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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 381

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 22, 1905.

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EDITORIAL

An unpublished chapter on municipal ownership in Chicago.

After much "backing and filling," the local transportation committee of the Chicago City Council has decided to allow Mayor Dunne to employ a street car expert who believes in municipal ownership and operation, and whom he can trust—A. B. du Pont, of Detroit. The friends of the traction corporations, quite numerous enough on this committee to obstruct the Mayor at every step, succeeded in postponing that decision from time to time for three or four weeks, and altogether without any better reason than that they wish to embarrass the municipal ownership policy. During the latter days of Harrison's administration they cooperated with Harrison, who also is friendly to the traction interests, to begin a chancery suit which could have served no better purpose than to aid the corporations, and which for that reason Mayor Dunne (pp. 179, 185) withdrew, substituting an efficient and expeditious law suit for it. They cooperated further with Mayor Harrison to procure bids for an experimental municipal ownership line about 10 miles long, and to this end directed Bion J. Arnold to prepare specifications. They further cooperated in smuggling through a contract with Mr. Arnold, a few hours before Mayor Dunne's inauguration and without his knowledge, whereby Arnold was saddled upon his administration as a traction expert, upon a basis for compensation, to be paid out of the Mayor's contingent fund, which has already exhausted more than half of that entire fund. It now appears from incomplete newspaper reports that Mr. Arnold prepared specifications for constructing the experimental road, which were upon such a scale as to necessitate an expenditure so great as to make its failure certain. This was partly due to the fact, apparently, that the experiment was upon a diminutive scale—only 10 to 14 miles, although more than 100 miles were immediately available,—but it was also due to what seems very much like a "stuffing" of the specifications with excessive requirements. As all these things were either done or arranged for under Harrison's administration and in evident expectation of the defeat of the traction interests at the Spring election, no other inference appears reasonable than that deliberate plans were afoot to embarrass the municipal ownership policy step by step, and incidentally to play with an experiment in municipal ownership on terms foredooming it to failure. Is it remarkable, then, that the local transportation committee has been "held up" so long by some of its members, on Mayor Dunne's application for leave to employ a street car expert whom he could trust?

Judge Chetlain and the Chicago subway forgery.

A great graft case, in connection with the Chicago subway, came to a sudden and quite unsatisfactory end last week. The Chicago subway is a narrow tunnel ramifying the streets for 30 miles or more some 40 or 50 feet below the surface. It was begun in secret, and had been extensively constructed long before the public generally knew anything of its existence. Subsequently a forgery in connection with the affair was discovered. A journal of the City Council had been so altered as to appear to confer privileges of construction and operation when in fact the Council had granted no such privileges. But the privileges purporting to have been thus granted have been utilized by the subway company under cover of that forgery. When these facts came to light the forgers were indicted. They moved to quash the indictment for failing to allege facts showing how the forgery had operated to defraud. Judge Tuthill sustained the indictment. Then a jury was empanelled before Judge Chetlain and the trial proceeded. At the close of the case for the prosecution the motion to order a verdict of acquittal was granted by Judge Chetlain, his reason for it being the alleged defect in the indictment which Judge Tuthill had already held to be valid. In consequence of this action Judge Chetlain has been severely criticised, and public confidence in the integrity of the judiciary is again disturbed. Apart from personal considerations which may be urged in behalf of Judge Chetlain, his action invites question if not criticism. A co-ordinate judge had already sustained the indictment. Had this decision been otherwise, there need have been no miscarriage of justice, for the prosecution could have procured another indictment. As it was, that official rightly consid-

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ered the validity of the indictment as judicially established and empanelled a jury to try it. Judge Chetlain was under no obligation, of course, to regard Judge Tuthill's decision as binding; he had the legal right to reverse that decision. But when the consequences are considered, his doing so affords an excuse at least for questioning the integrity of his purpose. Had he accepted Judge Tuthill's decision as the law of the case until reversed by a higher court, the case would have gone to the jury. If a verdict of "not guilty" had been rendered all errors of law would have been cured and the accused would have been exonerated. If the verdict had been "guilty," Judge Tuthill's error, if an error, could have been corrected by the higher courts. But Judge Chetlain chose to reverse Judge Tuthill, and consequently to order the jury to acquit. By doing that, he prevented all possibility of rectifying errors, and allowed men apparently criminal to escape. The higher courts are prevented from deciding whether Tuthill or Chetlain is right, and the accused are shielded from the danger of a trial on another indictment for the same offense. This has every appearance of a miscarriage of justice for which the intricacies of the law are less responsible than the inclinations of a judge.

Postal censorship in the United States.

An address issued from New York by the Free Speech League (Dr. E. B. Foote, treasurer, 120 Lexington avenue), calls attention to the development in this country of a usurpation of power of the most threatening character—censorship of the press. The particular instance referred to is the case of a Chicago publication named "Lucifer," edited by Moses Harman, and charged with publishing something obscene; but neither the particular paper or its editor, nor the particular charge, is important, in view of the arbitrary method of suppression. The vital issue raised by this case is not whether obscene publications shall be suppressed; it is whether the postal department shall be permitted to pass judgment, ex-parte, on the question of obscenity, and, without due process of law, to destroy newspaper properties upon the ipse dixit of postal clerks.

—

This is what appears to have been done in Harman's case. Having deposited a regular edition of his paper in the mails, he supposed it had been distributed to his subscribers; but he learned later that, instead of being distributed, it had been sent to the dead letter office and confiscated upon a charge of containing obscene matter. Whether the matter was obscene we are in no position to judge, for the paper is not before us; but every intelligent citizen is in a position to judge of the importance of the right of a newspaper publisher to a fair trial on any accusation, even of indecency, before being deprived of his property. If postal clerks may at will suppress and confiscate any edition of any periodical which they are ordered or are pleased to regard as obscene, then no periodical which in any respect offends the powers that be, is quite safe from censorial malice.

—

It is easy to convict of crime when the accuser is also prosecutor, judge and jury, and the accused is given neither opportunity to be heard nor notice of the accusation. Especially is this true when the same authorities who thus confiscate property without due process of law, refuse to disclose in advance of publication what their judgment as to the legitimacy of printed matter may be. For illustration: The editor of a perfectly clean periodical, feeling called upon to discuss in a decent manner some question relating to the philosophy of sex relationships, might in good faith submit his article to the proper postal authorities with a view to avoiding the penalties of censorship. But the authorities would refuse to advise him, although, as their functions are executive and not judicial, there is no reason for such refusal. Yet, after the article had been published, and the edition of the periodical deposited in the mails, the same executive bureau which had refused to disclose its attitude toward the article in advance of publication, would promptly confiscate the edition without allowing the editor any opportunity to be heard. This is precisely what is said to have occurred in Harman's case. It is precisely what the postal authorities assert the right to do in any case. It is absolutely in contravention of American principles of jurisprudence, and it is a most dangerous usurpation of censorial power.

THE MEMORY OF JOHN HAY.

Now that the papers are full of John Hay's services and his fame, it is well to recall what past experience has to say of the fame that waits on human deeds. If his name survives in the memory of man for a century, will it be by his statesmanship, or by his verse? Will it be from the events that have put his name in great headlines of the daily press, or from the corners of columns where stray verses are found?

Very few "statesmen" live long on common fame. Statecraft is temporary, and built on expediency. It has rarely been constructive, or based on any great original principle that would set the world forward. Such principles alone can make abiding fame in real statesmanship, and they have usually come from the outside and been adopted slowly and grudgingly by professional statesmen.

Officers of government have their reward in their own day, which means generally that they have done little to merit the reward of future fame and gratitude.

Who knows anything of the statesmen of Europe when Dante was struggling with his Inferno? John Milton was a conspicuous and efficient secretary of state, but would he be remembered for this alone? How many great officers of state were flourishing in London when Wordsworth stood unknown on Westminster bridge and wrote his immortal sonnet? Who were the great ones in Scot-

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land when Bobbie Burns was throwing off chance songs to his Nancys and Jeans and Marys? How little do contemporaries know of that which from their midst is destined for the memory of future times! But if we may judge anything from the past, we may be sure John Hay will be remembered not from aught he did as secretary of state, but from the verses he wrote long before he dreamt of being the cabinet officer of a government.

J. H. DILLARD.

THOMAS W. LAWSON—HIS SINCERITY AND HIS ECONOMIC PHILOSOPHY.

Lawson's tour of the West has had a useful effect,—even if in no other way, yet in dissipating that general feeling of uncertainty regarding his good faith, which the "System" has industriously and somewhat successfully fostered.

The newspaper reports of his speeches have been so farcical that if it had been necessary to depend upon them Lawson would have gained nothing by his trip. But thousands who met him and listened to him are now in a state of mind to respect his motives as well as to welcome his revelations; and, slowly no doubt, but inevitably, their assurances among their friends will counteract the work of garbled and colored press dispatches, with a people with whom the news reporting system of this country is already thoroughly discredited. A comparison, for instance, of his speech at the Jefferson Club in Chicago with the newspaper reports of it could hardly fail to shock the most unsophisticated apologist for the "System." At any rate, those who heard the speech realize, as never before, the usefulness of Lawson's work, and acknowledge, though never before, the genuineness of his purpose.

Lawson's personality is agreeably disappointing. Although one would readily recognize him from his printed portraits, the "sportiness" of most of those reproductions is lacking. His face and natural pose are those of a man who could go through all he has described in his magazine articles, and who would grit his teeth and do it if challenged by circumstances, yet who could afterward describe it and denounce it not only with the appearance of candor and sincerity which has characterized his Everybody's articles, but with candor and sincerity in fact.

His Chicago speech was excellent both in matter and form. Without any affectation of oratory, or strain after momentary effect of any sort, it was a talk rather than a speech; and it held a large audience for two hours at midnight. Like his magazine articles, his speech revealed but little, compared with its length, of the rascalities of the "System;" but, also like his magazine articles, it wove what he did reveal into the web of a general story of high finance so fittingly as to make the whole recital intensely interesting, and so conspicuously as to emphasize the dangerous criminality of the "System." And it disclosed better than his magazine articles have done, the thread of a true economic philosophy, the end of which he may or may not see; while, even more than either his magazine articles or his personality, it has left behind an impression of profound sincerity.

In our school-boy days, as many of us will remember, the meaning of "sincere" was impressed upon us with interesting stories regarding the etymology of the term. It was compounded, we were told, of two Latin words, "sine," meaning "without," and "cera," meaning "wax." "Without wax," then, as we were instructed, had been the ancient slang out of which our honest word "sincere" had come.

This etymology is now repudiated, it seems; but the repudiation sacrifices picturesque suggestiveness to uncertain truth. For, as one of the "sine cera" stories ran, the old Romans had business grafters among them even as we have at this very day. These business grafters were accustomed in certain lines of trade to make the worse appear the better goods by waxing defects out of sight. In later times putty has been found to be more economical than wax and equally fraudulent. But wax was common then. In due time the waxing frauds and analogous ones generated suspicion against the business classes of Rome—even against men who were punctual in the performance of religious rites,—somewhat as the sanding of sugar raised suspicion once in our own time against grocers, even against grocers who were deacons; and the honester (possibly the shrewder) ones among those old Roman grafters, learning that genuine goods were better for business purposes than such as had been fraudulently waxed, began to advertise their brands of goods as "sine cera," or something that sounded like that, and the Romans understood them to mean, literally, "without wax," or, as we should say now, and more intelligibly, perhaps, "without graft."

Now, if this story were true, and we should judge the Romans by ourselves, wouldn't it be a fair inference that the pious business men of Rome who continued to use wax fraudulently, sneered at the goods of their honest fellows, saying, "Sine cera non!" or something like it? Wouldn't they have protested in some such language as this: "That lying freedman who says I use wax is unworthy a reply. He uses wax himself. What's his wax?" That would have been the ancient Roman equivalent of the modern American question, "What's his graft?" or, "Is he sincere?"

And we may be sure that the greater the waxer and the worse his exposure, the more vociferously would he have denounced the person exposing him as being himself a waxer. Is it not so in our day?

Whom are the men that we are most vociferously invited, by what Lawson calls "the votaries of the System," to regard as insincere? It is not those who serve the System; it is those who threaten its existence.

When a Supreme Court judge "changes his opinion over night," in order to serve the System by nullifying the income tax law, who asks what his wax is? When a judge serves votaries of the System by deciding that for the purposes of a criminal prosecution a forgery is not a forgery when it doesn't convey the property it has conveyed, who asks what his wax is? When another judge shall decide, as some judge probably will—and rightly for aught we know—that the prop-

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erty so conveyed must, for the purposes of a civil suit, stay conveyed, who will ask what his wax is? When other judges make law out of their inner consciousness for the purpose of serving an employing class by balking a labor class with new-fangled legal doctrines, who asks anything about their wax? Who questions the sincerity of such men—in public? Only the "lower orders" among the people, reinforced with an occasional crank; and only the "yellows" among newspapers and magazines. To the "better element" among the people, and the "blacks," as distinguished from the "yellows," among the newspapers and magazines, all such persons are sincere.

But when a judge, outraged in his conscience by the growing power and corrupting influences of the System, accepts a call from the people of his city to lead them in a struggle at the polls to loosen its grip on that city—this judge's sincerity is instantly and persistently and publicly questioned. When Gov. Altgeld vetoes a bill corruptly passed by and for the System, thereby sacrificing his fortune and closing his political career, the votaries of the System ask whether he is sincere, and every poll parrot in the country echoes the question. When Bryan meets the System with the whole country for a battlefield, it is his sincerity and not that of the respectable head usher of the System that is questioned. When Tom L. Johnson meets the System in its lurking places in Cleveland, Hanna's sincerity is questioned less and less, although he brazenly declares that he is working for the System, but the corrupted press, the pagan preacher, and the parrots all want to know whether Johnson is sincere. When a Congressman Baker returns his pass to the corrupting railroad his sincerity is questioned. And so with La Follette, who fought corruption in Wisconsin in his own party; we all found ourselves asking whether he was sincere or not. So also with Folk in Missouri. "Is he sincere?" was the question that went the rounds.

And now we have Lawson's sincerity to consider. He is not in politics like the others, and evidently doesn't intend to get into politics. He is so rich that he doesn't want any more money; or if he did he could make it quicker and easier at his trade in Wall street than as a writer or speaker agitating against a financial combination that could if it tried and would if it dared revenge itself and protect its infamies by ridding him of his fortune and the world of him. Yet the same question is asked about Lawson and echoed far and wide by confederates and dupes: "What's his wax?" "Is he sincere?"

All this chatter about the insincerity of men who fight the System that is digesting the people along with their securities, is rank nonsense. When a prosecuting attorney works hard and intelligently to convict a horse thief, the jury don't ask whether he is sincere or not. What they want to know is whether the horse thief is innocent.

What difference, for instance, does it make to the people whether Altgeld was sincere when he vetoed the monopoly bills? If he had not vetoed them, the rascals would have got away with their plunder; and would the people have been any the happier for realizing that the plunderers were sincere? What difference does it make to the people whether Mayor Johnson, in making himself what Lincoln Steffens calls him, "the best mayor of the best governed city in the world," has done this disinterestedly or not, so long as he has done it? What difference does it make whether Mayor Dunne is disinterested in his municipal ownership policy, so long as he carries it out? Isn't it better that the people should come to their own even through leaders who are not sincerely disinterested, but are looking for some reward, than not to come into their own at all? Is it any better to be regularly robbed by sincere rascals, than to be saved from robbery by insincere reformers?

But all who have made themselves acquainted with Altgeld's public life know that he was not only a public defender but an effective and sincere one. He was so sincere that he swapped his fortune and his senatorial aspirations for the unthrifty privilege of heading off a great graft with a veto message, when he had only to leave the responsibility upon the legislature which had already assumed it, and, writing nothing and saying nothing, to become the idol of all the powerful rascals of the System. He was so effective that these rascals hated, vilified, and financially ruined him. To Johnson's sincerity a similar tribute may be paid. And so to Dunne's and to La Follette's and Baker's and Folk's and Bryan's. What the System really objects to in such men as these is not insincerity. Their sincerity has been proved. If they were not sincere the System would have acquired the Altgelds while they lived, and the Bryans and Johnsons and Folks and La Follettes and Bakers and Dunnes now. Hasn't it acquired the Eckelses and the Vanderlips and the Becks and the Mortons and the Depews, and a whole lot of other waxy servitors, some of whom have been found out and others are under suspicion?

And although Lawson is fighting the System in a different field, turning his back altogether upon the political, his sincerity, too, is proved. He says that he has set about destroying the System, the iniquities of which he is exposing; and all that he has written and spoken, as well as what the votaries of the System have written and spoken and cautiously refrained from writing and speaking about, goes to confirm Mr. Lawson's professions.

When Lawson's articles first appeared, the outcry against his integrity and the suspicions cast upon his sincerity were so effective that no one could meet them without a better knowledge of the man and his revelations than was available. But this seemed to us (p. 163) to make no great difference. Mr. Lawson's sincerity and integrity were only indirectly involved. The real question at issue was whether or not he was telling the truth.

On this question his integrity and sincerity certainly did have a bearing. One may believe the story of an honest and sincere writer, while doubting the same story from the pen of a man whose honesty and integrity are questioned.

But the honesty and sincerity of a witness are not the only tests of the truth of his testimony. The

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story of the most dishonest and insincere witness may be so corroborated by circumstances, by other witnesses, and by the conduct of the persons whom it involves, as to be more convincing than the uncorroborated story of an honest and sincere witness. This is the theory upon which criminals are allowed to testify against their associates in crime. It was as such a witness, therefore, that we inclined to regard Mr. Lawson. His story was straight, it was plausible, in general it was true—so true that his critics affected to complain of him for telling nothing new,—and it made a case for the other side to refute. The burden of the proof was cast upon them. They have avoided this burden, and thereby they have contributed to confirming Lawson.

In the beginning Lawson's story was long-drawn out. That is, it seemed so to readers who were familiar with the Wall street world. But his pen pictures of the inhabitants of that world and their environment were not long-drawn-out to readers to whom the Wall street world was an unknown land. Lawson was under an absolute necessity, if he was to get the public ear in such a way as to be understood, of not only describing and explaining that strange world, but of doing so with as much elaboration and repetition of what to the habitues of Wall street are commonplaces as might be necessary to make his readers familiar with the setting and the tecnicalities of the great crimes he was promising to expose. This he did with artistic skill and tremendous effect.

Then his revelations began. Whoever imagines that Lawson has revealed nothing of importance, has but to read the June and July installments of his magazine articles. Whoever doubts the truth of his story, has only to turn back to his insurance revelations of nine months ago and compare them with the denials that were spread broadcast then and the disclosures as to the Equitable which are spreading themselves broadcast now.

During all that time Lawson stood as a state's witness exposing co-criminals. But it was as a state's witness well corroborated by circumstances, by the suspicious conduct of his betrayed associates, by the fact that his accusations could be refuted by public documents and by public officials if false, and by the rottenness that soon began to ooze out of the System and into plain sight.

The good folks in our midst had a right at that time to regard him with repulsion, not to say distrust, if they wished, and to gather in the hems of their garments lest his touch contaminate them. But even then, in the attitude merely of a state's witness "giving away his pals," Lawson was better than the pals he was giving away. He, at any rate, was assaulting the System by means of which the crimes had been committed, while they were oiling its bearings for further piratical use.

But to-day Lawson stands in a more reputable position. As his uncontradicted and well-confirmed story has unfolded, the conviction must have grown upon most of its readers that instead of "squealing" on co-criminals, he has come forward as a co-victim to reveal to thousands of others the crime by which they were swindled, and to destroy a great conspiracy, the inside workings of which he had seen, whereby the public is perennially robbed.

The sincerity of these words of Lawson's in the June "Everybody's," by way of incidentally explaining his conduct when the Amalgamated scheme was turned into a swindle from what he had regarded as a legitimate affair, and what was so by stock-market ethics, cannot well be gainsaid:

> The straight and narrow way is easy to follow, but once lost is hard to find. The defaulting bank president who over night "borrows" a few thousands from his institution, fully intends to return the "loan" next day, but repairing an error is more difficult than resisting a temptation, and when a man is in crime's net, his struggles to escape seem only to tghten around him its meshes. When the incidents of his downfall are before the jury or the coroner, there will always appear a dozen places where the unfortunate might have cut his way out of the strangling coils, but he who surveys such situations from the outside has a clearer vision than the blinded and desperate wretch in the trap. He who enlists with the brigands of "frenzied finance" and takes the oath of addition, division, and silence, cannot discharge himself because his comrades are needlessly harsh to their victims. Eventually he may decide on desertion as preferable to throat-cutting, but to suggest resignation is to invite destruction, for it is a tradition of the fraternity that the best cure for repentance is a knife-thrust. . . . I hope none of my readers will ever find themselves so stuck between the high cliffs and the deep water as I was that night. I recalled the old story of the sea captain whose ship was captured by pirates and who was offered the alternative of hoisting the black flag and joining the band with his crew, or walking the plank. If he became a pirate, at least he saved the lives of his men, for their fate hung on his decision. If he refused—well, he retained his own virtue and kept intact that of his crew. The captain in my story had preferred propriety to piracy, and 15 men lost their lives to no purpose, whereas the part of wsdom would have been to submit, with reservations, on the chance of throwing the pirates to the sharks at the first opportunity.

That simple presentment of Lawson's dilemma should appeal to any fair-minded man. In the face of it, who can possibly, with a good conscience, denounce Lawson while excusing the pirates whose marauding ship he is trying to sink?

Lawson's purpose goes further than to destroy the particular pirates whom he is exposing. As we have said, he has hold of the thread of a sound economic philosophy. Whether he sees where it leads to we do not know. Whether he will follow if he does see it, or when he shall see it, we cannot tell. But his face is turned in the right direction; and, as Henry George used to say, the rest is only a matter of keeping on. The general direction of Mr. Lawson's social philosophy was disclosed in his Jefferson Club speech.

His ideal with reference to economics is not that wealth should be distributed equally, but that it should be distributed equitably. What he understands by equitable in this connection he made as clear as words can make it. He said that all who live in a country should share in its aggregate prosperity in proportion respectively to their respective contributions to that prosperity. Absolutely fundamental and sound in principle, this economic ideal could not have been more sincerely stated.

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His conception of money is that it is a certificate from the community as a whole to the individual who possesses it, that he has contributed to the general prosperity so much wealth—"a hundred bushels of wheat, or a trundle-bed," etc., and that this certificate ought to yield in any kind of wealth the equivalent of its possessor's contribution to the aggregate of wealth. That position also is impregnable.

Mr. Lawson then touches upon corporation stock. Here his phraseology may be open to doubt and his views to controversy. But in a large sense, he is certainly following faithfully the true economic path. To him society seems to be largely organized upon a corporate basis, with corporation stocks added to money as certificates of title to wealth; and broadly speaking this is true. But right here he stops. At any rate his declarations, and the primary step in the remedy he intends to offer, do not indicate that he has gone any farther in analyzing industrial conditions or solving economic problems.

Observing that a company properly capitalized at, say, $10,000,000, may have its capital doubled and be thereby enabled to exact from the aggregate of wealth twice as much as before, he proposes to remedy economic maladjustments and equalize wealth, by reducing stocks to the real value of the wealth they are issued for, and keeping them down to that point.

We wholly agree with Mr. Lawson in this, in so far as wealth is represented by stock certificates. If stock certificates were kept down to the value of the actual wealth for which they are issued, then economic problems, in so far as they are affected by corporate ownership, would be settled and settled right.

But hasn't Mr. Lawson set the cart before the horse? Hasn't he assumed that wealth distribution is controlled by stock values, whereas, in fact, stock values are controlled by wealth distribution?

Let us suppose, for illustration, that a corporation capitalized at $10,000,000 owns that much of actual wealth—buildings, machinery, cars, locomotives, etc., etc.—and that this wealth, after payment for all privileges, such as sites, rights of way, mining rights, etc., would yield free and clear, over and above all other expenses, say $1,000,000. Now, if interest is about 5 per cent., and 5 more would cover risk and replacement (we use the figures arbitrarily and only for illustration), that stock would be worth $10,000,000, which is its nominal and equitable value, as both Mr. Lawson and we should agree. But suppose, further, that the right of way, or the site, or the mining rights were a free gift to the company from the public. (And whether a gift or a purchase the principle is the same. Such property is not wealth; it is a privilege, the annual financial benefit of which belongs to the public but goes to the corporation.) How, then, will those privileges affect the stock?

If the privileges yield annually $500,000 net, then the corporation will receive, in addition to its 5 per cent. net on its $10,000,000 worth of wealth, 5 per cent. net on its $10,000,000 worth of privilege. In these circumstances could not the stock of that corporation be raised to $20,000,000, and in a free and open market would it not stay at that point, no matter what scheme for reducing it again to $10,000,000 were adopted? In other words, isn't $10,000,000 of "water" in corporate stock simply a capitalization of some monopoly privilege which would yield an unearned income to the stockholders whether the stock were "watered" or not?

At $20,000,000 in the example used by Mr. Lawson and discussed above, the dividends would be 5 per cent. Reduce the stock to $10,000,000, and the dividends would be 10 per cent., which would force the stock back to $20,000,000, if interest were 5 per cent. And even if it could be kept down to $10,000,000 by some contrivance or other, nevertheless the owners would get an income on their privilege of site, right of way, or whatever else the privilege might be. Is it not evident, then, that any real reduction of values to an equitable basis necessitates going farther than to stock values?

Stock does not give value to the privileges it represents; privileges give value to the stock that represents them.

We understand, or think we do, that Mr. Lawson has especially in mind the jobbing of stocks, whereby stocks that are really worth $10,000,000, because they represent that amount of property of all sorts, are forced, now down and now up, by manipulation—that is, in a market that is not open and free.

If stocks could be firmly fixed at the actual value which they represent, this juggling would of course be stopped if Mr. Lawson's plan is what he thinks it. But, equally of course, if we could make it rain we should seldom have a drought. And even if the miracle of fixing stock values were accomplished, the value of such privileges as sites, rights of way, mining rights, etc., as well as the value of the real capital, would be included in those stock values unless Mr. Lawson's proposed remedy goes further than he has yet indicated.

When stock values are fixed securely at the value-point of the real capital, exclusive of the value of the privileges, the work of making wealth distribution equitable, so far as it is represented by corporation stocks, will, we think, have been accomplished. But we do not see how that can be done without eliminating the value of privileges from stock values, in some manner which Mr. Lawson has not yet suggested. In any view of the matter, it is the value of privileges and not the value of stocks that is the more fundamental fact for consideration in connection with economic problems.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, July 20.

The Japanese-Russian war.

A dispatch of the 18th from Tokio reported the investment by a Japanese army (pp. 199, 214, 232) of the fortress at the Russian port of Vladivostok.

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The expected appointment of Witte as principal ambassador from Russia at the peace conference (p. 232) has been made. In an Associated Press interview at St. Petersburg on the 17th Mr. Witte said:

I have been designated by the Emperor as his ambassador extraordinary for pour parlers to ascertain whether it

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is possible to conclude a treaty of peace. My personal views are of secondary importance, but my ideas are in entire accord with those of my friend, Count Lamsdorf. In serving my Emperor, I have received precise instructions from his majesty and shall follow them. The ultimate decision remains in the hands of the Emperor, and it is for him to decide the destinies of Russia. The Emperor is the friend of peace and desires peace, but I fear that the Japanese terms will be such that we will be unable to reach an accord.

A similar lack of confidence in a favorable result at the peace conference is expressed by the Japanese. An example is furnished by the Japanese minister at London, Baron Hayashi, who is reported in an interview on the 18th as saying:

We do not know what powers have been delegated to the Russian plenipotentiaries, and after the events of the last eighteen months Japan puts faith only in accomplished facts. The terms will be communicated only at the conference. Then we shall discover what powers the Russian plenipotentiaries possess. I cannot see where people get the idea that the Japanese terms would be moderate. The public evidently mistakes the Japanese for angels.

Russian domestic conditions.

An order having been issued by Gen. Trepoff positively prohibiting the publication of news relating to labor strikes or other revolutionary events, no trustworthy reports of the domestic situation in Russia (p. 231) are obtainable. But that disorders continue is evident from the rumors that break through the censorship.

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A regiment stationed in a small village in the mountains near Tiflis, in the Caucasus, was reported on the 14th as having "murdered all its officers and joined the revolutionists." Rioting in Lodz, Warsaw, Odessa and the Caucasian provinces, together with bomb-throwing at Baku, Batoum and Moscow, were reported on the 16th. On this day, also, an Associated Press dispatch described a proclamation at Moscow, issued by revolutionists, which announced that Count Shouvaloff, the chief of police at Moscow, who was assassinated on the 11th (p. 234), had been executed pursuant to a revolutionary death sentence on account of "the black and cruel activity of this satrap at Odessa [where Count Shouvaloff formerly was prefect], and his subsequent return to the active service of reaction at the call of Trepoff, the pan-Russian dictator, to stamp out the revolution in Moscow." The proclamation concludes:

Let this execution serve as a joyful signal to the Russian millions in revolt and as the death knell of the dying autocracy. Let it remind all dogs of the autocracy of national justice.

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It is expected that Gen. Trepoff will be the next victim. An Associated Press dispatch of the 13th from St. Petersburg reported that—

he is constantly in receipt of letters signed by the executive committee of the fighting organization informing him that his hour has come. A remarkable feature of all the communications is that the writers take pains to say that no safeguards will avail to avert his impending doom. At the same time they tell him he need not be afraid to go abroad in the streets. They add: "Your sentence will be executed in your own room. You will die in your bed." The terrorists seem to take pride in issuing a challenge involving a demonstration of their power and resources to penetrate the armor of the police. Moreover, General Trepoff knows enough of the resources and desperateness of the organization to believe firmly that the terrorists are able to execute their threat. He makes no concealment of the fact that he expects to be killed, but his nerve is unshaken. "I will at least die at the post of duty," he says. Privately General Trepoff takes a gloomy view of the future of the autocracy, in which he believes. The General is confident that if given untrammeled power he could restore the old status quo in a year, but the present vacillating policy he thinks will end only in ruin.

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Thirty of the crew of the Potemkin, who had surrendered (pp. 231, 232), were shot for mutiny, according to a Kustenji (Roumania) report of the 14th; and a Berlin report of the 15th declared that the leaders of the Odessa outbreak (p. 199) were "tied to the muzzle of shotted cannon and blown to fragments by General Trepoff's orders, according to reports received here from that city." Dispatches of the 13th purporting to be directly from Odessa, indicated that the civil and the military authorities there are out of harmony. "Of 202 persons arrested," says this report, "74 were acquitted to-day, owing to a lack of evidence, while 28 who were found guilty were sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, the two weeks which they were in jail awaiting trial to be credited to their sentences;" and in contrast with that leniency by the civil magistrates the report states that "24 of the leaders of the uprising, held as prisoners of the military government, were hanged in the various prisons to-day."

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A session of the Zemstvo congress (p. 183) was called to assemble at Moscow on the 19th, but the Moscow police, under advice from Gen. Trepoff, forbade the meeting. Nevertheless the executive committee met on the 16th at the house of the president of the district Zemstvo of Moscow, to prepare a programme for the congress. The police appeared and demanded that this committee disperse; but the members of the committee refused to comply. It was positively declared that the congress would be held at the appointed time, and these declarations were verified. At the palace of Prince Dolgorouki, one of the leaders of the Liberal party of Russia, on the 19th, 225 delegates met. Mr. Golovine, president of the organizing committee, called the congress to order and was stating that promises had been secured that no extreme measures would be taken by the authorities, when the presence of the police was announced. Invited to enter, five police officers came into the room. They demanded that the congress disperse, in accordance with the Prefect's order forbidding such meetings as calculated to produce disorder. The congress refused to obey the command, explaining that the congress was in session with the Czar's authority, as personally expressed on the 19th of June. The names of the delegates were taken by the police, who thereupon withdrew, and the congress proceeded with its work, of which the following news report is cabled by the Associated Press:

The scheme of a national assembly on the basis outlined by the committee presided over by M. Bouligin, minister of the interior, was minutely and critically discussed and denounced as totally inadequate to remove Russia's internal grievances, because, including a property qualification and an electoral system by classes, it prevented the assembly from truly interpreting the will of the nation, while the exclusion of

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numerous categories of citizens from the franchise was a contradiction of the principles of equity and reasonable state policy. At the same time it was recognized that the proposed assembly would comprise a considerable portion of the social forces of the Empire and serve as the center of a social movement, which would tend to secure political liberty and regular national representation. Therefore it was considered desirable that in the event of the carrying out of the Bouligin or a similar project the delegates of the zemstvos and municipalities should participate in the assembly to the greatest possible extent, with the object of forming a compact group and to obtain a guarantee of individual and public liberties. Numerous resolutions embodying the foregoing criticisms were adopted unanimously, as were also resolutions complaining of excessive administrative and police control of elections and insisting that publicity be given to the proceedings of the proposed assembly which should be in direct relations with the Emperor without interference from the council of the Empire.

Although the newspapers of the Empire had been strictly forbidden even to mention the congress, the Slovo of St. Petersburg, printed a long dispatch on the 20th giving a detailed report of the proceedings.

British Politics.

Preparatory to the general parliamentary elections, which cannot be much longer deferred, Mr. Balfour, the British prime minister of Great Britain and leader of the Conservative party, has introduced a new element into British politics (p. 121) by proposing a redistribution of parliamentary seats, or, as we should say in this country, a new apportionment. But the redistribution is not proposed upon any general basis of population as would be necessary in this country. The Opposition charge that its purpose is to lessen the representation of Ireland, which sends Opposition members, and to increase the aggregate Conservative representation in England. In this manner it is suspected that the Conservatives hope to save themselves from the defeat which it is believed they must encounter at the general elections on the present parliamentary distribution. Under the plan proposed by Mr. Balfour, Irish representation would be reduced by 21 members, on the ground that Ireland's population has fallen off; whereas plural voting, University representation, and other historic inequalities would be preserved in England. The Irish view of the scheme as stated by T. P. O'Connor is reported as follows:

It is founded on no principle whatever, except to diminish Irish representation. A limit is arbitrarily fixed for counties, so as not to interfere with English counties, and for boroughs so that about twenty-five English boroughs, noted as hotbeds for corruption and represented mainly by Unionists, just escape extinction. For this trick, the meanest and shabbiest ever attempted to be perpetrated by England against Ireland, to be essayed by a moribund ministry and an utterly discredited leader like Balfour, makes its audacity almost inconceivable. The bitterest part of it is that Ireland's decline in population, of which Balfour is taking advantage, is the direct result of the Union and the British parliament's atrocious dealings with Ireland. Under the Act of Union the Parliament of England guaranteed Ireland 103 members in the British Parliament "forever," and if Ireland now got representation according to her population in 1800 she would have 103 members, while, when the reform bill of 1858 was introduced, she would, if the same basis had been taken, have 261 members. When in the 1858 debates the Irish members demanded an increase of Irish representatives the British ministry refused on the plea that the Act of Union guaranteeing Ireland 103 was really a treaty which could not be abrogated without the consent of both parties. Yet now, when owing to England's infamous rule, the opportunity presents itself of reducing Irish representation by adopting a population basis, it is jumped at by the British ministry despite the emphatic protests of the other party to the treaty.

The ministerial scheme evoked an adverse ruling from the Speaker on the 18th. John Redmond had asserted the right of the House to act upon the redistribution resolutions in detail, whereas Mr. Balfour insisted that they be voted upon as a whole. The Speaker sustained Mr. Redmond. Under this ruling the Irish members would have been able, so the dispatches have it, to prolong the session into the winter, and Mr. Balfour withdrew the resolutions.

The result of an important bye-election which came off on the 29th of June, being in harmony with the results of most of these elections recently, further indicates the direction of the political trend in Great Britain. It was for the constituency of East Finsbury, which is a part of London and has been strongly Conservative. At the preceding election the Conservative majority was 347. This is now turned into a Liberal majority of 768. The circumstances are significant. J. Allen Baker, the Liberal candidate, who had been defeated by 347 at the general elections, which occurred during the Boer war (vol. viii, p. 441), was again the Liberal candidate; the Conservative candidate, Mr. Cohen, was widely respected for his philanthropy and derived no little strength no doubt from his family relationship with the Rothschilds. The lines were sharply drawn between the progressive and the reactionary policies which in Great Britain as in this country are in conflict, and the municipal issues of London were evidently uppermost in the public mind. Regarding this fact the Manchester Guardian of the 30th said: "Mr. Baker's connection with the London County Council supplies some explanation of the new tendency of opinion. Mr. Cohen found it necessary to remind the electors on his placards that they were not voting in a municipal election. Londoners seem to be realizing at last that social reform requires a sympathetic Parliament behind a progressive County Council." Mr. Baker is a pronounced supporter of the progressive policy advocated by the leader of the Liberal party, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who described it in a recent speech in these terms: "Let the value of land be assessed independently of the buildings upon it, and upon such valuation let such contribution be made to those public services which create the value. What is our rating system? It is a tax upon industry and labor, upon enterprise, upon improvement; it is a tax which is the direct cause of much of the suffering and overcrowding in the towns. And remember that overcrowding is not a symptom only, but a cause of poverty, because it demoralizes its victims and forces them to find relief in excesses. By throwing the rates on site values, communities which created these values will be set free—free, in the sense that they can expand, free to direct their own destinies." In other words, Mr. Baker is what would be known in this country as a single taxer.

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The Chicago traction question.

In the United States, interest in the progressive movement has reference to public utilities and centers in Chicago (p. 228), where Mayor Dunne is struggling with an opposition committee of the City Council. At a meeting of this committee on the 11th the chairman had been directed to notify the Chicago City Railway and the Union Traction companies that if they had any further propositions of settlement to oner the committee would sit to receive them on the 15th. On that day, accordingly, the following letter from the general counsel of the Union Traction company, W. W. Gurley, was submitted to the committee in behalf of that company:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, inviting submission to the local transportation committee of any proposition desired, in addition to the statement made some weeks ago relative to sale of street railway properties which I represent as counsel. Owing to shortness of time elapsed since the receipt of your communication I have not had sufficient opportunity to consult all of the many parties having interest in and control of our properties, so that I am not able to present anything further to your committee at its meeting to-morrow nor to then indicate when I shall be prepared to submit a communication. I shall, however, as soon as I am fully advised of the wishes of our parties at once communicate with your committee upon the subject.

At the same time the vice president of the City Railway company, Mr. Mitten, made to the committee the following oral statement:

I think I can say for the City Railway that we are ready to proceed with negotiations with the city for the disposal of our properties at any time or at such time as this committee may select. We prefer that the negotiations be carried on in executive session. I am sure that we can get together quicker that way and we would like to get at this before the city gets committed to the construction of a street car system.

As the company Mr. Mitten represented had previously professed, through its counsel, Mr. Wilson, to have made its most favorable offer, Alderman Bennett asked:

"Then, Mr. Mitten, you do not consider Mr. Wilson's letter as the final word of your company?"

To which Mr. Mitten replied, as reported by the Chicago Daily News of the 15th:

"Since the Mayor's proposition to the City Council, new fields have opened up."

The proposal that the committee negotiate with the traction companies in executive (secret) session was adopted against Mayor Dunne's protest, Aldermen Finn, Maypole and Dever voting in the negative. August 14th was set for beginning the secret negotiations.

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At this session of the committee Mayor Dunne's request for permission to employ A. B. du Pont of Detroit as his expert traction adviser, which had been pending for three weeks (p. 215), was granted; and Mayor Dunne immediately made the appointment. Mr. du Pont is to enter upon his duties on the 21st.

The Chicago teamsters' strike.

As last week drew to a close the opinion seemed universal that the Chicago teamsters' strike (p. 234) would be terminated on the 16th by a secret referendum vote of the Railway Express Drivers' Union, whose decision it was believed would be acquiesced in by the department store drivers later in the same day. But once more expectations were disappointed. The determined refusal of the express companies to re-employ strikers was used as an argument against votinging to call off the strike, and by a vote of 163 to 121, in a total membership of 700, the Railway Express Drivers' Union decided in favor of continuing the strike. In consequence of this result, the department store drivers decided to take no vote. The subject was renewed on the 20th, when the Teamster's Joint Council, after a boisterous meeting, decided to order a general referendum on stopping the strike, the vote to take place on the 20th.

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The city authorities have begun to remove policemen from wagons driven by non-union drivers, and the Sheriff is swearing in these drivers as deputies and authorizing them to arm themselves.

NEWS NOTES

—The fifty-sixth annual meeting of the American Medical association closed at Portland, Ore., on the 13th.

—The French Chamber of Deputies on the 13th passed a bill reducing letter postage in France from three cents to two.

—The national convention of the Young People's Christian union, of the Universalist church, met at Hartford on the 13th.

—Gen. W. W. Blackmar, commander-in-chief of the G. A. R., died on the 16th at Boise, Idaho, while on an official tour of inspection.

—Commander Peary's polar searching vessel, the Roosevelt, sailed from New York on the 16th on an expedition in search of the North Pole.

—An earthquake lasting about ten seconds and affecting a large area in Maine and New Hampshire was reported from different points in those States on the 15th.

—While navigating Prof. Montgomery's aeroplane 4,000 feet above the earth, at San Jose, Cal., on the 18th, John Maloney was killed in consequence of a break in the machinery which made the aeroplane unmanageable and caused it to pitch to the earth.

—Rev. Charles W. Pearson, pastor of the Unitarian church at Quincy, Ill.., who resigned a professorship at the Northwestern (Methodist) university at Evanston in 1902, because he had ceased to believe in the infallibility of the Bible (vol. iv, p. 696), died in London on the 13th.

—At the election for officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor on the 16th a band of armed sluggers entered the room, overcame the election officers, broke the ballot boxes, tore up the deposited ballots and almost fatally assaulted Michael Donnelly, the leader of the packing house strike (vol. vii, p. 377) whom they left for dead on the floor.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 187) for the year ending June 30, 1905, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for June, were as follows (M. standing for merchandise, G. for gold and S. for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.	
M..	$1.518,462,833	$1,117,507,500	$400,955,333	exp.
G..	92,594.024	53,637,862	38,956,162	exp.
S...	48,848,812	27,430,383	21,418,429	exp.
	$1,659,905,669	$1,198,575,745	$461,329.9. 4	exp.
Balance, 1903 (M., G. and S.).			$ 416,617,778	exp.
Balance. 1902 (M., G. and S.).			496,446,285	exp.
Balance. 1901 (M., G. and S.).			671,458,818	exp.
Balance. 1900 (M., G. and S.).			571,677.235	exp.
Balance, 1899 (M., G. and S.).			504,086,295	exp.
Balance, 1898 (M., G. and S.).			534,624,851	exp.
Balance, 1834 to 1905 (M., G. and S.).....			$6.7o3.551,824	exp.

—James Hamilton Lewis, formerly a Congressman from Washington and now corporation counsel of Chicago, under Mayor Dunne, has officially requested his staff and their assistants that they in no way "solicit or receive passes or free transportation from any steam railroad or street railway, nor accept any form of favor or gratuity from any institution that bears a relation to the

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city which at any time is likely to be the subject of dispute and contention."

—In the British House of Commons on the 19th an alien exclusion bill passed to third reading by a majority of 90. Its nominal object is to exclude immigrants who are likely to become a burden on taxpayers. Its real object is to lessen competition in the labor market. Immigrants seeking admission solely to escape persecution for political offenses are excepted.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 152) for June, 1905, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905:

Gold reserve fund	$150,000,000
Available cash	142,490,322.87
Total	$292,490,322.67
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1904	319,027,403.05
Decrease for fiscal year ending June 30, 1905	$ 26,537,180.18
Decrease for fiscal year ending June 30, 1904 (vol. vii, p. 248)	$ 65,367,033.19
Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1903 (vol. vi, p. 215)	25,820,159.73
Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1902 (vol. v, p. 218)	31,740,991.83
Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1901	21,127,470.14
Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1900	24,325,186.05
Increase since July 1, 1900	$ 11,109,594.38

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 104) for June, 1905, shows the following for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1905:

Receipts:		
Tariff	$262,060,528.14	
Internal revenue	233,464,200.89	
Miscellaneous	47,899,130.21	
		$543,423,859.24
Expenses:		
Civic and Misc.	$146,970,765.40	
War	122,498,295.42	
Navy	117,334,003.10	
Indians	14,246,568.22	
Pensions	141,770,955.55	
Interest	24,591,023.65	
		$567,411,611.34
Deficit, 1905		$ 23,987,752.10
Deficit, 1904 (vol. vii, p. 248)		$ 41,053,441.66
Surplus, 1903 (vol. vi, p. 215)		52,710,935.56
Surplus, 1902 (vol. v, p. 233)		76,355,921.60
Surplus, 1901 (vol. iv, p. 218)		75,864,998.61
Surplus, 1900 (vol. iii, p. 218)		80,676,600.23
Accumulated surplus, July 1, 1899, to June 30, 1905		$220,567,262.24

PRESS OPINIONS

MAYOR DUNNE'S PLAN.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), July 15.—The plan from the outset is municipal ownership and operation in everything but name.

JUDGE CHETLAIN'S SUBWAY DECISION.

The Chicago Daily News (ind.), June 15.—Though Wheeler, Loeffler, Ehrhorn, Novak and Higgins escape under the ruling of the court, the moral indictment against them stands and will stand. No technicalities can interfere with it in the light of the known facts. The tunnel scheme, based on bribery and nourished in forgery, concealment and lies, is a monumental example of wrong committed against the public. Starting as a telephone grant, it was turned into a vast system of subways through the craft of conspirators and the flabbiness or venality of public officials. If quo warranto proceedings give a hope of the forfeiture of these tunnels such proceedings by all means should be begun by the Mayor and pressed forward with the utmost vigor.

THE "WAR ON WEALTH."

The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), July 18.—The war which is being waged with increasing vigor and increasing passion is not against wealth. It is against robbery. It is against systems whereby wealth produced by one man is taken by another man without rendering an equivalent. The war is against theft, against the taking of tribute, against schemes of spoliation, against all the various devices by which some men get without working while other men work without getting.

"THE BEST MAYOR OF THE BEST-GOVERNED CITY."

Cleveland Daily Recorder (Dem.), July 13.—The fact is the time has come when it is a very big and valuable advertisement to the city of Cleveland that it has a mayor like Johnson at the head of things. A great many people like to live in the "best governed city." Besides, it is perfectly evident that the man who lives in a well-governed city has a better chance for his business than a man who lives where graft is prevalent and where the boss, when he sees that a man is doing a good business, gets after him and makes him divide.

THE FRANCHISE GRABBERS.

Illinois State Register (Dem.), July 16.—They do not, by any means, halt at misrepresentation and falsehood. They are bold enough to tell the American people that they are too dishonest to manage their own affairs. They have become so brazen and, withal, so desperate as to point to the corrupt political organizations which they themselves support, as being representative of the entire American public. The advocates of municipal ownership are, on the other hand, as honest and consistent as they are hopeful and enthusiastic. They know that they are fighting in a good cause, that they have an excellent remedy for many present-day evils in city and State government, and they are certainly not to be frightened off through the methods employed by their retreating, though still powerful adversaries.

HIGH RAILROAD SPEED.

(Chicago) Roadmaster and Foreman (trade), July.—This 18-hour schedule means a speed of about 52 miles per hour if the entire 18 hours were used for running time; but since it is safe to figure about two hours consumed in stops, slow-downs, changing engines, etc., it will be found that the average speed will be quite close to 60 miles per hour. Under the former schedule the speed would fairly average 48 miles per hour. From these figures we are able to make a fair estimate as to the increased probabilities of accidents and their destructiveness, all of which increase directly as the square of the speed. Thus, increasing the speed from 48 to 60 miles per hour we have: Former probability to accident is in the same ratio to present probability of accident as 48 squared is to 60 squared; this makes the ratio about 23 to 36, or a little worse than 2 to 3. This means that for every two accidents heretofore there will be three hereafter on these roads, for no special purpose whatever except the desire to see how far they can strain the endurance of their employes, rolling stock and permanent way.

"Do you believe in government ownership?"

"That depends," answered the trust magnate, "on whether you mean that the government ought to own us or we ought to own the government."—Washington Star.

MISCELLANY

THE FACTORY GIRL.

For The Public.

When the trembling East is beginning to blush
With the rosy red of morn,
And the World holds her breath in a solemn hush
As another day is born,
I am startled from sleep's illusive dreams
By the factory whistle's imperious screams,
Which seem but an echo of yesterday—
So soon has the short night passed away.

A child was I in my beautiful dream,
In my old home far away,
Where I strayed on the banks of a laughing stream,
Through the slumb'rous summer day.
And gathered the flowers that blossomed there,
With never a thought of work or care,
While the birds above in the murmuring trees
Poured their joyous songs on the perfumed breeze.

Why is it, I ask, that the birds are free
To flit over vale and hill,
While I a life-long slave must be
In a noisy, squalid mill?
Does God love the birds, and hate me so
That He fills my life with work and woe?
Or can it be that there is no God,
Save the factory master's cruel rod?

But God, or no God, I must be in my place,
When the heartless wheels begin
To turn the machine in its tireless race.
More wealth for its lord to win.
From my hurrying hands, with a fiendish roar,
It snatches its food and shouts for more—
"More food, more food, for my sateless maw;
More gold, more gold, is my master's law."

No matter how weary my arms may grow,
No matter how numb with pain.
If I slacken my pace the machine seems to know,
And shrieks in its wrath again:
"More food, more food, for my sateless maw;
More gold, more gold, is my master's law."
Till the soul of the ghoulish machine, to me,
Seems to laugh at my helpless misery.

All day the demon laughs and leers,
Till my heart grows sick with fright;
And ever the taunt rings in my ears—
"I will have your soul to-night;
For my soul and the master's soul are one,
And I'll come for your soul when the day is done.
More food, more food, for my sateless maw;
More gold, more gold, is my master's law."

WALTER V. HOLLOWAY.

Berkeley, Calif.

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MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

MORE BOUQUETS FOR CLEVELAND.

Lincoln Steffens' declaration that Cleveland had the "best mayor of the best governed city in the United States" has led to the throwing of many bouquets at various city officials. Gus Hanna, superintendent of the street cleaning department, and Prof. Bemis, manager of the water department, are the latest recipients of flowery things.

Bemis yesterday received a letter from Joseph M. Patterson, water commissioner of Chicago, requesting copies of the annual reports of the local department for a number of years back.

"We all feel that the Cleveland waterworks system is a standard, and we want to take the benefit of your experience as far as possible," concludes Patterson.

Hanna's bouquet comes from Section Superintendent McGrath, of New York's street cleaning department. McGrath was recently here on a vacation, and yesterday Hanna received a letter from him in which he declared he had never visited a city in which streets were so uniformly clean as those of Cleveland.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of July 13.

AN ESTIMATE OF WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

From a private letter from John T. McClure, of Beaver City, Neb.

Yes, I am for Bryan and Free Silver, and in favor of a Republic and against an Empire; eternally against a standing army, and likewise against trusts; and am proud of the fact that I live in a State which has the least illiteracy in the Union, and produces such a statesman as William J. Bryan—

—a man who has the heart and conscience of an Abraham Lincoln;

—the philosophy of a Benjamin Franklin;

—the simplicity of a Thomas Jefferson;

—the oratorical ability of a Daniel Webster;

—the personal magnetism of a James G. Blaine;

—the courage of an Andrew Jackson;

—the patriotism of a Patrick Henry;

—the fortitude of a Bismarck;

—the wisdom of a Gladstone, and

—the piety of a Paul Kruger;

—and who stands to-day the best specimen of statesmanship produced in the world during the nineteenth century.

For nobler 'tis to stand alone
On God Almighty's highway,
Than gnaw with millions at the bone
That lies in Satan's by-way.
—Speed Mosby.

THE GRACE OF HOSPITALITY.

For The Public.

If thou *hast* something, bring thy goods,
A fair return be thine;
If thou *art* something, bring thy soul,
And interchange with mine.
—Schiller.

We are naturally social beings. The universal desire for friendly fellowship underlies our hospitality. Unfortunately, the form of social intercourse now much in vogue does not commend itself to the judgment of wise and thoughtful people. It is prodigal in efforts to gratify the luxurious propensities of our nature—suggests that we "eat, drink and be merry," savors of ostentation and emulation, and is not devoid of a spirit of commercialism.

Who shall say that the malevolent influence of extravagant entertainments has not much to do with the dishonesty, defalcation, and general disaster of which we see and hear much?

Society at our national capital, if current report be true, recently received a merited rebuke in the retirement of one of its prominent members, who declined longer to keep pace with its unreasonable requirements.

The spirit of reform is abroad, and men and women courageous enough to lead in the release of intelligent and otherwise independent people from the slavery of conventionalism, will receive grateful appreciation. Then we shall be blessed with sunshine and fresh air at midday entertainments, instead of being irritated, blinded and suffocated by gaslight and heat, and we can dine and lunch without sitting through the serving of numberless courses which nobody wants.

True hospitality is simple and unpretentious. It does not depend on riches, but is entirely compatible with economy and frugality. It does depend on wealth of character—the result of intellectual and ethical culture. The quintessence of true hospitality gives hearty welcome and perfect freedom in the every-day life of the home, with the manifest assurance that the presence of the guest implies no burden and imposes no restraint.

I shall not soon forget, and shall never cease to admire and honor the dignified hospitality of a mother and her daughters who, though dependent on their own efforts for livelihood, invited a series of semi-monthly gatherings during a winter. Little expense was incurred, but the best people in the large city in which they live were their guests.

Nor shall I forget the reply of Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones to a young friend who asked if living in the city was really so very much more expensive than in the country. "No," he said, "if you want only the very best things!"

The world is moving, conditions are changing, men and women are so much occupied in educational, economic, philanthropic and kindred subjects, that less need is felt than formerly for purely social entertainments. A prominent woman, much given to hospitality, said recently that she seldom now invited company without an ulterior purpose—the discussion of some interesting or important subject.

Only slight variation is needed in Lowell's inspiring lines to adapt them to the present time:

New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
He must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.

SUSAN LOOK AVERY.

CALLING LEGISLATORS TO ACCOUNT.

For The Public.

A people is but the attempt of many
To rise to the complete life of one.

So Browning the poet defines a people. "The people," as the term is used in the political field, is a corporation politic with legal methods of expression and action.

Such methods of expression and action may be inadequate or unsatisfactory. It is the belief of many that popular government is unsatisfactory in proportion to the legal limitations upon direct methods of expression by the people.

If the people do not nominate their representatives, but allow them to be chosen by party leaders; if the representatives when legally chosen do not represent those who elect them; if the people have no means to correct such unrepresentative action; if the courts are unable to declare illegal such acts of the representatives as violate their trust to the people—the system of popular government, and not the people themselves, is directly to blame.

The preamble of the Constitution of the United States says:

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, . . . promote the general welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Knowing that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, it will be admitted that a free and intelligent electorate will exercise its right and duty to use its political powers.

If it has the means it will use them. If it has not the means it will seek them. Having the means it will obtain a gov-

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ernment which is conducted for the general welfare, and which will secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity. We know no means, consonant with the fundamental principles of our government, whereby the people may secure such a government and such blessings, which are better than direct action at the polls. The people should when a sufficient number petition to do so, pass directly on the acts of the men they elect to public office. If these means are provided, the evils of our political system will soon disappear, and if follies are committed, it will be the fault of the people and not of their political system.

If an experiment of this kind is wise in operation it will benefit the whole nation. If the event proves that it is unwise in operation, the law permitting it can be repealed. But the business principle of review of acts of agents by the principal when the latter so elects, is sound. Even if the agent is more competent and is chosen because he is more competent than the principal to do certain acts, the latter should have the decision on matters affecting his interests, when he so desires.

Otherwise he abdicates in favor of the agent—and must take the consequences. The vesting of special privileges in corporations for private gain may be an act of deliberate injustice to the people, and may lead to unsatisfactory exercise of the privileges granted and to grave discontent. If this is so, are the people to be left without legal remedies?

Good citizens want to know the sources of political corruption. They want to apply the remedy to the end that they may have good government. They will not rest satisfied when they are told by those who are in power and who are responsible for the existing conditions, that "politics" as it exists, forbids the trial of an adequate remedy. How can the people know without a trial? Are they to admit impotence as sovereign citizens? Are they to acquiesce in the failure of popular government alleged by those who really rule under the forms of popular government?

Wherever true democracy exists—whether in New Zealand or in Switzerland—the people are not found to be incompetent or corrupt politically. The same cannot be said of autocracies—whether in Russia or in the United States.

LEWIS STOCKTON.

Buffalo, N. Y., July 7, 1905.

In the progress of civilization woman suffrage is sure to come.—Charles Sumner.

THE DEADLIEST INFIDELITY.

Extract from a sermon delivered by the Rev. Quincy Ewing, in the Church of the Advent, Birmingham, Alabama, July 9, 1905.

A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.—Jesus.

The kind of infidelity that Christianity has to combat to-day, or itself perish, is not at all the infidelity of the Paines, the Bradlaughs, the Ingersolls—an infidelity which spends itself in denials of, or attacks upon, a "supernatural" basis for doctrine and dogma; but rather is it an infidelity which vaunts itself in every-day practical denial of and attacks upon the universal moral basis and justification of human life, without which religion as truth, religion as right, religion as deed and character, were empty, purposeless, and meaningless.

Jesus said, speaking for the ideal of fundamental religion, "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth." So far as I know, Tom Paine, Charles Bradlaugh and Robert Ingersoll agreed with Him. But the powerful many-handed and million-tongued infidelity of the present day flatly disagrees with Him. It says—and what it says it embodies in deeds—that a man's life *does* consist in the abundance of the things he possesseth, and in nothing else—except incidentally. . . .

The only way to avoid the conclusion that the men responsible for the corruption that is rampant in our social and political life—the men who boodle; the men who crush rivals out of business by the secret rebate and other immoral methods; the men who conspire together to pay less for what they buy, and compel their fellowmen to pay more for what they buy and must have; the men whose supreme effort in life is to get something for nothing, or very much for very little;—the only way to avoid the conclusion that they are all essential infidels, is to suppose that the *moral* message of Jesus Christ is no fundamental part of His religion; that He won His great fame, not as humanity's Exemplar in the paths of righteousness, but as its most remarkable Instructor in the realm of abstract metaphysics. . . .

Thought of in this light, as it must be, how much infidelity there is in our social and national life! How many of our troubles, our problems, our sins and sufferings, it is responsible for! And how they would vanish, if for unfaith we could substitute faith in the moral leadership of Jesus; if we could drive the awful infidelity out of business, out of "best society," out of politics and government, and put in its place the reverent spirit to ask, "Quo vadis, Domine?" Whither goest Thou, Master? and the spirit of faith to pronounce, "Whither Thou goest, I will go, and what Thou commandest, I will do!"

How long has it been since any great national question, or any small national question, was settled in these United States on the basis of right, in obedience simply to an ideal of rightness? Does any of us remember when such a question was so settled? Are not practically all our national questions settled rather on the basis of what will pay—the politicians in votes, or the privileged classes in dollars? Who ever expects, these days, a measure to go through Congress merely because it is a righteous measure, a measure in accord with the moral teaching of Jesus Christ, a measure framed in the spirit of the injunction, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself? And the Supreme Court with its five to four decisions, in which the four are usually right, morally, and the five wrong, is rapidly acquiring the infidelity of Congress!

Consider the Chinese Exclusion Act as an illustration of Christian unfaith on the part of our national government. Years ago we shut Chinese laborers out of this country, but stood ready with the big guns of our battleships to see that our missionaries got entrance into China, to convert the subjects of the Chinese emperor away from their ancestral religion. Recently the excluding act has been repeated. No Chinaman is allowed to land on our shores to help us turn our raw material into usable wealth. Just a few weeks ago a Chinese citizen of the United States, a man born here, and naturally supposing he had the right of any other citizen—Irish, German, Pole, Swede, Sicilian, Hungarian, Bohemian—to travel abroad, if he so desired, was barred out of his native land by an immigration official, because he had been on a visit to China. And the Supreme Court of these United States upheld the official's act!

Now, in retaliation for our heathenish treatment of them, the Chinese in their own land are boycotting our goods, but still receiving our missionaries and according them every courtesy. Our producers and manufacturers are not selling so much in Hong-Kong and Shanghai. They are aware of a smaller inflow of Chinese gold. And,

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behold! they are rapidly discovering that the Chinese Exclusion Act is not just what it ought to be! It never occurred to them while trade was good, but now that it is not so good, they and some of our politicians are quite sure that the "Exclusion Law does not hold out to China the hand of fair treatment and good will that this nation extends to other countries!" Just the other day it was declared by one of our Alabama congressmen, that the President has now, with Congress off his hands, a fine opportunity to put in practice his "square deal doctrine," and deliver the cotton-growers and manufacturers from the Chinese boycott! It is obligatory upon us, in other words, to deal fairly and humanly with the Chinaman, for revenue only—or chiefly!

Could there be a better illustration than this of that infidelity to the moral teaching of Jesus which confronts us to-day, whithersoever we turn? And what infidelity could be worse than that of regulating our conduct, national or individual, towards our fellow human beings, rather for what they have in their pocket-books, than for what they have and are in themselves? . . .

Unless something is done, beginning at the cradles of our boys and girls and going with them as they grow to adult manhood and womanhood—something to check this terrible infidelity to moral ideals that is nothing less than moral insanity, more terrible often on the part of owners of millions, than on the part of the penniless highwayman, more terrible often on the part of the makers of laws than on the part of the violators of them—unless something is done, the time is close at hand when, whatever men profess with their lips, the money-bank, not the church, will be our most sacred building—its brick-and-steel vault our sacramental altar; and highest on the standard we shall follow in the conduct of our daily life will be the conquering sign, not of Jesus, Christ and Lord, nor yet of Caesar, lord, too, in his lower realm; but the *serpent-sign of the Dollar, traced in the blood of souls!*

JAPANESE SUPERIORITY.

An article kindly furnished to us by Dr. W. E. Macklin, for 20 years a missionary physician at Nanking, China.

The wonderful progress of the Japanese since 1868 has surprised the world. Their progress is not an evolution, according to the teaching of Spencer and Huxley, for this would require ages of gradual development of the brain matter, with a resultant better mind product. The brain matter has not changed much in a generation. The Japs have simply studied and mastered the learning of the west. Formerly they learned of the Chinese. Now they follow occidental teachers.

I think they have not improved on the learning of their teachers. All kinds of Japanese manufactured articles, such as clocks, lamps, cutlery, etc., shipped to China, are much inferior to American and European goods. This inferiority the Chinese recognize.

The superiority of the Japanese in war is largely due to the fact that they have always been a warlike people, whose country has never been invaded by a foreign foe. They have always been brave, like the Swiss and Hollanders, and fear not death nor any foe. Like the Swiss, they have an intense patriotism.

The Shinto religion is a hero worship, and the great gods of the pantheon are the deified generals and emperors who have been distinguished in war. The emperor is supposed to be a descendant of the sun goddess, and a god himself. Banzai means "10,000 years" to the emperor, or "long live the emperor."

Fanatic patriotism and hero worship produce a type of soldier difficult to conquer. No corrupt government like that of Russia can hope to win against the brave island empire. The pride of corrupt Spain under Philip II. and III. was humbled by patriotic little Holland. "Charles the Bold" and other potentates struggled in vain against the Swiss love of country. The spirit of the soldier is the essential thing. Cromwell's Ironsides fought with a zeal for liberty. The French revolutionists easily hurled back foreign invaders, as they believed they fought for liberty, equality and fraternity.

It has been said that the Japanese success is due to their simplicity of life, and especially their vegetarianism. But this is surely a mistake. Many Japanese eat little meat, as they cannot afford it, but the leaders and brainy people use a great deal of animal food. Pigs and sheep have not been raised in Japan until lately, but beef is very much used. Fish, eggs and chickens are the leading animal foods of Japan.

Many Japanese gentry have fish-ponds in their gardens, and the guests sometimes pick out the fish to be caught by the servants. It is captured, cut into slices and eaten raw. I have lived for weeks in Japanese hotels, and have always been served fish, chicken, eggs or beef. I have frequently been obliged to send my raw fish back to be cooked. It was found that soldiers and marines were subject to that fearful disease, beri-beri, or kakke, if they lived on a simple rice diet; but a Western diet prevented this fatal disease. Even in the jails pure rice is not served, but wheat is mixed with it. If the Japs had not more or less adopted the food-stuff of the West, as well as the weapons, beri-beri would have melted away the forces of the mikado quicker than the bullets of the enemy.

Tuberculosis is another dread disease of Japan, and I believe is due to a lack of good nutritious food, especially among poor scholars and those of sedentary habits.

It was a common practice a few years ago for a Japanese to save up for weeks, and then take his family to a Western hotel and have a good feast. Buddhist devotees are vegetarians, but with others, it is a simple question of finances.

The Japs are an exceedingly immoral people, so their military prestige is not due to moral superiority, though they are self-restrained by patriotic devotion in this great struggle against the Russian. They are certainly not saturated in vodka.

The Japanese are the cleanest people on earth. They bathe very frequently, using the hot bath. The Chinese are a filthy people, and are afflicted with itch and vermin almost universally. Their proverb says: "The rich get itch, the poor get lice."

A very important reason for military prowess among partly civilized peoples is the fact that high civilization produces wealth, while semi-civilization produces men. England has nearly ruined her agricultural population. Her "wealth increases but her men decay." Out of 11,000 men who offered to enlist in Manchester, Eng., at the time of the Boer war, 10,000 were rejected as physically unfit.

In China and Japan there is no race suicide. Farms are small, and an immense population is engaged in the simple, healthful life of producing food-stuffs from the soil. A sure way to prevent a "yellow peril" is to rapidly civilize the heathen—teach them to live to produce wealth at the expense of physique, also teach them to live in slums and flats and the benefits of not rearing a next generation.

When I rode through Tokio on a street railway at a cent and one-half

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a ride, and saw a city of nearly 1,500,000, living and doing business in one and two-storied shops and dwelling houses, I thought: "Thank the Lord for a good earthquake now and again." They can't have sky-scrapers in Tokio. Earthquakes would make it as dangerous to build flats in Japan as it was to build a tower of Babel.

The countries where the majority of the people cultivate small farms and develop health in the open air, and where the cities do not go skyward, are the "fittest to survive" in the coming struggle among nations. Given a nation of fanatical patriots, with the soldiers as tillers of the soil, innured to hardships in the open air from daylight till dark; and the workers in our factories and mills, sweat-shops and slums would be wiped out of existence. A few thousand hardy Boer farmers played with England's great army, and cost her a billion and a half of money. What could not the hordes of China and Japan, well drilled and armed, do against the flat-chested degenerates of the manufacturing and commercial races? The bummers that hang about our saloons and tobacco shops would be "food for powder." An army of 10,000,000 could be raised in China, each man capable of enduring more hardships, hunger and exposure than any of our city-bred fellows.

We should prevent race suicide, and earnestly endeavor to get our people on the land, if we desire to avert a yellow peril. Cigarette smoking, cocaine, coca-cola, whisky and other narcotics should be avoided. No artificial gymnastics will take the place of a population reared on the soil. Our hope is along these lines.

The elegant, refined artistic Jap, with his indomitable will to lead, and the great and increasing hardy farmer populations to train into soldiers! Truly, this is a world problem, and the nations are not awake to it.

THE WORKHOUSE NIGHT SCHOOL IN CLEVELAND.

From the Cleveland Plain Dealer of Jan. 1, 1905.

A, B, C's at 60? Certainly, there are men in town as old as that who are studying them patiently. Not in the ordinary schools of the city, however, but in the night school out at the workhouse.

It is a little over a year since Mr. Crane, the parole officer, asked permission to set up a night school. Permission was granted, and a room was set apart and work began. Now there are close to 100 pupils. And the men really work, too.

Mr. Crane is the only man among the lot who is not a prisoner. His assistant teachers are from among the men themselves, and energetic, trustworthy teachers they have proved themselves to be. Mr. Crane is not at all afraid of the prisoners. The men did plot once to rise against him and escape. But he has friends among them who would not allow it, and the thing was stopped before it had really begun. He likes and trusts his charges, and seldom do they treat him badly.

The school opens at 7:30, and the session is generally two hours in length. The men are not forced to come, though. If it is found that a man is quite ignorant, he is brought if he can be got to consent. The other men generally like to come. It is two hours away from the deadly quiet and loneliness of their cells—two hours when they can have a certain amount of liberty, when they may see each other, have plenty of light, and a bit of conversation now and then, though, as in other schools, "whispering" is a forbidden pleasure, and these grown-up scholars are reported for it just as they might have been long ago, when they were ten-year-olds.

As for the government, the men look after it themselves. Each class elects a representative. The school has a governor and a prosecuting attorney, who are elected by the school at large. When a man is reported for misconduct, he is tried. The representatives of the different classes are the jury, the governor is the judge, and he is represented by an attorney of his own choosing. The prosecuting attorneyship is an office much desired, and the holders of it have an importance excelled only by that of the governor.

The most severe penalty that can be inflicted on a man is that of being disfranchised. When his vote is taken from him he is permitted to go to class as usual, but he cannot have a voice in the government of the school. The punishment is a severe one, and the men really dread it—especially as their names are written on a blackboard for all to see.

The men all take great interest in the cleanliness of the school, and voted against all tobacco using during school hours. A man who swears is tried, as is a man who picks a quarrel, who is caught cheating or trying in any way to work against the quiet and usefulness of the school.

A visit to the place is most interesting. When you enter you stand at one side of a big prison room, filled with long tables, about which sit the classes. In the center is a raised platform for Mr. Crane's desk. Around the walls are blackboards. Mottoes have been lettered on the walls, most of them relating to the advantages of learning.

The men all look interested, and seem to be working. By each class stands its teacher, correcting, assisting much after the manner of teachers everywhere.

"Oh, yes," said one of them, "I like doing this. It's lots better than staying in your cell. It's so dark there you can't read, and so lonesome it's awful. The days in prison are not so bad. You have your work. It's the nights, when you are all alone, that make it bad. And this takes you away from all that for two hours, anyhow.

"Yes, the men work pretty well. Here's a Greek over here who's rather interesting. He could read and write his native language, but when he came in here two weeks ago he didn't know a thing about English except for a few spoken words. Now watch him."

The man had spread open before him a first reader, and was copying rapidly in writing the printed words. He wrote in an easy, flowing hand, with the greatest of ease, apparently.

"I don't believe," said his teacher, "that he really understands what he is writing. When he first learned he wanted to write everything backwards. He got over that, and now writes well, as you can see, but I really don't believe he understands it."

At another table not far away was the A, B, C class. Most of its members were men over 50 years of age. A few were younger. There was one dreamy-eyed Italian boy of not more than 16. The men peered at their primers through spectacles, and it was pathetic to see their heavy, stubby fingers struggling with pencil or chalk as they tried to form the letters that were so strange to them.

Other classes were more advanced, some very far up indeed. Mr. Crane was teaching a class in geometry. Two men, seated together at a table, were studying automobile construction, and there was a large class in commercial correspondence, with a teacher who had been a successful traveling man, and who taught whereof he knew.

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"Lots of these boys," said Mr. Crane. "don't have a chance because they don't know enough to write good letters of application. An employer necessarily goes a great deal by the letter that asks him for work. Many of the men are here through ignorance, many through misfortune. We are trying to help them to help themselves after they get out. The more they know of business methods and the common school branches of education. the more they can do in the world. Want to see an election?"

We certainly did, and the school was called to order and the situation explained. Then there was a short recess while the room was aired, the men walked about and did their electioneering. and two went out for a bucket of water, which was eagerly sought by these grown-up children.

Then they settled to work. The men use slates instead of paper, and the votes were written on them, collected, stacked in a most imposing pile, counted by specially appointed officers. chalked up on the board and handled throughout in a thoroughly businesslike manner—good training, by the way. for the foreigners scattered so plentifully among the ranks of the men.

Speeches were called for from the candidates and were given with ease and grace. One candidate for prosecuting attorney was a speech-maker born. He was a fine-looking colored man with a big patch of courtplaster over one cheekbone. He had the jolliest eyes and the most delicious Southern drawl.

"All Ah kin say," he remarked in response to the call for a speech, "is that if Ah'm 'lected Ah'll do mah bes' t' punish th' boys what's misbehaved. Ah'll be like a story uv a ole couple what lived t'gether a long time, peaceful an' happy. An' then they begun t' fight. An' one time, after a fight, de ole woman she begun t' feel kind er bad, an' she begun ter sniff an' cry. An' then she says t' de ole man: 'Wall, somctimes dey's a storm needed fer t' clar de air.'

"'Humph!' says de ole man, a-rubbin' of his haid, whar she'd hit 'im wif a broom, 'dat all sounds well 'nough, but it doan help de fellah wot's hit by de lightenin'.' Now, Ah jes' tell you boys, dat if Ah's 'lected Ah'll do mah bes' t' make de fellahs what's bad feel 's if dey'd ben hit wid de lightenin'."

His speech was greeted with cheers, but he wasn't elected. However, they called for another speech, and, rising, he said:

"Wal, Ah guess Ah got hit by de lightenin' mahself!" and proceeded to tell another story amid the cheers and laughter of the other men.

The election was real enough, but the trial held was a mock trial, though the men tried to make it impressive, in spite of the giggles of the audience and the sheepish grins of the volunteer culprit.

Once in awhile there is a vaudeville performance allowed for the entertainment of the men, and there was one that night. A colored man gave some of the finest imitations ever heard on or off the vaudeville stage—he was a professional, and there was music, too.

The session was unusually long that night, and at its close Mr. Crane told the men the story of the pretty Italian boy in the A, B, C class.

He was left alone here in a strange country, homeless and hungry, and a saloon-keeper paid him to go out and steal coal. Naturally he was arrested, and the authorities, who luckily caught and punished the saloonkeeper, too, hardly knew what to do with the boy.

"So I took him out here," said Mr. Crane. "And now I want you boys to stand by me. He's not here because he's wicked, but because he didn't know any better. He's got to learn, and to learn here. He'll be able to read and write when he goes out, and that's a great deal, but you fellows must help me more. Generally, when a boy comes into the workhouse he goes away knowing more about the evil side of life than when he came in. Now, I want you fellows to help me keep this boy from knowing those things. I want you not to tell him things he shouldn't know. I want you to help me make him a good man. Will you? I want a vote from the school. All who will help me please rise."

And to the credit of the workhouse men be it said, every man of them rose.

"And," said Mr. Crane, "they'll keep their word. Those who won't will be brought to time by those who will. There's a lot more good in these boys than they're ever given credit for."

Uncle Winthrop—And what do you desire to be when you have become a man, Emersie? When I was your age I wanted to be a pirate.

Emerson Lowell Backbeigh—The aspirations of modern youth are so different, Uncle. Now, I should like to be a promoter.—Puck.

It is easy enough to be happy
With nothing but rags to your back;
But the man who's worth while
Is the one who can smile
When Miss Tarbell is on his track.
—Chicago Chronicle.

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BOOKS

TOLSTOY.

Steiner's "Tolstoy the Man," and Crosby's "Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster," are books about this genius of a new social dispensation which go well together.

The former (New York: The Macmillan Co.) is by Dr. Edward Steiner, who has succeeded Dr. Herron as professor of applied Christianity at Iowa college, and whose opportunities for the work of picturing Tolstoy the man have been exceptionally good.

Of biography there is enough to distinguish the individual, but not so much as to make the interest of the book depend upon his personality; of his books, enough is told to explain his literary works and to excite an appetite for reading them. The theme, however, is the moral and religious development of Tolstoy's character—the establishment, as he might describe it, of the kingdom of God within him. This development, richly illustrated with biographical material, is most interestingly explained.

His immunity from punishment by the powers that be, although he undermines them with his teaching and example, is regarded by Dr. Steiner as making Tolstoy's "a case where a man has proved true the words of the prophets, and the common teaching of history, that 'Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings,' and not out of the mouths of mighty guns or mightier kings, 'Hath he ordained strength.'" It is in this connection that Dr. Steiner summarizes the character to the study of which his book is devoted. "Tolstoy has opposed the hard and cold dogmatism of the church," he writes, "and has put into its place the reasonable and broad teaching of Jesus. He denies the existence of a God who is man-made, whimsical, autocratic, and arbitrary, and believes in a God who has revealed himself in love and law, and who permeates all things. He denies the efficacy of punishment in the redemption of men, and the use of force in maintaining or defending states, nations, or society; and teaches that men who voluntarily obey the law of Jesus, will alone bring the kingdom of God upon the earth and establish it. He denies that patriotism

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THE TORY GAME.

As long as the "native" worker can be kept busy fighting the "alien" for the crust, landlordism will continue to carry off and enjoy the rest of the loaf.

is a virtue, and that killing men in battle is not murder; he teaches that all men, of whatever race or color, are brothers, and that the law of Jesus which bids us to love all men must be obeyed, rather than the dictates of earthly authorities, which force us to carry arms and use them either in the defense of old or the acquisition of new territory. Neither hate nor vengeance should have a place in human hearts, he says; and men will be redeemed, and society redeemed, only by the divine pity and loving forgiveness."

One extended experience in Tolstoy's career is delightfully told by Ernest Crosby's "Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster" (Chicago: The Hammersmark Publishing Co.). When the serfs were freed, Tolstoy, being "a good landlord," undertook the education of the freed peasant children of his neighborhood, and out of this interesting experience, of which Mr. Crosby writes entertainingly, has come much of Tolstoy's philosophy, not only with reference to education, but with reference also to social life in general.

As to education, Tolstoy asserts that its sole basis is freedom—the less the restraint the better the school. This idea is incidentally developed by Mr. Crosby, who carries it, as does Tolstoy, from the domain of education into that of penology.

Both Mr. Crosby and Dr. Steiner are skillful in the use of incident for the double purpose of illustrating and vivifying.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Industrial Problem. Being the William Levi Bull Lectures for the year 1905. By Lyman Abbott. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

Few remember perhaps that less than two years ago a colossal statue of Christ was erected on the Andean border between Chili and the Argentine Republic to celebrate the disarmament of those two nations, which are now spending in internal and coast improvements what they formerly spent in preparations for war. The story of this unique event is told in a little pamphlet—"The Christ of the Andes"— issued by the American Peace Society at Boston.

John R. Commons, of the University of Wisconsin, has augmented his valuable contributions to the specific knowledge of the community with reference to labor subjects with his pamphlet on the teamsters of Chicago as a type of American labor organization. The great strike by this organization and the lockout against it makes Prof. Commons' pamphlet especially important.

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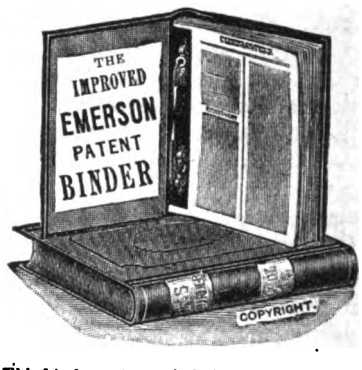

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