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8th Year. No. 336 CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1905 Price 5 Cents

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 386

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1905.

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## EDITORIAL

### Japan's demand for compensation.

If Japan, the youngest of the nations in point of Occidentally acknowledged civilization, is making a barbarous demand of Russia for "blood money," let it not be forgotten in her exculpation that she has her example in Germany, one of the oldest of the Occidental family of civilized nations. Did not Germany exact blood money of France?

### A certain moderation.

The Charleston News and Courier, commenting on President Roosevelt's speech at Chautauqua, sees clearly enough through the words, and entitles its editorial, "Temporizing with Crime." In a careful analysis the writer shows that the essence of the speech means just what this title says. Mr. Roosevelt himself said, that "the government has very properly exercised moderation in attempting to enforce the criminal provisions of the statutes." The News and Courier is one the few papers in the country that have called attention to the remarkable fact that the Chief Executive continually says that the laws are being violated and yet confesses to a policy of temporizing.

### Divine right and Norway.

Later dispatches indicate that the great Norwegian, Bjornsterne Bjornson, has not been guilty, as the earlier ones reported him, of advocating a monarchy. It is probable that he simply bowed to what may have seemed to be inevitable. According to a dispatch in the Springfield Republican, "he opposed the action of the Storthing, whereby Norway was put in the position of remaining a monarchy in order to appease the European monarchies instead of being free to establish a republic." It would be interesting to know the secret negotiations that have been at work, endeavoring to prevent the establishment of another republic in Europe. Our "great and good friend," William of Germany, has doubtless had a hand in the business. If Hohenzollerns have a divine right over Germans, there must be some royal family divinely destined for the lordship of Norwegians.

### The London Times on Henry George.

The London Times is editorially disgusted with Tolstoy, whose letter on the land question (p. 311) it first gave to the world. It thinks the letter "a crude reproduction of the belated and exploded theories of Henry George." The Thunderer must have been short of adjectives. For "belated" though Henry George's theories may be, no one of intelligence really thinks them "exploded." One might ask for the man or the book that has "exploded" them, and ask in vain. Nowhere in literature is there a reply to George which explodes his theories regarding land tenures. As to his correlative theories on taxation, is it not somewhat presumptuous for British papers to sneer at them as "exploded," at a time when many Australian municipalities are putting them into successful practice (p. 290), when British cities by the score are petitioning Parliament to allow them to follow this example, when Liberal leaders are bluntly declaring for them, when the per centage of Conservative members of Parliament favoring the reform is so strong that the Ministry dare not openly oppose it and it passes (p. 72) the Commons on a test vote, and when the British congress of cooperative societies (p. 218) endorses it? "Belated," truly, are George's theories; but "exploded," when and where and how?

### Mayor Schmitz and the San Francisco grand jury.

A grand jury of San Francisco is reported through the press to have denounced Mayor Schmitz as "a grafter, a protector of vice, and a conniver at criminals." This grand jury, according to the same newspaper reports, had been in session for eight months and in that time had made much trouble for the city administration. Now, we confess to utter ignorance as to the truth of those accusations. Mayor Schmitz may be as black as they paint him. But when a grand jury accuses any man of crime, as this grand jury accuses him, yet does not indict him so that he may be put upon trial where he can defend himself subject to punishment, its good faith should be viewed with grave suspicion. When an eight-months' grand inquest ends on the eve of an election with accusations of crime against the leading candidate of a party to whom the grand inquisitors are politically hostile, and its accusations are presented in such irresponsible form that they cannot be tried in open court, the reasonable presumption is that the presentment is made not so much in the interest of good government as to serve a campaign purpose.

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**Protecting American industry.**

A jewelry house in lower New York recently advertised a question-and-answer explanatory of a peculiarity in its business methods. "Why do we import American watches from London?" was the question; and this was the answer: "Because American watches are sold in London cheaper than in the towns where they are manufactured; and we have secured a large consignment which we are offering at 25 per cent. less than it is possible to buy them elsewhere in the United States." This house must have played a trick upon the protected watch industry similar to that played some years ago upon the protected wire nail trust. But hasn't the explanation a tendency to make the dupes of protection search their brain cells? If watches made in America can be taken to London, brought back to the United States, and then retailed at 25 per cent. less than watches bought directly from the American factory, how are American watch makers protected? Do they get any higher wages for making watches that are sold at home than for those that are exported? If not, who gets the difference between the factory price of watches sold dear for home consumption and that of watches sold cheap for foreign consumption?

---

**Making reciprocity faces at protection.**

American protectionists fondly believe that Protection is a modern American idea and that Reciprocity is a recent "Iowa idea," traditionally associated with the memory of James G. Blaine. But, bless them, this protection controversy, with its reciprocity attachment, long antedates their solicitude for American industry. Without going any farther back or away than to England in the '40's, we shall find the subject under heated discussion. And then and there, as now and here, the plutocrats and their dupes were protectionists, while free traders who dared not come out for free trade went in for reciprocity. If you wish to know how the "gabfest" ran along, read Thackeray's "Club Snobs" in his Book of Snobs:

> As I came into the coffee-room at the "No Surrender," old Jawkins was holding out to a knot of men who were yawning, as usual. There he stood, waving the Standard, and swaggering before the fire.
>
> "What," said he, "did I tell Peel last year? 'If you touch the corn laws, you touch the sugar question; if you touch the sugar, you touch the tea. I am no monopolist; I am a liberal man, but I cannot forget that I stand on the brink of a precipice; and if we are to have Free Trade, give me Reciprocity.' And what was Sir Robert Peel's answer to me? 'Mr. Jawkins,' he said—"
>
> Here Jawkins's eye suddenly turning on your humble servant, he stopped his sentence with a guilty look, his stale old stupid sentence, which every one of us at the Club has heard over and over again.

"Stale old stupid sentence," indeed. As old as Thackeray, as stale as plutocracy, as stupid as protection.

---

We had it all over again at the national reciprocity conference (p. 309) at Chicago last week. The delegates to this conference were protectionists, so they declared; but they were for as much reciprocity as is consistent with protection, however much that may be. The simon pure protectionists didn't think the two consistent at all, and they said so, stigmatizing their reciprocity brethren as disguised free traders. The lumber men didn't think reciprocity consistent with protection if the tariff on lumber was to be affected, nor the steel men if reciprocity was to be exacted of them. This reciprocity conference ran up against the protective principle of the member of Parliament from the herring fishery district in Peel's time, who agreed to Peel's free-trade policy—except as to the herring product of foreign pauper labor. They could not agree even upon reciprocity, and had to accept the "dual tariff" device. By that device Congress would specify maximum and minimum tariffs, and the Executive would bargain with foreign countries for reciprocity within those limits.

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This kind of legislation is vicious. It is worse than protection, if anything within the power of Congress can be worse. But the general exporting interests of the country have been driven into an economic corral by the Dingley law, that perfect model of protectionism, and they must do something for their own salvation. American protectionism has reversed the free trade tendencies of the world, by inciting trading nations to retaliate; and the effects of their retaliation are now so keenly felt by American trading interests that these wish to conciliate. But they fear the protection fetish. Whatever they do they must offer burnt sacrifices to him and pretend to worship at his shrine. So, protesting their loyalty to the fetish, they ask for reciprocity through "dual tariffs." As long as they maintain this attitude, American business interests—domestic as well as foreign—will progressively suffer. Protection does not and cannot be made to operate fairly. To the extent that it is one man's meat it is some other man's poison, and no dual tariff or other reciprocity device can alter this fact. The man to whom protection is meat, may be made to change places with the one to whom it is poison; but trade equilibrium under protection is impossible. Reciprocity is nothing but little free trade holes punched here and there through a protection wall in order to make trade fair. But under a system which is in its nature unfair, these free trade holes can make trade fair only in slight degree at best. The only fair trade is free trade.

---

**Judge Baker's significant decision.**

The severity of the blow that Mayor Dunne has dealt the traction-grabbing interests of Chicago, with his "contract plan" for securing municipal ownership and operation of traction service and putting the traction pirates out of business, has been evident from the behavior of their touters in many ways, but in nothing plainer than in the eagerness with which they have welcomed the startling decision rendered last week by

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Judge Baker, of Indianapolis. Judge Baker appears to have decided that a gas company which has a franchise from Indianapolis, one of the conditions of which is that the company shall turn its plant over to the city upon being fairly compensated, cannot be compelled to perform its contract in this respect because it owes a superior obligation to the State to continue its functions as a chartered corporaton until the expiration of its corporate charter. The decision is doubtless well calculated to give aid and comfort to the public service pirates of all cities and States. Quite in the order of things, too, is it that it should have been so calculated; for the judge who rendered it is one of that large class of Federal judges who acquired their legal skill in the service of public service corporations, where the law is apt to take on a plutocratic discoloration. But whether this Indiana decision is only corporation law, or is what the older lawyers called "good law," and whether or not it may be a troublesome precedent for cities which, like Indianapolis, have no statutory right to take over such public service functions as the distribution of gas and the operation of street cars, the situation in Chicago is unaffected by it. For not only has Chicago the statutory right to take over such functions, but a variety of other differences in local circumstances render the Indianapolis precedent inapplicable to Chicago. Yet this very reason makes even more significant the activity with which the touters for the Chicago traction interests have exploited the Indianapolis case. Dunne's "contract plan" hurts them; it is the only official move that ever has hurt them; and they are eager to get it out of the way. For the first time, they are disturbed in their minds.

---

**The passing of pass bribery.**

Opposition to railroad-pass bribery has become so prevalent that it is difficult to realize to-day how heartily the press of two years ago laughed at Congressman Robert Baker for refusing one of these bribes. "It will be a cause of wonder to the future historian," observes the Chicago Tribune of the 21st, "that a self-respecting people should have allowed this pass evil to persist year after year and decade after decade, when its corrupting purpose and effect were recognized and admitted." A more insidious species of bribery was never invented. If an official takes the bribe, a channel of corrupt communication is thereby opened, which may or may not be utilized, as circumstances dictate; if he refuses this overture quietly, he is "spotted" by corporation tools as probably unapproachable and certainly not friendly, and secretly he is suppressed. The only way in which the pass bribery system could have been exposed and broken up was that which Congressman Baker adopted. By making as notorious as possible his refusal to accept a pass which most Congressmen did accept, and the others refused quietly, he called public attention the country over to the abuse; and when public attention was centered upon it its doom was sealed. The public official—legislator, administrator or judge—who now accepts a railroad pass, places himself under a just suspicion of holding corrupt confidential relations with railroad corporations.

## THE RIGHTS OF PERIODICALS.

Among the perils to American liberty, none more serious can be named than that arising from the insidious encroachments of the bureaucracy in control of the Post Office Department. The revelations of graft and robbery, which have aroused so much popular indignation, are but trifling ills, when compared to the deliberate misuse of the post office in order to check the free expression of ideas. Free speech is our greatest safeguard; and with the loss of it, all our liberties are doomed. Few of the people have yet realized the serious assault on their own freedom involved in the recent policy of the Post Office Department with regard to periodical literature. It is not a mere matter involving the interest of a few publishers, but an issue of vital concern to all. The facts which follow deserve the closest attention.

---

The truth may be best served by a somewhat close examination of the current annual report of Edwin C. Madden, Third Assistant Postmaster General, the chief agent of the restrictive policy of the past few years. If his attempted defence breaks down, those who would decimate our periodical literature will not easily find another champion.

The report in question contains a remarkable discussion of second-class mail matter—remarkable alike for what it says, and for what it significantly omits to say. On pages 24-36, Mr. Madden is at great pains to point out the confusion of law regarding the qualifications of this class of mail matter, and the various rates to which it is subject. To take the latter topic first, the report shows that a publication entered as second-class mail matter may be subject to no less than seven distinct rates, according to the conditions under which it is mailed. Says Mr. Madden at page 25:

> The difficulties and perplexities of publishers in arranging their business and mailings, and the corresponding difficulties of postmasters and other postal officials in endeavoring to administer these numerous and involved rates, will be manifest. Nor would it be difficult to imagine what a great improvement in the way of simplification would result to the postal system by substituting for this confused patchwork one or two flat rates based upon differences in the classes, inherent in them and independent of the accidents of time, place and manner of printing and publication. Under this system of rates and conditions disputes are constantly arising which must be settled by the Department, and the settlements are frequently attended with friction. This multiform classification of rates is a relic of the days when the postal business was in a more or less primitive state. In this day of business methods in government service the lack of simplicity and uniformity is keenly felt.

Several striking illustrations are given, which need not here be repeated. "If similar conditions," the report adds, "existed with regard to rates upon letters and other classes of mail matter, the

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state of the postal service could be easily imagined."

But still worse is to come. "When we turn from them [the rates] to the law governing the preliminary question whether a publication is of the class entitled to such rates at all, we find that the difficulty and perplexities in respect of rates, pale into insignificance." Accordingly we find that in defining the requirements for second-class entry, "Congress dealt in terms having no precise legal signification." The whole matter is in a state of inextricable confusion; and until Mr. Madden appeared as a deus ex machina, no living man durst be so rash as to define the terms qualifying a publication to admission at "this highly favored rate." When, however, our present energetic Third Assistant appeared on the scene, a new era dawned. The Augean stables of abused privileges must be cleansed; and the Hercules of the Post Office Department proceeded to turn a torrent of rulings and decisions upon them. Out went the books hitherto published as "serial libraries," and characterized by Mr. Madden, in an outburst of virtuous indignation, as "the scandal of the service." Just why it should be scandalous to supply the American people with good literature at cheap rates, is nowhere made to appear.

News agents were next stopped from returning unsold copies at the pound rate; and institutions of learning, however valuable their educational service, were ruled out, if their shareholders received any return from their work of public enlightenment. Sample copies were restricted to fifty per cent of the circulation, this ruling being purely inferential, and without the slightest warrant of law.

But the chief fight has been on periodicals assumed by Mr. Madden to be "published primarily for advertising purposes." Here the main cutting and slashing has taken place, with striking results. There being no clear law, Mr. Madden has proceeded to manufacture his own as rapidly as needed. Contrary to a well known legal maxim, every publisher has been presumed guilty until proved innocent. In case of doubt, out went the paper, although a bona fide publication of many years' standing. The obvious policy of the Department, under Mr. Madden, has been to reduce the number of admitted publications to the lowest possible limit. With a sublime self-confidence, he wishes to decide the whole matter himself. After his able presentation of the hopelessly entangled state of the law, he arrives at the "lame and impotent conclusion" that no legislative changes should be made, but that "government by official rulings" is greatly to be preferred to "precise legal signification." Possibly he is right—if Russian institutions are to be preferred to those of America.

---

The alleged motive for the grudging spirit manifested toward the periodical literature of the country is a desire for economy. The second-class matter is gravely charged with creating a continuing deficit in the postal service. Here is the crux of the whole matter; and a heavy burden of proof is laid on the shoulders of those who presume to dissent from Mr. Madden's revolutionary policy. There may be worse curses than a deficit; but, other things being equal, a surplus is much to be desired.

Let us, therefore, take a little look at this spectral deficit. On page 24 of the report under consideration, we are told that second-class matter constitutes "about 70 per cent of the bulk weight of all the mails upon which postage was [is] paid," and yields "about 4 per cent" of the postal revenue. Considered solely from the money standpoint, this, at first, looks bad. It has been said, however, that "while figures never lie, liars often figure." The term of opprobrium is not intended to be applied to Mr. Madden, but merely to express forcibly the fact that statistics frequently require a very searching analysis, before legitimate and unquestionable conclusions can be drawn from them. In the present instance, the figures given are hopelessly inconclusive. The cost of transmitting matter is dependent on many considerations besides that of mere bulk. At every stage of handling and transportation, the labor and expense of receiving, weighing, counting, postmarking, packing, forwarding, recording and otherwise dealing with twenty periodicals is enormously less than that which must be devoted to two hundred letters aggregating the same weight. It may be questioned whether in view of the immense proportion of large and heavy papers and magazines to the whole number, the estimate of ten letters to make up the weight of one periodical is not much too small. A statement of the average weight of each piece of first-class and each piece of second-class matter that circulates through the mails would throw a flood of light on Mr. Madden's otherwise misleading statistics. It is also to be noted (see table, page 39) that nearly one-seventh of all the second-class matter is "mailed free within county of publication." This includes a large percentage of the most bulky newspapers and weekly publications. Even with regard to the remainder, it is a well known fact that the average piece of second-class matter travels a far shorter distance than the average letter, and hence costs less for transportation. As if this were not sufficient, the work of sorting second-class matter is nearly all done by the publishers, thus removing a large item of labor and expense, to which other classes of mail matter are subject. When all these important facts are given full consideration, it is easily seen that Mr. Madden's figures prove absolutely nothing as to the relation between the cost of carrying second-class matter and the revenue received from it. So far from being an object of charity, this class of matter may well claim to be entirely self-supporting.

A very significant confirmation of this conclusion is the fact that the express companies, which are most assuredly not in the charity business, actually underbid the Post Office, and carry periodicals at less than a cent a pound. That this matter pays the cost of its own transportation, is indisputable, since the express companies would otherwise never dream of competing for it. No possible escape from this conclusion can be found, save by veering from Scylla to Charybdis by admitting that the government is so outrageously robbed and cheated in the matter of the rental of railway cars that private express corporations can

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secure lower rates over the railroads. Regarding this matter, neither affirmation nor denial is at present necessary. If it be a truth, the remedy is to defy the railroad lobby at Washington, and to enforce honest and economical agreements in the matter of carrying the mails. If not, there is no possible ground for alleging that the government can lose money by carrying periodical matter at a higher rate than that which the express companies find profitable. Those who join Mr. Madden in the demand that the second-class matter be cut down cannot avoid impaling themselves on one horn or the other of this dilemma.

The positive evidence, however, is not yet exhausted. On page 7 of the report so often cited, the postal deficit is laid wholly to another cause, as expressed in the following significant sentences:

> The increase in the expeditures on account of the Rural Free Delivery service each year for the last three fiscal years approximated the increase in the deficiency in the postal revenue for each of those years.
>
> It is therefore evident that were it not for this extraordinary expenditure on account of the Rural Free Delivery service the postal service would now be about self-sustaining.

Mark this well. Mr. Madden has here forgotten all his diatribes against the unlucky second-class matter. Despite his pruning efforts, the total amount of second-class matter carried during the past year shows (p. 23) an increase of over 64,000,000 pounds. Now where is the correspondingly increased deficit in the postal revenues? Echo sadly answers: "Where?" According to Mr. Madden's own statement, the Rural Free Delivery service is the real sinner; and the increase in second-class matter has drawn nothing from the Treasury.

---

Still more can be proved in favor of this much abused class of mail matter. Its opponents vociferously declare that the burden created by it is borne by the first-class matter, on which a large profit is made, and which brings in the bulk of the postal revenue. That this is a grossly inaccurate claim has already been shown. Assuming its substantial truth, however, it is hard to perceive good faith in the deliberate suppression of the vital fact that every issue of a periodical, sent out at second-class rates, initiates the circulation of a large amount of the highly profitable first-class matter, which would otherwise never appear in the mails. This includes not merely letters from remitting subscribers, but numerous communications relative to the editorial department, publisher's announcements, manuscripts sent and returned, business and editorial correspondence of an extent realized by none who have not sat in the publisher's or the editorial chair, correspondence with advertisers, and above all, the enormous correspondence between advertisers and their customers. It is indeed a notable fact that the very publications chiefly condemned by Mr. Madden, as "published primarily for advertising purposes," are the most profitable of all to the Post Office Department, and earn the so-called "subsidy" of the second-class rate, several times over. That the increase of periodical literature promotes industrial prosperity, by stimulating trade, creating employment, gaining a market for products, and causing a wider circulation of money, is so obvious as to require no demonstration; and the foregoing considerations prove, to the very point of superfluity, that when all things are taken into account, the Post Office Department, far from losing money, is actually the gainer in dollars and cents, by the most liberal extension of "this highly favored rate" to periodical publications.

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It is, however, wrong to rest the matter on the comparatively low ground of commercial advantage. Even were it true that some form of statistical juggling could reduce a clear gain to a heavy loss, the strongest reasons exist for regarding this as the last place for retrenchment. The people of the United States can afford to take higher ground. They have never grudged money for educational purposes; and as long as the value of intelligence to good citizenship is recognized, it is certain that they never will. The rapid growth of periodical publications in this country is an admirable token of alert and open minds. The great need of civilization is individualized thinking; and there can be no more effective agencies for the diffusion of thought than an independent press and the wide circulation of periodical literature. The widely divergent standpoints of the different publications force the mind out of its ruts of thought and compel continual readjustment. A literary taste is encouraged, and becomes, in varying degrees, the property of the whole people. Knowledge, in every department, is spread broadcast over the land. What our public schools do in part, during a few years of the child's life, the newspapers and magazines are doing all the time for the adult. If there is any feature of American life which deserves the strongest possible encouragement, it is this. Corruption and vice shrink back from the calcium light of publicity; while all that is high and honorable is immeasurably strengthened by it.

While every great Department of the Federal government demands and receives many millions of dollars annually, which are returned to the people in service, not in cash, it is amazing that men should be found to declare that the Post Office, the mighty instrument for the transmission of intelligence, is a failure, if it be not kept self-supporting. The cost of one battle ship, the utility of which is wholly problematical, amounts to the entire postal deficit of last year. The people of the United States can far better afford money for instructive, than for destructive purposes.

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From yet another point of view, the efforts of Mr. Madden to curtail second-class matter are fraught with the gravest perils to the liberties of our people. The power assumed by the Department of continually framing new rulings, in order to cut down the number of admitted publications, invests Post Office officials with an autocratic prerogative impossible to reconcile with democratic ideals. Government by official rulings threatens to become as serious and reprehensible a practice as the much-censured "government by injunction." The assumption of legislative functions by executive departments strikes at the root of the fundamental safe-

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guards of a Federal republic. No matter how extreme or how well deserved our confidence in our public officers, no thoughtful American can give his assent to the proposition that they be invested with the irresponsible functions of a Russian bureaucrat.

Even with the most honest-intentioned officials, the power of discriminating between periodicals, in the absence of fixed legislative provisions, is almost certain to be misapplied. It is well nigh impossible not to be swayed by prejudice in applying what Mr. Madden calls the "purely ideal considerations," by which the fate of a paper is to be arbitrarily determined. Mr. Madden himself, however careful he may have endeavored to be, has by no means escaped the charge of unfair partiality. Take, for example, the case of Wilshire's Magazine, a periodical of a literary and socialistic tendency. This publication was denied second-class rates, on the peculiar ground that it advertised the ideas of its editor! In spite of its large list of bona fide subscribers, and the clearest evidence that it contained no more self-laudation (an offence not recognized by any law bearing on the subject) than dozens of other highly respected publications, the Department was adamant to argument and appeal. Thereupon the editor quietly took his magazine to Canada, where he experienced no difficulty in securing its entry. The sequel is even more extraordinary. After about three years, a New York printer, desiring to secure the job of printing the magazine, asked Senator Platt to use his influence to have it entered as second-class matter in the United States. The influence of the "Easy Boss" was at once successful, securing in an hour what years of petition and demonstration had failed to accomplish. This can hardly be regarded as a healthy or ideal state of affairs. If Mr. Madden can lay himself open to so serious a charge of abuse of his assumed judicial function, what might be expected of a less conscientious official? Who does not see the tremendous possibilities of discrimination on religious or political grounds? The opportunities for arbitrary partiality are so immense, that no mere money scandal can compare with the mischief of thus tampering with the free expression of public opinion.

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A strange feature of the recent Department policy has been the refusal to give specific rulings or to answer questions, which would enable legitimate publishers to make sure of complying with the law as interpreted by the Post Office officials. Lucifer, of Chicago, was notified that it carried too much personal advertising, and must show cause why its second-class privilege should not be taken from it. To the request of the publisher for a decision as to how large a proportion of personal advertising would be allowed, the answer was made that the Department refused to rule on the subject. The unfortunate publisher was simply called on to conform to an unknown standard existing solely in the mind of Mr. Madden. Few despots have ever gone so far as this. While ignorance of law is held to excuse no one, the law must at least exist in some accessible form. Except in the most violent tyranny, no man has ever been punished for violating the terms of a secret edict, which has never left the closet of the autocrat who drew it up. To term such a monstrous injustice unconstitutional, is to use a very mild term. More than one publisher has complained of a similar experience. The standard, which must be obeyed by instinct, without being known, is evidently an elastic one, since the Delineator, using seventy pages of a single issue to describe and advertise the patterns made by the firm issuing the periodical, as clearly for "advertising purposes" as any of the papers Mr. Madden has attacked on this pretext, has never had the slighest trouble with the authorities. The Demonstrator, entered at Lakebay, Wash., was notified that its exchanges formed too large a percentage of its circulation list. An inquiry as to what percentage would be deemed "legitimate" was met with a refusal to give any information. The publisher must guess at it, under the penalty of losing his privilege if he happens to guess incorrectly, in a matter in no way defined by law, and depending on the mere whim of a single individual. This extraordinary method of suspending a sword of Damocles above the heads of publishers, who ask nothing better than to obey the strictest letter of the law, hardly falls under any recognized principle of jurisprudence.

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Another apparent indication of bad faith is an unwillingness to make the obvious application of judicial decisions. For example, The Pocket Life, a quarterly manual of railroad information, being denied second-class rates, took the matter to the Supreme Court, and secured a favorable decision. The Department, however, refused to reinstate other periodicals clearly comprehended in the language of the Court, unless each one of them should make a separate appeal, and win its case. It is hard to escape the conclusion that this mode of procedure denotes an animus against periodical literature, rather than a simple desire to ascertain and administer the actual law on the subject. Obviously, the great expense of an appeal to the Supreme Court could not be borne by the less wealthy publishers, and would have the effect of barring them from the mails, contrary to their legal rights, regardless of the merits of the case.

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Another blow to the less heavily capitalized publications is dealt by a policy of extreme delay in the announcement of decisions. The poor publisher, delayed from month to month by petty objections, pretences of insufficient information on trivial points, and long intervals of unexplained silence, finds the required advance of a cent an ounce for each issue too great a drain to be borne for five or six consecutive months, and gives up in despair, accepting the loss of the money already paid in. The rich publisher can afford to endure these unreasonable delays; the poor publisher cannot, especially when the uncertainty of ultimate admission is so great. Here is a glaring discrimination on the worst possible basis, if not deliberately intended as such, at least having that effect, and open to reasonable suspicion.

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There are yet deeper issues, which may well be considered as at stake in this matter. Progress

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and civilization depend largely on opening all the avenues of expression, to the minority as well as the majority, to the poor as well as the rich, to the radical as well as the conservative. The one thing which a nation cannot afford to do is to curtail free speech. No pretext, however plausible, is capable of justifying an attempt to undermine this main stronghold of liberty. If the legislative and judicial functions are to be usurped by executive officials, power is dangerously concentrated; and abuses are inevitable under even the most honest administration. If corruption be superadded, as is too often the case, in spite of all safeguards, no man's rights are secure. The specious plea of economy being admitted, and little publicity being possible, it is fatally easy for an official clique to juggle with the second-class matter in such a way as practically to strangle the expression of unpopular or independent opinion. What more simple method could be devised by a self-perpetuating political ring, in order to make truckling sycophancy the price of admission to the mails, and exposure of rascality an offence visited with speedy vengeance? These lines do not charge Mr. Madden with any such criminality. It is sufficient to point out that the policy of which he is the conspicuous exponent is pregnant with the deadliest peril to American institutions, and that the petty peculations of Beavers and Machens sink into insignificance in comparison with the gigantic evils certain to flow from a postal autocracy. May the good judgment of all the people avert the disaster.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 24.

**The Norwegian referendum.**

Complete revised returns from the referendum in Norway on the question of separating from Sweden (p. 308) were reported from Christiana on the 17th, as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| For separation | 368,200 |
| Against separation | 184 |
| Majority for separation | 368,016 |

As the total vote at the elections of 1903 was 457,551, the majority for separation noted above is approximately 80 per cent of the entire voting population.

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When the Storthing met on the 21st, the Ministry offered a proposal to communicate the result of the referendum to the Swedish government and ask it to accept the abrogation of the act of union and to cooperate in negotiations for a pacific settlement of the questions connected with the separation. The proposal was resisted by the Socialist members, though upon what ground does not clearly appear in the dispatches; but it was adopted on the 22d by the vote of 104 to 11, and the Ministry was empowered to appoint delegates to conduct the negotiations.

**The Russian national assembly.**

The long expected call by the Czar of Russia of a national assembly (p. 308) was promulgated on the 19th. The assembly is distinguished as the Douma. It is to be composed of 412 delegates from all the 50 departments of Russia and the military province of the Don, and is to meet by the middle of January next. Finland, Poland and the Caucasus are excluded. So are cities in which Jews are in the majority; and as Jews are not allowed to live in the country, where the peasants are to be represented indirectly through local bodies, the Jews get no representation at all. The popular suffrage for delegates is based upon property qualifications which extensively disfranchise the working classes. Five years is the term of the Douma, subject however to prior dissolution in the discretion of the Czar. It is designed to be only a consultative body, the powers of the Czar remaining absolute, and is to constitute the lower house of a legislature of which the present Council of the Empire is to be the upper house. Legisative measures within the scope of the Douma's consideration are limited to the following subjects:

Questions relating to new laws or to the modification, amplification, or temporary suspension or repeal of existing laws, and also relating to appointments made on the staff of ministers and the expenditures thereby involved; departmental, ministerial, and national budgets, and expenditures not provided therein; the financial report of the controller of the Empire; the expropriation of any portion of the public revenues or property; the construction of railways by the government; questions regarding the organization of stock companies, involving exceptions from existing legislation; and matters submitted by Imperial decree.

Bills passing the Douma must also pass the Council and be approved by the Czar. The only check upon the absolutism of the Czar that appears from the dispatches is a provision that any legislative decree shall be inoperative if rejected by a two-thirds vote of the Douma and also a two-thirds vote of the Council.

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In his manifesto proclaiming the constitution of this national assembly the Czar announces that the time has come—

to summon elected representatives from the whole of Russia to take constant and active part in the elaboration of the laws, thereby attaching to the higher state institutions a special consultative body intrusted with the preliminary elaboration and discussion of measures and with the examination of the state budget. It is for this reason that, while preserving the fundamental law regarding the autocratic power, we have deemed it well to form a gosudarstvennaia douma [lower house of the assembly] and to approve the regulations for elections to this douma, extending the validity of these laws to the whole territory of the Empire, with such exceptions only as may be considered necessary in the case of some regions in which special conditions obtain. . . . We reserve to ourselves entirely the care of perfecting the organization of the gosudarstvennaia douma; and when the course of events shall have shown the necessity for changes corresponding completely to the needs of the times and the welfare of the Empire we shall not fail to give it at the proper moment the necessary directions.

Subsequent dispatches indicate that the proposed Douma has not met with any popular enthusiasm.

**Progress of the Russian-Japanese peace negotiations.**

Contrary to the expectations of last week (p. 309) the Russian and Japanese envoys failed to come to a complete understanding on the 17th. From the beginning of their meeting on that day until the present hour, they have been at a deadlock.

**The American reciprocity conference.**

At the second day's meeting of

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the national reciprocity conference of Chicago (p. 309) on the 17th, the principal speakers were Gov. Cummins, of Iowa, Edward Rosewater, editor of the Omaha Bee, A. B. Farquahar, of Pennsylvania and ex-Senator Harris of Kansas. The reciprocity idea was defined by Gov. Cummins, who related it in his speech to protection as an essential part of the protection policy. After defining reciprocity as "an adjustment of our tariff schedules, either by general law or special convention, looking toward an increase in the volume of our exports," he said:

As I understand it, the only object of a protective tariff is to increase the sale of domestic products in domestic markets. The object of reciprocity is to increase the sale of domestic products in foreign markets. The measure of protection, as formerly defined, was the difference between the cost of delivering the product by the domestic producer in the domestic market, and the cost of delivery by the foreign producer in the domestic market. It was intended to equalize the conditions of production here and abroad, to offer a motive for the use of our own raw material, and to insure the employment of the maximum amount of labor. It was not originally intended to exclude competition, but rather to create competition. No foreign nation could justly complain of this equalization, and, so far as I know, no nation has ever complained of such a criterion for import duties. With schedules arranged with any fair regard for this definition of protection, reciprocity would be already secured, and retaliation would be the weapon with which to punish any country that refused to deal fairly with us. Our present schedules, however, are, in the main, intended to be prohibitive. It is only when, through combination or unusual demand, the home manufacturer lifts the price into the region of robbery that his foreign competitor can enter at all. There is no conflict, and can be none, between protection and reciprocity, if we abandon the selfish interest of a particular producer or class of producers, and ascend to the higher standpoint from which we may view the common welfare. The folly of maintaining a tariff schedule that will enable us to sell $1,000 of manufactured merchandise in our own markets, but which will prevent the sale of $10,000 of manufactured or agricultural products in foreign markets, is so striking that it can only be explained upon the hypothesis that we have surrendered to a senseless fear of disturbing commercial tranquillity. Tranquillity is very desirable, but to be lasting it must be founded on industrial justice. Protection is not designed to narrow the field of American labor, and any duty that has the effect of lessening the domestic output is not in harmony with the policy out of which it springs. The theory of the modern stand-patter appears to be that there shall be a prohibitive duty laid upon the imports of everything that we can, by hothouse methods, produce, and then if any nation resents this embargo upon trade, high statesmanship requires us to punish that nation by raising the prohibitive duty still higher. It seems to me that the doctrine of protection does not demand a prohibitive duty on anything, nor does it demand an equalizing duty upon everything. And yet, although we have built up the most complete and drastic system of exclusion ever known in the history of the world, we have not a line or a letter in law or treaty, which has for its object the protection or the enlargement of the markets that the farmer is seeking. The demand we make is not new. The men who to-day are the exponents of the stand-pat theory of government are not protectionists; they are exclusionists. They have no title to the leadership of the party of protection, and they are using the policy for a purpose that would be indignantly repudiated by its most distinguished champions, were they now in the land of the living.

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The following declaration of principles, reported by the committee on resolutions, of which Eugene N. Foss of Massachusetts was chairman, was adopted on the 17th:

The national reciprocity convention, representing more than 200 agricultural, commercial and industrial associations of the United States, by delegates assembled at Chicago, August 16 and 17, 1905, hereby makes the following declaration of principles: Whereas, the agriculture, manufactures and other industries of this country have expanded to such an extent that they can no longer depend upon the home market for the consumption of their entire product; and whereas, the export trade has become a vital support to many of our industries; and whereas, the present commercial attitude of the United States, largely owing to our failure to carry into effect the reciprocal trade provisions of section 4 of the Dingley law, is antagonizing foreign nations, whose good will we desire and on whom we have hitherto depended as purchasers of our surplus products; therefore, be it resolved, (1) that this convention, recognizing the principle of protection as the established policy of our country, advocates immediate reciprocal concessions by means of a dual or maximum and minimum tariff as the only practical method of relieving at this time the strained situation with which we are confronted; (2) that eventually the question of the schedules and items to be considered in reciprocal concessions be suggested by a permanent tariff commission, to be created by Congress and appointed by the President, which shall consist of economic, industrial and commercial experts; (3) that it is the sense of this convention that our present tariff affords abundant opportunity for such concessions without injury to industry, trade or the wages of labor; (4) that we urge action upon Congress at the earliest time possible.

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**Case of the Indianapolis Consumers' Gas Co.**

At Indianapolis on the 18th a decision was made by Judge Francis T. Baker, of the United States Circuit Court, which is of general interest as affecting the question of ownership and operation of public service utilities. It was rendered in the case of a stockholder of the Consumers' Gas Co., an Indiana corporation, and against the city of Indianapolis. This company was organized in 1887 for the purpose of supplying natural gas through the public highways, a corporate power granted by general act of the legislature of Indiana. It accepted a street franchise from Indianapolis for supplying gas in that city, by the terms of which the city might, at any time after ten years, appoint appraisers and take over the property of the company at the appraised value. Several weeks ago the city gave notice that it would exercise this right, whereupon a stockholder began the suit in question. In behalf of the city it was argued that both the company and its stockholders were estopped from denying the company's legal power to make the contract, after they had enjoyed its benefits for nearly twenty years. But Judge Baker overruled the point, saying:

There is a difference in the rights of corporations to take advantage of a defect or deficiency in corporate powers, depending upon the character of the corporations. If a corporation is engaged in a purely private business, the circumstance that it has received and retained benefits under a contract which was beyond its corporate powers may frequently preclude it from denying the legality of the contract. If a corporation, organized by private persons for gain, is engaged in performing some service for the public, and makes a contract beyond its charter power, it

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may be estopped from asserting the invalidity of the contract if the subject matter of the contract does not affect its discharge of its duties to the public. But it cannot be estopped from setting up the illegality of the contract if the subject matter of the contract is in violation of a statute or a declared rule of public policy. The roads and streets of the State belong to the people, and no agency, neither the legislature nor its subordinates, the municipalities, can authorize the streets to be used for private purposes. Therefore, the investing of natural gas companies with the power to use streets was a declaration and establishment of the fact that natural gas companies are engaged in performing public services, and therefore belong to the class of corporations known as quasi public. The charter of a corporation of this character is the measure of its powers, and the enumeration of its powers implies the exclusion of all others. Such a corporation can exercise no authority which is not granted to it by the charter under which it exists, or from some other act of the legislature which granted that charter. . . . The granting of a charter by the State to such a corporation is not simply a license to the corporation to engage merely as long as it chooses in serving the public. The company's acceptance of the privilege is a promise and an undertaking on its part that it will faithfully serve the public and will do nothing and suffer nothing to be done that will disable it from performing its duties during the term of its powers.

Accordingly, Judge Baker issued a Federal court injunction prohibiting the company from relinquishing its property to the city pursuant to the contract under which it has for 18 years occupied the city streets for its own profit.

## NEWS NOTES

—The American Bar Association met at Narragansett Pier on the 23d.

—The eighth annual session of the National Afro-American Council will meet at Detroit on the 30th.

—Adolphe William Bougereau, the French painter, died at Paris on the 20th, at the age of 80 years.

—The Detroit Tribune and the Detroit Evening News consolidated on the 23d as the Detroit News, with a morning and evening edition.

—The telegraphers' strike, on the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railroads (p. 279) was called off by referendum vote on the 18th and 19th, respectively.

—Mary Mapes Dodge, the distinguished writer, who had been editor of St. Nicholas, the juvenile magazine, since its first appearance in 1873, died at Tannersville, N. Y., on the 21st.

—At the Democratic primaries of Virginia on the 22d Congressman Swanson was nominated for governor and Thomas S. Morton for United States Senator. This was the first direct popular vote in that State for United States Senator.

—The Shakers, a sect as old as American independence, has issued a general invitation for a peace congress to be held at Mt. Lebanon, N. Y., on the 31st. Among the speakers announced are Walter S. Logan, Bolton Hall and the Rev. Amanda Deyo.

—On the 23d the ninth annual convention of the League of American Municipalities met at Toledo. Peter Witt, city clerk of Cleveland, spoke before it in the evening on "How to Tax Real Estate," and Hugo L. Grosser, city statistician of Chicago, on "The Profit of Municipal Lighting."

—A constitutional convention for proposing separate Statehood for the Indian Territory (p. 234) met at Muskogee on the 21st. Nearly 200 delegates, representing the five civilized Indian tribes of the Territory, were in attendance. Chief D. C. McCurtain was elected temporary chairman.

—Satistical reports of the 23d relative to the progress of yellow fever in New Orleans (p. 310), published on the 24th, were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Deaths to August 23 | 224 |
| Deaths to August 16 | 188 |
| Increase | 36 |
| Cases to August 23 | 1,568 |
| Cases to August 16 | 1,168 |
| Increase | 400 |

## PRESS OPINIONS

### THE RECIPROCITY CONFERENCE.

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Aug. 18.—The people are tired of the tariff robberies and have "stood pat" as long as they are going to. Make the fight for the abolition of the tariff. That is the simplest plan, the most democratic.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Aug. 18.—Reciprocity it seems is something that is right if every one says so and wrong if every one does not. The protective tariff is a private graft operated by the manufacturer at the expense of the consumer. As a consequence reciprocity is a matter of private policy among grafters.

Dubuque Telegraph (Dem.), Aug. 18.—When the Western farmer shows dissatisfaction with the tariff, the tariff is doomed, for he has been its mainstay. The farmer of the east is not a strong protectionist; the cotton interests have always beeen for free trade. Protection had its stronghold in the country where now the demand for recipricity is loudest.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), Aug. 18.—The conference at Chicago is described as nonpartisan and not provincial; nevertheless, those prominently taking part are mostly Republicans, and the delegates are largely from the Middle West. It is, therefore, significant as indicating the opinion of a powerful section of the Republican party on the subject of the Dingley tariff.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Aug. 19.—Signs are not lacking that, under the leadership of such men as Cummins and La Follette, the Republicans of the West are preparing to defend, in the future, the interests of their own section. If they take up this fight in earnest the report of the proceedings of the next Republican national convention will make "mighty interesting reading."

The Rockland (Me.) Opinion (Dem.) Aug. 18.—Our fathers were wise enough to make a constitution establishing free trade in this entire country, and the result has been that, with the greatest extent of territory and population under free trade in the world, it is the greatest, most prosperous and best country on earth. Free trade has worked all right as between the States; why not between nations?

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Aug. 18.—Reciprocity is a mere makeshift to escape the evils of protectionism and seeks to accomplish through indirection that which could be accomplished to better advantage directly. Inevitably reciprocity, if it should be put into effect, would arouse greater antagonisms than it would abate.

### THE POSTAL CENSORSHIP.

(Frankfort, Ind.) American Standard (ind.), Aug. 17.—Courts of law are provided for the punishment of offenses of the kind alleged by the P. O. department (by its refusal of mail privileges) and by such authority, first and foremost, should such alleged offenses be adjudged. . . . The average American citizen will, we think, promptly decide that for the P. O. department to decide is an usurpation, and to all intents and purposes is the setting up of a press censorship quite too much after the Russian model.

Unity (rel.), Aug. 17.—The matter of the exclusion from the mails of certain periodicals takes on a partisan religious character. It might as well be questioned whether, if the sentiments in consideration had been part of a prurient novel or a sensational paper printed rather for amusement than purposes of propoganda, it would have been excluded from the mails. The call for its repression comes from its partisan antagonists. It is a fact, becoming constantly more threatening, that sectarian influence is brought to bear on public officials, and that public officials conform to their constituents as a matter of policy.

The Woman's Journal (woman suffrage), Aug. 12.—The Canadian government does not like socialism any better than the American government does, but public opinion there would not stand having the postal laws perverted into an engine of persecution. Neither would public opinion stand it here, if the facts were known; but the victims have mainly been the exponents of doctrines so unpopular that the general press has not taken up their cause, and the general public has heard nothing about the matter. The latest case of post office persecution has especial interest for women. Under the law against circulating indecent literature through the mails, a whole edition of a Chicago paper has been seized and destroyed for publishing extracts from Dr. Alice B. Stockham's "Tokology"! That is, it has been suppressed nominally because it published these extracts, but really because the postal authorities disapprove of the editor's views on the woman question. "Tokology" is a book aiming to give prospective mothers such advice upon diet and hygiene as will lessen the pain of childbirth. It has been sold and circulated through the mails for years, without objection. Many of our readers are familiar with it. There is nothing in it from beginning to end that could properly come under the law against circulating indecent literature. But the

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paper that published the extracts from it was Moses Harman's Lucifer, a paper so much disliked by the authorities that they are always glad of a pretext to suppress it; and edited by a man of ideas so unpopular that the general public has looked on with seeming indifference when the law was strained against him. . . . In view of the defeat of the bill asked for by the Massachusetts W. S. A. to forbid the publication of indecent medical advertisements; in view of the free circulation through the mails of yellow journals containing all manner of offensive scandals, decorated with flaring headlines; in view of the great mass of unquestionably corrupt material that is sent broadcast without interference, the suppression of the quotations from Dr. Stockham is laughable. Let our government put at the head of the postal department an official who has not only more sense of fairness than the present incumbent, but also some little sense of humor.

THE RACE QUESTION.

(Columbus, O.) Press-Post (Dem.), Aug. 17.—It is said that there was a general craning of necks at a fashionable Saratoga hotel when John Wanamaker walked into the dining-rom arm in arm with Booker T. Washington. It is only natural that people should stare at such a performance at this stage in the real emancipation of the Negro. The nation as a nation has been too slow to recognize that the brain makes the man, not the color of the skin, not ancestry, not environment, nor previous condition of servitude—but brain.

CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Aug. 15.—The people of Chicago voted for municipal ownership. . . . Now, a verdict of a majority is a safe rule of action, but those who fought for private ownership hold to the idea that the majority was crazy and that any trick or subterfuge to ignore their wishes is good business, and better politics. . . . Dunne, single-handed, cannot carry out the wishes of the people. No one man can. But if those who voted for Dunne keep behind him and back up his effort by their own effort the project can be put through.

RAILROAD PASSES.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), July 14.—When Representative Baker, of New York, returned the railway passes sent to him following his election to Congress, with a letter setting forth that he could not reconcile their retention with his obligations to the public, he was sneered at as a "crank" by his associates and became a target for the pert paragraphers of the Republican press. . . . In declining the passes, Secretary Bonaparte urged the same reasons that were offered by Representative Baker. . . . Secretary Bonaparte has come perilously near to offering an affront to his chief. He has placed an affront upon every Senator and Representative and has shown slight respect for the judiciary. Quite unanimously they stick to their passes.

THE QUESTION OF JAPANESE INDEMNITY.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Aug. 23.—To Japan indemnity does not mean wealth, but national life. It means ability to maintain herself in a position to ward off a future Russian war of revenge. Russia looks upon indemnity in the same way. . . . What will be Japan's position if she accepts peace without indemnity? She will be heavily burdened with debt—perhaps mounting up to six years' value of her national revenue. She will need to devote her best efforts to paying it off. She will have little available income to devote to building up her military establishment to meet the Russian attack which will be almost certain to come in a decade or two if Russia sees then a good opening for revenge. The receipt of an adequate indemnity means, therefore, to Japan a comparatively fair footing in the future against her great enemy. What does the payment mean to Russia? It means that she will remove her enemy's greatest handicap and at the same time increase her own handicap. It means that if she cherishes the hope of revenge she may have to postpone it for generations instead of being prepared to seek it in a decade more or less. It is true that Japan may conclude to forego indemnity. If she does forego it, that will mean that she has sacrificed commercial gain to feelings of humanity. It will mean that she prefers the risks of peace in such terms to the risks of continued war in the immediate future, with the greater financial burdens that will be heaped up by it. It is not a case of dollars versus lives. It is a case in which the figuring may be in dollars, but the end sought is on each alternative the preservation not only of individual lives, but of the national life.

# MISCELLANY

## MISERICORDIA.

For The Public.

The newspapers of Chicago have reported with approval that Chief of Police Collins has ordered all men with prison records to be arrested.

We have paid the price, and paid it hard,
In the cursed clothes ye have mocked us in;
And the sun crept slow past the windows barred
Where we ate the bitter bread of sin.

And whose was the sin? Why, who can tell!
Was it ours? Or our father's? Or yours, who make
Your life so easy and ours a hell,
So our little hands must learn to take?

But we paid the price through eternity,
And ye gave us the wages of our disgrace.
Then the doors clanged open, and we were free,
And we skulked us each to a hiding place.

Now the orders are: "Go, round them up,"
As we were cattle and are not men.
No need for warrants, for those who supped
With the guest Despair in the prison pen.

Is this land free, or is it not?
Has a jailbird ever another right?
For by Sweet Christ we have paid our scot,
And what can we do but hide from sight?

C. E. S. WOOD.

## WHAT LOW FARES HAVE DONE FOR THE LAND OWNERS OF ONE TOWN.

From The Press, of Columbus, Ohio.

Columbus may, and probably does, have many minor points of superiority; but so have other cities. There is, however, one point of preeminent superiority with which Columbus is highly favored. It is in the rate of fare on street car lines. About four years ago we were getting only six tickets for a quarter, and were paying a nickel for transfers. With great effort, and in the face of a mighty protest from those who are now reaping the benefit, a franchise was forced upon the railway company providing for seven tickets for a quarter and transfers on tickets. A little later a franchise was granted to the Central Market line, providing for eight tickets for a quarter, with transfers on tickets. This gave Columbus the lowest fare of any large city in the United States.

What did that mean? It meant that it was cheaper to live and move and do business in Columbus. This naturally attracted people here and increased the demand for business and residence property. This increased demand for land forced up the price, and that's about all there is to it. Leaving out the question of rents, it is about three dollars per annum cheaper for every man, woman and child to live in Columbus than in other cities. The aggregate of this is approximately a half million dollars per annum. Inasmuch as this is taken up by the landlord (including home-owners) in rent, it represents, on a five per cent. basis, an increased capitalization of land value in Columbus of $10,000,000. This estimate is conservative.

Do you see the point? Do you see what a big difference a small saving on the cost of public utilities makes? And do you see who gets it? The man that owns the land gets it. We have been led to expect that the Columbus Railway company will soon have to give eight tickets for a quarter. The effect of that will be to add at least seven or eight millions of dollars to the land values of Columbus. Say, Mr. Landlord, do you see the point? Isn't that rather interesting? Don't you believe it would be to your advantage to pay more attention to the cost of public utilities? Some question of this sort is up every few days. You can make money by keeping your eyes open. You can make yourself richer and make Columbus greater by making it a cheaper place to live in. Think it over.

## A JAPANESE FRIEND ON TALK.

For The Public.

Just across the hall from me at college roomed a clever young fellow from Japan. I had not seen him for years, when a few weeks ago he appeared in my office. After graduation he returned to Japan, and has had a successful career. He has been in the States this second time only a few weeks, but I was surprised to see what familiarity he has with our politics and general conditions.

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Among his acute observations he noticed what he thinks is one of our prevailing characteristics at present. It seems worthy of consideration. I shall paraphrase from memory the substance of what he said. He seemed to be particularly struck with this feature in our public life.

You are suffering—thus in substance he said to me—from cheap oratory and its adjutant the big newspaper. Your public men get their place and importance, not from genuineness and action, but from talk. They talk proverbial commonplace, which your half-educated masses applaud when they read it in the newspapers. Your orators say in their grand way that public office is a public trust, that all officials are servants of the people, and utter other evident principles of general morality. These sayings are reported in your papers and read by your people, who straightway conclude that the utterers mean what they say and are great leaders.

So, in dealing with your public offenses—your trusts, your outrageous tariff rates, your bribery, your graft, your lawyers hired to evade law, your public men in highest places accepting sham salaries—in dealing with all such manifestations of unhealthiness, I fancy that I see your same weakness. Your statesmen and senators talk, talk. In eloquent harangues, in Congress, at commencements, and in campaigns, they thunder against evils; but they get nothing done. I see no prominent offender punished; I see no law enforced against the great powers. Did you not lately see a prosecution called off, when it was found that a high official might suffer?

Where, in fact, can you find a better example of what I say than President Roosevelt? How fine his talk is! He has, for example, said things about the tariff that a genuine free-trader would hardly have uttered; yet, with all the chance he has had, can you point to a single thing he has done to lower one single tariff rate? I challenge you to point to any act of his in which he has persisted in following to the end the line of his talk against any form of public evil. Whenever the issue has come, he has hitherto done nothing to the hurt of the high powers that support his party. Talk? Yes, plenty of talk; but come to the result—what has he done? That he should pose as the exponent of doing things, is a brilliant absurdity. I do not say that the pose is intentional. He is simply an exponent. That is why he is popular. He is your most strenuous representative of talk—be it the conventional utterance of proverbs which everybody will agree with, or fulminations which receive the applause of the innocent and the winks of the fulminated.

Any man, continued my friend, can be sincere in saying that truth is a virtue, or that all should have an equal chance in the world. Your orators will utter either of these statements with the same equanimity. It matters little whether they have any but the most conventional notion of either statement. Your successful politician must be a philistine. Your president is a philistine. He has, to a marked degree, the conventional ideas of justice. He poses as—and believes himself to be—one who desires justice for all and special privilege to none. But point to me, if you can, any instance wherein he has stood true, throughout, for any measure that was repulsive to the plutocratic and aristocratic following to which he belongs.

We have our faults in Japan, he said, but mere talk does not count with us as much as it does with you.

J. H. DILLARD.

## THE SCHOOL CITY.

Philadelphia is a beautiful city in spots, but it has some awful slums. In one of those slums there lives a little boy whom we will call Tommy Jones. That is not his real name, but it is a real boy and a real circumstance that I am going to tell about. This little boy lives in an alley, not very far from the corner of Twenty-second street and Callow hill. It is a very dirty alley, and there is a great deal of misery there. You would think that Tommy would rather go to school than be about there and the other places to which he goes. But Tommy did hate to go to school. It was misery. Just the nicest teachers that you can imagine are there, but he did hate to go to school. He was very frequently a truant; and when he did deign to go to school—the truant officer can force such a little fellow to go sometimes—he was very apt to be tardy.

Tommy was very careless as to his costume, and as to the condition of his face and hands. Tommy was a very troublesome boy, altogether. He had entered this school when about six years old, and now he was nine.

We changed that little monarchy—for school government in general is a monarchy. Have you ever thought what monarchy is? A little child is born, and that child does not know how to manage his own affairs. Somebody stronger in every respect has to govern it. The mother governs the little one, and that is parental government; and that is monarchy. The little child has no part in the government, except to do whatever the mother requires. Then, when he gets along a little further, the child goes to school, and there is more monarchy. We get still farther along, into college, and the thing has not been corrected yet. It is monarchy again. From the time the child is born, to the time he leaves the high school and university, the only government he comes in contact with is a monarchy, the government to which he must be subject. He has no power whatever in making the rules and regulations, and no part except to obey.

Tommy was a subject of this little monarchy in school, and one day I had the pleasure of changing that monarchy into a republic. The republic, in the form of a city government, was established, and each room of the school is a ward of the School City. These wards are made up of both girls and boys, and in each one of the wards the children nominate one boy and one girl to be members of the city council. After each ward has nominated its two members, then all the children of the assembled school have an opportunity to vote, and determine whether they will accept those who have been nominated by the children in each room.

As it happened, this dirty, mischievous, troublesome little boy was elected in one of the rooms to be a member of the city council. This was pretty nearly the first experience of the teachers of that school with anything of the sort. They felt: Well, we have gotten over some things; but if the children are going to choose such a little rascal as that to be a member of the city council we fear for the little republic so far as our school is concerned.

The next day came, and the little fellow came to school. Instead of his clothes just hanging on by moral suasion, the buttons were tightened and he was slicked up. I do not know that they had ever seen the boy with his hair brushed and combed, but this morning his hair was all right, his hands were clean, his face was tolerably clean, and the boy was there on time. This was simply a revolution for that boy. The next day he was there on time, and he was just as neat as he was the day before; and this thing kept up. He did not play truant again. He picked up in his class, and instead of being at the very tail end, very quickly the little fellow came right up to the head of the class.

Six weeks afterward the teacher, go-

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ing through the room, stopped at his desk and said: "Tommy, I am just delighted to see how nicely you are getting on. You have not been absent once, and you are never tardy any more. You are as neat as a little gentleman, and you have come up in your class. I am proud of you." The little fellow looked up and said: "You know they expect so much from a member of the city council." Now, I think from that you can see the spirit of the school city.—Wilson L. Gill, in Social Service for July, 1905.

## A SCIENTIFIC MAYOR.

From the Presidential address of M. E. Knowles, D. V. S., President of the American Veterinary association, delivered at the annual convention of this association at Cleveland, O., August 15, 1905.

We have the good fortune to meet this year in what is not only one of the most beautiful of the many beautiful American cities, but, what is of far greater importance to the citizen, in what Lincoln Steffens says is the best governed city in the United States. We are more than professional men. We are citizens, and were citizens before we were veterinarians. As members of a scientific profession we owe to the state the duty of standing for what is best and most scientific in the great organization that we call "Government," and we may learn a valuable lesson from the career of Mayor Johnson of Cleveland.

Possessed to an unusual degree with the ability to get money, his civic spirit and his love for his fellow men have prevented him from degenerating into that most worthless type of the animal creation, a mere human machine for collecting dollars. I am aware that Mr. Johnson is spoken of as a "crank" by many of his fellow citizens; but what man in all history who had ideas for the elevation of the human race has not been called a crank? In my State and in other States men have been called cranks and fools because they refused to sell their votes as citizens or as legislators. Of Mayor Johnson it cannot be said that he is content to collect dollars, and that having collected them he is indifferent to the needs of his city, his State and his fellow men.

So, let it not be said of us, that we are content to exist as mere collectors of fees for our professional services, and that having got our fees we are indifferent to the welfare of our cities, our States and our country. As members of a scientific profession we should recognize the fact, as citizens, that there is a science of government, and that otherwise government would have no right to exist, just as we recognize the fact that veterinary medicine has no right to exist except as a science. Mayor Johnson had a national reputation before he became Mayor of Cleveland, but as mayor of this city he has made a new national reputation, because in practice as in theory he refuses to uphold unscientific methods in government. Let us, then, as workers in one science, refusing to uphold unscientific methods in our profession, stand firmly against unscientific methods in the greater and more important field of government.

We add but little to the progress of humanity if we confine our efforts to the prevention and cure of the diseases of animals, and neglect the diseases of our civil, our political life. We add to the wealth of the nation by preventing and curing the diseases of dumb animals, and whether or not we have the same beliefs as Mayor Johnson, let us stand with him in his efforts to prevent and cure the ills of society and thereby add still more to the wealth of the nation and the happiness of mankind; for whatever may be a man's profession, he is the best citizen who follows truth wherever it may lead, and in the light of truth recognizes the diseases of civil government and insists that scientific methods shall be used for the prevention and cure of those diseases.

While we are practicing the best methods of dehorning cattle, let us learn and practice the best methods of dehorning the grafters that trouble society. As year after year we practice the dipping of cattle to eradicate the parasites that infest them, let us learn and practice the art of freeing society from the social parasites that feed upon it. Let us keep in mind the fact that he is not a good citizen who does not give back to society as much as he gets from society, who does not render to his fellow men a full equivalent for every service they render him.

Coming from the State of Montana, the third in area of all the States, sparsely populated, and living in a city that has less than 15,000 people, very naturally I take an interest in the splendid city in which we meet—in its immense buildings, its broad streets teeming with life and business, its beautiful residences and all the material things that together make what we call a great city. But after all, the object of most interest to me, the chief exhibit of this Queen City of one of the greatest and most progressive States in the Union, is Mayor Johnson, who is devoting his wealth, his energies and his great business abilities to the betterment of government, of citizenship and of humanity. Gibe, jeer and jest do not turn him from his purpose; defeat does not dishearten him; success has not made him autocratic; scandal has not smirched him; money does not tempt him from his purpose; and those who conspire against their fellow men do not ask him into their councils.

I say these things to you, representatives of a scientific profession, because what Mayor Johnson is doing for good government in Cleveland will in the end inure to your benefit as citizens of a great country. You and your children, on the Atlantic or the Pacific coast, in the South, in the Mississippi Valley or in the Rocky Mountains, will in the future reap benefits from the seed that Mayor Johnson is sowing in Cleveland. We shall be benefited by the service he is rendering to good and clean government, and we shall fall short of our duty if we fail to render an equivalent service by standing for what is best in government, as we stand for what is best in our chosen profession.

## AN APPEAL TO THE POOR.

### HOW SOME THINGS AS THEY ARE CAN BE CHANGED FOR SOME THINGS AS THEY OUGHT TO BE.

For The Public.

Of every man, woman and child upon the earth it may be truly said, His physical material necessities are only five: Fire, Food, Clothes, House and Light.

So true is this that each *must have* all these five things *all the time* or perish.

If every one of all mankind *has sufficient* fire, food, clothes, house and light, and has them *all the time*, no one is ever badly off, no one is poor.

Nature provides the raw material from which all these things can be gotten and made for use of all mankind, all the time and in great abundance constantly renewed; but only gives them up to man *for his labor* to mine, to bore, to hunt, to fish, to plant, to gather, harvest, garner, fashion, and move to each ready for his use, wherever he is upon the earth, and there has his need with him.

So abundant and constant is this supply in the raw that it is only necessary that such of the able-bodied who at any time can and are willing to work, *may* work against nature, to very amply supply the needs of *all*, so that the children may play, the old and feeble may sit in the sun, and

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the women may sing as they spin and weave.

All this can be truly said of all men, and would be true *in actual fact* if things were *as they ought to be.*

This that is truly *said* is *not true in fact*, as is well known to all. Why not? Let me show you.

The *source* whence all men's necessities come to be supplied, is the earth.

By far most men are barred from free access to the earth for themselves, by the legal fiction of private property in land—which all men stand by and help enforce because it is *partly* right. This is the first "why not," the *primal* reason that so many men are poor.

But further, the fact should be observed and kept in mind that *each material thing* that constitutes the source of supply to meet all men's needs—which press to urgency all the time—comes from *a fixed spot* on the surface of the earth. Mankind, on the other hand, is scattered all over the earth all the time, and all the time moving. Hence in the distribution of the produced things to meet men's needs, *Transportation* becomes the great first handmaid of production. The camel on the desert, the ship on the sea, the car and locomotive on the land, with the host of minor means of moving things from whence they are mined and grown and fashioned, to the men who need to use them for themselves—are instances of the transportation handmaid. And with her by her side goes ever, everywhere, a second maid, a little cash girl. You may know her as the Money Trust, who at each transaction, when the transportation handmaid delivers to the man who needs it the thing he needs, says, before she will let him have it, "Pay me the price." Out of the wage gotten for his labor he pays for the thing he needs, or he goes without it. Mostly of late he goes without or takes less of the thing he needs than he needs, and begins to perish. The little Money Trust is pretty and pleasant, and utterly *inexorable*. "Pay the price, or leave the thing to me," is her last word to each.

Many have heard it. It becomes quite tragic and pathetic when the mother must perforce repeat it to hungry children: "Papa's labor could not reach the price—wait."

Now it ought not to be forgotten that all farmers, and they are nearly half the people of the world, live so near the sources of supply of fire and food and clothes and house and light, that to them the haul of transportation of most of the things they need is very short. But of the poor in the cities—ah, God!

Now it is true of every one of the necessities of all mankind, that *each* is owned and controlled by a very little few of men.

It is true that a monopoly is what every man wants for himself, and every man wants no other man to have it.

It is true these little fews of men who own and control the sources of supply for all men's needs, each continues to perfect its own monopoly, and *to fix and raise and hold up the price* to the highest point *the traffic will bear*. Every excess of price above a just price goes straight into the pocket of the owner of a trust, making him suddenly inordinately rich; while all the poor are robbed of the same excess, and *begin to perish*.

Many are already dead, some are dying. There is perhaps no occasion for hurry with the remedy—by permitting men to supply their needs from their Father in Heaven's Storehouse. But if it happens to be *your* father, mother, wife, husband or child that is now beginning to perish because things are not as they ought to be, I don't blame *you*, but merely quietly ask you to do right, and get wiser, and wait.

True, if the poor could combine and refuse to buy fire and food and clothes and house and light or either, they could force the price down. But they *cannot* because God's law, *which has no Morton* but *enforces itself*, freezes and starves them to death before they can get their "combine" fully in operation. Besides, to do the poor the justice their history has earned, they shrink from entering such "combines" *as a deadly sin*. The rich don't, God help them!

Now the trusts at last are all in the aggregate *a very few men;* they are very rich, and powerful, and ignorant, and conscienceless, and unscrupulous, and God-fearing, and charitable no end, in order to buy an interest, as they dully think, with God in futures. But no one among them will get off the back of the poor who *gives him work*, on whom he feeds as a "trustee of God." Bah! How easy a man who knows God is not afraid of him, learns swear words to apply to men greatly abler and some better than himself.

With the Steel Trust, and the Transportation Trust, and the Money Trust, and the Trusts of all the sources of the supply of men's needs, of course stand the factory and machinery and patent trusts, which might well enough be grouped under the name of Fashioning Trusts; and all *combined* and *interlaced in interest, they unite*, to *raise* and *fix* the *price* of the needs of men, at more, at double, treble, and higher, and higher yet, than they really ought to be.

*So the trusts*, added to inordinate private ownership of land, make the final answer to "why not" things are not as they ought to be.

That things are *as they are*, is the result of years of growth. "They have framed their iniquity into a law." They cannot be made *as they ought to be* in a moment. *But* if we see clearly *wherein* they are wrong, and go steadily at regulating them, and *keep on, we can get them right in time.*

Henry George has clearly pointed out a just, clear, lawful and simple way to remedy all the wrong there is in land monopoly:

> Let each land owner pay his share, according to the land value he owns, regardless of man-made improvements thereon, *of all public taxes.*

I suggest that the poor make the necessary laws *against combines to raise prices*, and then *enforce them* —only of course Teddy has said he don't want Morton touched.

*The poor can do it*, in this country anyway, and in Russia also *they are a great majority.*

Why does any one blame Rockefeller, or Baer, or Armour, or Morton, or others of those few rich?

They are only, each one, one who has made his money under the aegis of the law, as *you and I* and millions of our poor deluded fellow citizens *have made it, and suffered it to become*, and permitted its good provisions to lapse into dead letter.

A monopoly is what each one wants for himself, and wants the other fellow not to have. If those named men have got it, *it is because you and I of the vast majority have let them have it.*

*Quit* complaining of them, and *quit letting them have it.*

If you are really "fit for self government," *govern yourselves.*

In Ohio and Cleveland, vote for Pattison for governor, and Tom L. Johnson for mayor, and for honest and capable legislators and councilmen.

Remember, Mark is dead—and in his shoes Cox, Dick and Herrick are rattling around like buckshot in a Salvation Army drum, working for the things that hurt you.

The noise need not scare a citizen

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of Ohio if he is wise enough to know his duty and his opportunity to take care of his wife, his children, and his old.

Good luck to you all! The wind blows for civic righteousness. Let it blow! Wait. The vote is the thing.

L. A. RUSSELL.

Cleveland, Ohio.

# BOOKS

## THE FOUR DOCTRINES.

The writings of Swedenborg have been accessible to American readers only in volumes that are repulsive to taste and injurious to the eye. It is well, therefore, that the Swedenborg Publishing Society (3 West Twenty-ninth street, New York) has issued in agreeable library edition this volume containing what is known as the Four Doctrines, namely, the Doctrine of the Lord, the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture, the Doctrine of Life, and the Doctrine of Faith.

To the adept, who has gone through even a portion of the great works of Swedenborg, this one volume will seem merely a primer of the master's teachings; but it may be recommended to those who know little of his doctrines, and wish in brief compass to know something of the nature and purpose of his religious works. Even in this primer the reader will find "hard sayings," and he must not expect to go through it in a light way. He must bring his best thought and patience. He cannot by any means really read it without many stops to think and inwardly digest. There is no literary grace; there is no concession to the casual reader. One might as well go to a treatise on plane and solid geometry for light reading as to any of the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. What a marvelous being he was; practical engineer, foremost scientist of his day, wise counselor in matters of state, recognized great thinker, he passes 57 years in a natural way, like any other scholar of his time, except that he seemed more practical than the others. Yet at the age of 57, in the same practical, almost mathematical way, he announces his strange revelations. He is to tell the world the real meaning of the Bible. Men have been reading the book without a full understanding, and now in the fullness of time he is sent to open the true interpretation. To this, as his main end, he devoted the remainder of his life. The man who had begun by writing works on algebra, furnaces, docks, canal locks and minerals, ended with Arcana Celestia, the secrets of heaven. There is no other man like him in either ancient or modern times. He is unique.

One interesting aspect of Swedenborg's genius has generally been overlooked. He was a genuine republican. He saw, even in the early part of the eighteenth century, that a republic is "the form of government most pleasing in the sight of God." "In a republic," he says, "no undue veneration or homage is paid to any man, but the highest and the lowest deems himself the equal of kings or emperors. The only being whom they venerate is God. And where He alone is worshiped, and men are not, is the country most acceptable to Him." This ideal is indeed the true republic, and how infinitely higher we see it to be, even in these few lines, than the thing worked out in Plato's imaginings.

J. H. DILLARD.

## MOODY'S MANUAL.

An investor's reference book is not per se an appropriate subject for literary review. But Moody's Manual must be regarded as an exception by any periodical which is devoted to political affairs, as is The Public, at a time when potitics is as closely associated as now with economics. For this annual is in these days almost as necessary to the publicist as to the financier and investor.

The number for 1905 is much more comprehensive and consequently much larger than any of its predecessors. Indeed, the volume has steadily grown since the first number, in 1901, when there were only 1,100 pages, to the 2,600 pages of the number now before us.

This latest number has ten sections—two more than the number for 1904,—a result of making three sections (fourth, fifth and sixth) out of the fourth section of the previous number. Instead, therefore, of section four with three parts for Gas, Electric Light, Electric Railway and Water Supply Companies, we have section four with three parts for Electric Traction Companies; section five with two parts for Gas and Electric Light Companies, and section six with two parts for Water Supply Companies. These subjects, which occupied 458 pages in the Manual for 1904, occupy 541 pages in the number for 1905, and the matter is not only more complete but more conveniently classified. The Steam Railroad section also is very much enlarged, being increased from 377 pages to 562; and at the same time it is very much improved. The several parts of this section relate respectively to active and operating railroad systems, guaranteed stocks, railroads projected or under construction, railroads absorbed or merged into other companies and subsidiary companies controlled by other companies; to which is added an appendix giving the names of the Interstate Commerce Commissioners and the railroad commissioners of the several States. The railroad maps are of the Chesapeake and Ohio and its immediate connections, the Missouri Pacific and subsidiary lines, and the Wabash system.

This recital alone is enough to indicate the great usefulness of the book to persons interested in securing exact knowledge of important facts relating to economic affairs. The only additional recommendation necessary is the veracity of the information, and on that score the book has acquired a reputation so high as a guide for investors, that conscientious students of public affairs may feel secure in relying upon it.

But the valuable information is not limited to the sections already noted. Stock exchange memberships, foreign and American government securities, telephone and telegraph along with cable companies, industrial and miscellaneous stocks and bonds, mines and oil corporations, and banks and like financial institutions, are also fully reported, and with every indication of trustworthiness as well as a high reputation for that quality.

The index arrangement, a consideration of high importance in books of this kind, is obviously convenient. One general alphabetical index is well described as "a key to the whole volume," and this is supplemented with an alphabetical index of cities, by means of which a corporation whose habitat is known, but whose exact name is not, may be easily traced. The classified index of manufacturers, contractors, bankers, etc., is convenient as far as it goes (and it is extensive), but of course it includes only advertisers in the volume. [Moody's Manual of Railroads and Corporation Securities. Sixth Annual Number, 1905. Moody Publishing Co., 35 Nassau street, New York; 535 The Rookery, Chicago; Broad Exchange building, Boston; 238 Fourth avenue, Pittsburg; Wade Chance, Threadneedle house, 28 Bishopsgate street, London; J. H. DeBussy, Rokin 60, Amsterdam, Holland. Price, $10.]

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Evolution—Revolution—Which? By H. M. Williams. New York: M. W. Hazen Company, 27 Thames St. To be reviewed.

—The State. Elements of Historical and Practical Politics. By Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D., LL. D., Professor of Jurisprudence and Politics in Princeton University. Revised edition. Boston, U. S. A.: D. C. Heath & Co. Price, $2. To be reviewed.

—The Society of To-Morrow: A Forecast of Its Political and Economic Organization. By G. de Molinari. Translated by P. H. Lee Warner, with an Introduction by Hodgson Pratt and a Letter to the Publishers from Frederic Passy. With an Appendix containing tables on the Cost of War and of Preparation for War, from 1898 to 1904, compiled by Edward Atkinson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin; Chicago: A. C. McClurg. To be reviewed.

# PAMPHLETS

The American Civic association (North American building, Philadelphia) publishes two excellent pamphlets on the education of children. One of them, by W. A. Baldwin, principal of the Massachusetts Normal School at Hyannis, deals interestingly

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with actual experiences in school gardens. The other, by Joseph Lee, in offering suggestions regarding the management of play grounds, embodies an unusually sensible juvenile bibliography, classified for the infantile, the "dramatic," the "big Injun" and the "loyalty" ages of childhood, with a general classification in addition. The bibliography of play, playgrounds, vacation schools, gymnasiums, baths, summer camps, etc., is also attractive and apparently comprehensive, yet judiciously selected.

## PERIODICALS

Goldwin Smith, veteran representative of some of the best features of 19th century liberalism, on August 13 reached his 82d birthday. Many of his readers and admirers in the States are probably unaware of his advanced age, for he still writes with the vigor of youth. The Springfield Republican well says that he "has outgrown the small title of 'Prof.' by the breadth of his intellectual activity and usefulness." The Toronto Globe, in calling attention to the anniversary, spoke of him as "the most distinguished" Canadian now living. To which the Republican replies that he "is more than a Canadian. He belongs to the English-speaking race."—J. H. D.

The presidential address of Sir Oliver Lodge before the social and Political Education League has been published in the Contemporary Review, and may be found reprinted in this country in the Living Age of August 19. This address, entitled Some Social Reforms, deserves wide reading. It is a calm, scholarly, searching review of present social conditions, made by one of the foremost thinkers of England, who sees that "it is man's selfish and misguided aims that are at fault, not the nature of things." So reasonable and comprehensive is the speaker's treatment of his subject that it ought to be read by every one interested in social reforms of whatever kind.—J. H. D.

In the August Craftsman (Syracuse, N. Y.) Dr. Charles A. Eastman, who is himself a Sioux of full blood, with the handsome name of Ohiyesa, writes of Indian handicraft. Dr. Eastman tells us that "for the last 300 years at least the stone arrow-head has not prevailed among the Sioux Indians. Their bows will not carry such heavy and clumsy arrows. I have experimented with them and found the force of the arrow was lost, and merely bruised, if, indeed, it hit the animal. It is possible that the arrow-heads of stone found in such profusion over the American continent were used by a race which preceded our Indians. In that case, they must have used heavy bows similar to the oriental cross-bow in order to carry them. Lighter material was employed by the Sioux, such as bone, horn, or burned wood, also the claws and bills of birds and animals, which were readily ground to a fine edge and penetrated to the vital parts of the game."—A. T. P.

The last quarterly Bulletin of the Southwestern Louisiana Institute, at Lafayette, La., a fine specimen of artistic simplicity in typographic and pictorial work, describes the Institute in a very attractive manner. This institute, of which E. L. Stephens is president, is not a mere labor school, designed to turn out servants; it is one of those manual training schools which turn out well-rounded men and women by cultivating mind and hand together. One interesting item of the Bulletin might fairly have been put under the title "Beware of Statistics." It refers to the educational statistics of the United States Census Bureau. "For the past several decades," says the Bulletin of these statistics, they "have not been complimentary to southwest Louisiana. Throughout the 13 or more parishes constituting this section the percentage of illiteracy among native white men over the age of 21 has been put down at nearly 44 per cent. These figures are simply incredible, and it is probable that the census takers have in many cases confounded inability to read and write with inability to read and write English."

The Summer number of the Single Tax Review has an interesting table of contents. The late James Loves's last article, "Arriere-Pensee," which leads, is followed by a continuation of Grace Isabel Colbron's admirable review of radicalism in literature, and this by a thoughtful defense of patents by Fred J. Miller, which, able and convincing as to the points it makes, seems to us to miss the point in controversy. The real question is not whether inventors shall have the intangible products of their labor secured to them by law; it is whether patents are capable of giving that security effectually to them and justly to others. An explanation by Mr. Somers himself, of the Somers system of assessing city lots for taxation is the practical article, and a usefully practical article it is; while the Fairhope controversy, participated in by the editor, Joseph Dana Miller, supplies the spice, if dignified controversy can be called spicy. This interrogative suggestion in the editor's article strikes us as peculiarly worthy of very serious consideration by reformers of every shade, when they contemplate making working models of their theories by means of colonization: "Is it indeed written that nothing shall succeed apart from the great stream of human progress? that no man or collection of men can withdraw from their fellows and by themselves demonstrate any great theory of human life and conduct?"


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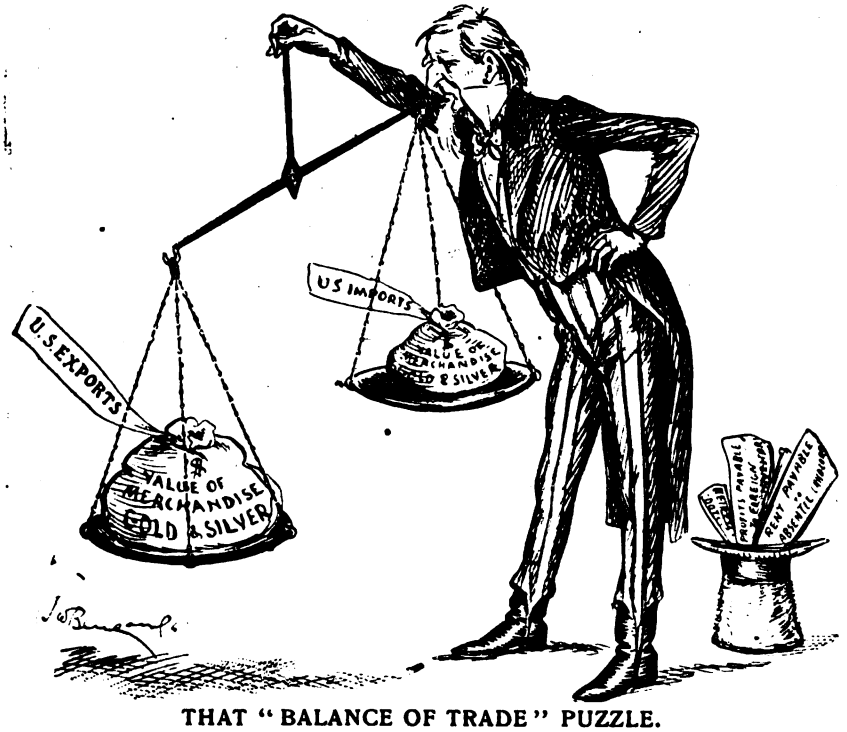


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