed in the office of the Secretary of State of the State of Illinois, and in the office of the Recorder of Deeds in the county of Cook, in the State of Illinois, as provided by law.

AMERICAN BANK SERVICE CO., M. J. FOYER, Secretary, By C. L. Moulton, President. Chicago, May 10th, 1904.