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Until they can explain satisfactorily to themselves what became of the Democratic vote in 1894, when the party went literally to pieces under Grover Cleveland's leadership, the "reorganizing" papers and politicians would be wiser if they refrained from charging Bryan with leading the party to defeat. Any statistical almanac will reveal to them not only the fact that in 1896 Bryan polled a larger vote and a larger percentage of the total vote than Cleveland polled in 1892, but that he gave new life and vigor to the party which had gone down to apparently hopeless defeat two years before he supplanted Grover Cleveland in its leadership.

If a Republican or a "reorganizing" Democratic Congress should be elected this Fall, the Fowler bill, which we described at length last week (p. 244), will be rushed through. It is the climax of the legislation for the contraction of legal tender which began systematically in 1866. According to the report of the committee on banking and currency, whose Republican majority recommends the enactment of the measure, one of the purposes of this bill is to provide for the—

redemption in gold coin of all legal tender money of the government, including the silver dollar, as well as the United States and treasury notes and the subsidiary coins.

A vote for a Republican congressman this Fall is a vote for that bill.

One of the interesting facts about the Pan-American Fair held last year at Buffalo is not generally known, but we are assured upon good

authority of its truth. Although the artistic conception of the Fair, its high ideal of international union and brotherhood, and the perfection of detail with which the scheme was carried out, did not save it from a financial loss mounting up into the millions, two men, the richest in Buffalo, made great unearned gains. For the quite unproductive land on which the "City Beautiful" was built, they asked \$360,000, and are to receive this sum from the debt-burdened stockholders in four yearly payments. Their total gifts or subscriptions to the Fair amounted to only \$5,000, and there have been no reports of their having contributed in any other way towards its success. But this is not all. In addition to their profits they reap the benefit of the excellent and thorough drainage and other improvements; and the first \$50,000 raised was, according to contract, set aside for restoring the property to its original appearance. No blame attaches to these men. They only asserted their legal rights and got their legal profit. But what queer people those of Buffalo are to think of such legal rights and profits as moral rights and profits.

The process of Anglo-Saxon civilization moves on apace in South Africa. According to the London Speaker, "the recently published report of the Transvaal Mines Department for the six months ending December 31, 1901, called special attention to 'the great reduction in the scale of native wages, the average monthly wage paid by the gold mines during the period covered by this report being \$6.35 per head, against \$11.30 in 1898.'" The uncivilized and corrupt Boer government tolerated even as much as \$15.24. Something in the nature of "government by injunction" seems also to have been introduced by the civiliz-

ing race. For Reuter's news agency, relieved now of military censorship, tells of the arrest of native chiefs—walking delegates of the tribal union, no doubt, and probably "agitators," "busybodies" and "vampires"—"for inciting natives to quit the Rand," which means urging them to go on strike in the mines. Talk is reported also of the importance of compelling the natives "to recognize the dignity of labor," by restricting their movements with registration and pass laws, and imposing taxes that will force them into the labor market to get legal tender with which to pay taxes. We suppose that "God is in it," though we refer that question to Bishop Potter and Archbishop Ireland.

A correct diagnosis of the disease of national extravagance is made by the Charleston News and Courier, when it warns the Democratic party that extravagance in national expenditures cannot be made a popular issue, because the people are not only used to it but are used to clamoring for its disbursement in their own several neighborhoods. The truth is that no one is interested in the lavish expenditure of public revenues derived from indirect taxation. The people are drained by indirect taxes but no one realizes that it is a tax drain. If we had direct taxation we should have economical expenditure, for then every taxpayer would know that large expenditures by the government would mean a lean pocket-book for him.

Nothing is better known in business circles, nothing could be more easily proved, than the existence of an anthracite coal trust, criminal under the Federal statutes, and the identity of the criminals. Coal dealers, even large houses, are known to

be the mere clerks of this gigantic trust. Why are no proceedings taken against it? Not for want of legislation, that is certain; for the Sherman anti-trust law of 1890 not only makes the guilty parties liable to fine and imprisonment, but further provides that—

any property owned under any contract or by any combination creating or attempting to create a monopoly of any trade, and being in the course of transportation from one state to another, shall be forfeited to the United States and may be seized and condemned by like proceedings as those provided . . . for the seizure . . . of property imported into the United States contrary to law.

Why isn't that law enforced in this flagrant instance of the hard coal trust? Is it because anti-trust legislation is unenforceable, or because President Roosevelt doesn't want it enforced against his plutocratic friends?

In connection with the subject of trusts, attention should be called to a remarkable and interesting business statement which has been made by the National Biscuit Co., commonly known as the "cracker trust." This statement offers further testimony from experience in support of our contention that the objectionable trust is founded invariably upon some special privilege, landed privileges in some highly desirable form being the rock-bottom of every enduring trust structure. According to the "cracker trust" statement before us, that business combination has made sales at the rate of from \$34,000,000 to \$38,000,000 a year, with a profit somewhat below 10 per cent. It was originally "an aggregation of plants;" it is "now an organized business." Then the statement goes on:

When this company started it was lieved that we must control competition; and that to do this we must either fight competition or buy it. The first meant a ruinous war of prices and great loss of profits: the second, constantly increasing capitalization. Experience soon proved to us that, instead of bringing success, either of these courses, if persevered in, must bring disaster. This led us to reflect

whether it was necessary to control competition. We asked ourselves whether this company to succeed, must not be managed like any other large mercantile business. We soon satisfied ourselves that within the company itself we must look for success. . . . We did not aim to sell all the biscuit consumed in this country. A monopoly in any product made from such raw materials as we use in the manufacture of our goods is an impossibility. Any company which should attempt to create such a monopoly would be doomed to disastrous failure; its managers would be absolutely unfit for their trust.

We cannot vouch for the truth of that statement, but it is in full accord with common sense. This trust appears to have tried, as have other trusts, to control competition without a basic monopoly. The other large trusts of that kind have failed. This one has not. But the reason is that it stopped trying to control competition and decided to look for success "within the company itself." In that one sentence is the whole story of successful combination. Every trust must look within itself for success. If it has no basic monopoly under its control, it must succeed by rendering excellent service, as the "cracker trust" claims to have done; but if it has such a monopoly, then, like the steel trust, it may succeed by arbitrarily crushing competition. There is in the last analysis nothing else to the trust problem.

Democratic papers of the "reorganizing" variety have recently revived the story that Mr. Bryan bolted his party in 1892 by voting for the Populist instead of the Democratic electors. This is offered as an excuse for the Cleveland bolt of 1896, and also in explanation of Hill's continuing to be "still a Democrat, very still." Now, the truth about this change of party irregularity has been so often published and is so well known that nobody who keeps any run at all of political affairs is excusable for being defrauded by it. But everybody does not keep the run of politics. Consequently the lie must be exposed whenever it shows its head. Mr. Bryan supported the Populist electoral ticket

in Nebraska in 1892 because Cleveland's managers in the East wanted him to, in order to take away from Harrison a state which Cleveland could by no possibility carry. This was the policy of the party managers not only in Nebraska, but in other Republican states. The latest confirmation of that fact comes from William B. Chandler, a member of the Colorado convention that nominated Cleveland electors. He resides now in Bourbon, Ill., but was resident then in Pueblo, Col. A majority of the Democratic convention of Colorado in 1892 nominated Weaver (Populist) electors, and the minority therefore left the hall, organized a new convention, and nominated a straight Democratic ticket. They also put a Cleveland man upon the national committee. But the national committee not only refused to recognize their national committeeman; it also instructed the Cleveland state committee to take down the Cleveland electors and put Weaver electors in their place, something which the committee reluctantly did. As Mr. Chandler says, "the national Democratic committee ordered this done, hoping to carry the Rocky Mountain states, with Kansas and Nebraska, for Weaver, and throw the election of President into the House of Representatives in the event Cleveland failed of a majority of the electoral vote." He adds:

My authority for the statement that the national Democratic committee ordered the Weaver electors put on the Democratic ticket was S. H. White, chairman of the Cleveland Democratic committee of Pueblo county, Col. His authority, as stated by him to me, was the chairman of the Cleveland Democratic committee of the state of Colorado.

All this tallies exactly with the inspired gossip at Democratic national headquarters in 1892. Anyone who charges Bryan with "bolting" Cleveland's nomination, is either ignorant of the facts or guilty of intentional deceit.

If the newspaper interviews with Bryan while on his tour in the East are correctly reported, his judgment

and political liberality, as expressed by himself, are of a much better order than what are expressed for him by Republican and "reorganizing" Democratic editors. For instance, when asked whether he favored Edward M. Shepard for Democratic presidential candidate, he having spoken pleasantly of Mr. Shepard at the Nantasket dinner, he said:

I never discuss candidates for the presidential nomination. In referring to Mr. Shepard, I simply meant that I was always ready to sit with such Democrats, either at the banquet table or council board, receive advice from them, and give it respectful consideration.

Being further plied with leading questions, he replied:

I object to advice by such men as Cleveland, who never indicated his purpose to vote for the Democratic ticket in the last two campaigns. I do not expect that the Cleveland men will control the next Democratic convention. If they do we shall meet the issue at the time. Hill is a candidate for the nomination, but he is not to be trusted. All these appear to be justifiable and judicious discriminations.

It is a conscience-probing letter, that which the committee headed by Charles Francis Adams has addressed to President Roosevelt; and Mr. Roosevelt cannot dodge it, try he never so strenuously. He must either ignore it contemptuously or respond to its demand in good faith. Unless he does one or the other he will irrevocably implicate himself in the official conspiracy to hush up the Philippine atrocities. He may, anyhow.

By way of relieving the President of the necessity of meeting this letter upon its merits, the administration press are challenging the Adams committee to produce their evidence if they want their charges investigated. But that won't do. The committee explains too pointedly why it doesn't embody the evidence in its letter, and offers too definitely to produce it when an official investigation shall have been set on foot. These men distinctly assert that such an investigation—

would demonstrate the following criminal acts, contrary to all recog-

nized rules and usages of war, on the part of officers and soldiers of the United States: (1) Kidnaping and murder under circumstances of aggravated brutality; (2) robbery; (3) torture, both of men and of women, rape of the latter; (4) the infliction of death on other parties on the strength of evidence elicited through torture.

Charges of that character cannot with impunity be contemptuously ignored when they come from men like Adams and Schurz, of high national reputation, and others like Moorefield Storey and Burritt Smith and Herbert Welsh, who, though not so widely known, are men of the highest standing.

Especially can these charges not be ignored with impunity when the men who make them declare that every door of investigation has been officially slammed in their faces, and that there is no process possible, without the aid of the President, by means of which they can elicit the incriminating testimony and bring the culprits to justice. Still more especially can the charges not be ignored with impunity when it is a notorious fact that similar charges have been proved against high military officers, and they have been convicted only to be punished lightly as for a trivial offense. That an atrocious system of outrage and terrorism has prevailed in the Philippines with the consent if not the orders of the American military authorities has long been no secret. Returned soldiers have told about it boastfully. Returned officers have told about and defended it. The Senate investigating committee was put upon track of the evidence, but refused to follow it up. The war department was well advised of it officially months ago, but concealed its information until some of it leaked out, much to the chagrin of the secretary of war, who thereupon took proceedings, but only in those cases. It has been no secret to anybody but Mr. Roosevelt. It is no longer a secret to him.

Census statistics are always to be considered with much caution. But taking for what they are worth those

just published on agricultural values in the United States there is nothing very encouraging in them, not for working farmers. The total farm values are given as \$16,674,694,297. But of this amount only \$3,560,198,191, or 21 per cent., represents the value of buildings. The value of other improvements is bundled in with the value of the farm sites; but as the value of buildings comprises in most farming regions nearly all the value there is to improvements, it would not be far out of the way to estimate the whole \$13,114,492,056, or 78 per cent., as land value. In that case the land-owning, or monopoly, interest among farmers would be more than three times as much as their improvement-owning, or labor-produce, interests. So the figures would go to show that the prosperous fellow in agricultural regions is not the man who does the work, but the man who owns the site—not the farmers who farm farms but the farmers who farm farmers.

But who believes that the sites of the farms of the United States are really worth three times as much as the improvements? If the figures are true, there must be a great number of bonanza farms, to bring up the average, because on small farms the land is usually worth considerably less than the improvements. This bonanza farm explanation is not available, however, for the same collection of census figures is arranged to show that the number of farmers is increasing while the average size of farms is diminishing. It looks a little as if these census figures had been got up by a lineal descendant of the department clerk of whom it is told that when he was ordered to prepare official statistics on a certain question, he innocently asked, "On which side?"

The probability is that the enormous land values of these farms has been arrived at by including suburban lands highly affected with city values. It is well known that in the neighborhood of all cities there are

"farms" which could be sold by the front foot. If these were scheduled as agricultural lands they would carry up the value of sites as compared with improvements very rapidly. And that this has been done would appear from the fact that Cook county, in which Chicago is located, is credited with \$68,265,260 for farm lands, or about 4 per cent. of all the farm land value of the state, while the value of farm buildings is only \$8,839,960. It is not hard to guess what kind of farm land it is that has brought up the farm land value of Cook county so disproportionately to the farm buildings value. Doubtless the owner could raise corn on this farming land, but he can raise the price more easily and to better advantage. Its value is affected by the proximity to Chicago.

The policy of pardoning workhouse convicts detained for non-payment of fines or other pecuniary penalties, which was adopted over a year ago in Cleveland by Mayor Johnson and his chief of the charities and correction department, Harris R. Cooley, has had the effect of reforming the police justice system theretofore in vogue in Cleveland, as it is elsewhere, which discriminates between convicts with money and those without. Police Justice Thomas A. Kennedy, of Cleveland, is credited with having recently made the following sensible declaration:

Although the police fund is bankrupt and I might replenish it by fines from the unfortunates who come before me, I will not levy fines as long as I am police judge. I will not use this bench to incite vice and crime, to force men and women to the depths to get money with which to oil the police machinery. If they deserve punishment they go to the workhouse. If they can reform on the outside, suspended sentences will give them the chance.

Should Judge Kennedy impartially apply this policy to all convicts, letting off no one who happens to have the money to buy immunity, except those that "can reform outside," and then not by fining them but by suspending sentence, he will have set

an example of much needed reform in criminal administration.

It is to the honor of Clarence S. Darrow, Joseph S. Martin, William A. Bowles and others that they have undertaken to raise a fund to secure an appeal for Lewis S. Thombs, now confined in the Chicago jail under conviction of murder and sentenced to be hanged. Thombs may be guilty, and if he is his crime was brutal in the extreme. But he did not have a fair trial (p. 101). One jury disagreed, two of its members, reputable men, being for acquittal because they did not believe the story of the prosecuting witness. The prosecuting attorney thereupon outrageously denounced these jurors in the newspapers as unfit to be in a jury box, and at once brought the case to trial before another jury. This placed the prisoner at a disadvantage to which no one accused of crime should be subjected. Not a man on that jury would have been for acquittal, though he had a reasonable doubt, unless he had been made of the stuff of which heroes are made, and that is not common. This method of forcing convictions should be denounced by the whole bar. It is something to have it repudiated by one or two members who are serious enough in the matter to raise a defense fund.

When the tariff issue was paramount, one of the protection absurdities in the way of argument was peculiarly confusing. We were told that to the extent that the United States imports goods the United States has the goods and Europe has the money, but to the extent that the United States buys home-made goods, the United States has both goods and money and is therefore better off. It was as puzzling a riddle as that about putting ten men in nine beds with a bed for each. But we have come to see through its intricacies now, and to realize that money isn't worth any more than money's worth. But the same trick of argument has come forward in

another and perhaps more confusing form. Suppose, says the riddle-me-ree protectionist, that—

the exports of a country are \$20,000,000 and the imports are \$10,000,000. The balance of \$10,000,000 is favorable, because of the exports probably only about \$5,000,000 of actual value was sent away, being the raw material in the goods exported, the \$15,000,000 being represented by wages paid and profits to the manufacturer. The \$10,000,000 of imports thus represents an actual profit of \$5,000,000 to the importing country.

Could absurdity go much further? Suppose the exporter were a farmer's family instead of a national family. Suppose that this farmer's family exported from the farm to the dealer in the market town \$20 worth of corn, and imported back to their farm in exchange \$10 worth of groceries. Where would the profit to the farmer's family come in? Wouldn't it look to the man up a tree as if that family were out of pocket \$10? "Oh, no," exclaims the riddle-me-ree protectionist, "they have made a profit of \$10. Although they billed the corn at \$20, there was only about \$5 of artificial value in it, being the raw material. The additional \$15 was represented by the wages and profits of the farmer's family. So the \$10 worth of groceries imported would really represent \$5 of actual profit to the farmer's family. See?" Of course we see. Since the farmer's family gets \$5 worth of groceries for \$15 worth of work, they have a clear profit of \$5! And this is the kind of profit the national family reaps when it exports more than it imports.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

In the case of the strike agitation among West Virginia coal miners, Judge Jackson, a Federal judge of West Virginia, has put the finishing touches upon the scheme for governing workmen by injunction. He has resorted to it to restrain freedom of speech, and to hold that aforesaid American birthright within the limits of his own notions of its proper exercise.

"The rightful exercise of freedom of speech," says this most excellent

exponent of the doctrine of "government by injunction," as he sentences men to jail for advocating a strike in public speech at public meetings, "is not denied; but the abuse of it, its unrestricted license, has always been open to the animadversion and condemnation of the law."

That statement is true. But because it is true, it is, in the connection in which Judge Jackson uses it, more viciously false than if it were not true. For "a lie that is half the truth is ever the worst of lies."

The abuse of the right of free speech has, indeed, always been open to the animadversion and condemnation of the law. It always ought to be. But never, except under tyrannies, has it been subject to restraint by preliminary judicial process or other arbitrary decrees. And never, under English freedom, has its abuse been subject to condemnation without a jury trial. It is an essential principle of orderly liberty that every man shall have the right to speak and write freely, subject only to being held responsible for the abuse of this right, which means that for any wrong he does he may be held responsible by a jury of his peers. Abuse of the right of free speech cannot be safely or lawfully restrained by injunction, because that deprives alleged offenders of jury trial and puts them at the mercy of judges.

The law of libel is a perfect illustration. For one man to libel another is an abuse of the right of free speech. But no one can be prohibited in advance, by injunction or other arbitrary decree, from publishing libels. The principles of liberty and English law demand that he shall be at liberty to publish, he assuming responsibility for the lawfulness of his publication, and his offense, if he commits one, to be passed upon after it is committed and by a jury.

The only important variation from this rule since the principles of English liberty began to gain recognition by the courts, was in an English case in which workmen were prohibited by injunction from posting libelous placards. That case is the precedent for the American innovation called "government by injunction."

But hardly had the American courts adopted it as a precedent when the English courts overruled it. So government by injunction, including Judge Jackson's injunction in restraint of public speech, rests upon no better modern authority than an overruled decision of an English judge.

If Judge Jackson had been asked to grant an injunction against a newspaper, prohibiting it from publishing a libelous article calculated to do irreparable injury to the person complaining, he would probably have denied the application. Most certainly he would if his competency as a judge has not departed from him. He would have protested that this was no case for injunction. He would have said that the plain remedy of the person complaining would be to sue the publisher for damages when the libel had appeared, and that the plain remedy of the community for the offense would be to indict the publisher criminally when his crime had been committed. And he would have explained that an injunction in such a case would not only be contrary to all reputable precedents, but would constitute an offense of the first magnitude against the institution of jury trial and the sanctity of the fundamental right of free speech.

Yet in the case of the West Virginia coal miners Judge Jackson is guilty of an injunction contravening those very principles of English and American liberty and law.

The suit in which he makes this revolutionary decision was brought against striking miners by the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York. It was brought in the Federal court because the trust company is a "citizen" of another state. It was brought by this company on the ground that it is a creditor of the Clarksburg Fuel company, which owns mines in West Virginia, and that the interest on its loan would be endangered if the Pennsylvania hard coal strikes were to extend to the Clarksburg mines. In its complaint it alleged that the officers of the United Mine Workers of America had announced their intention of causing a strike in the soft coal mines, especially those of West Vir-

ginia of which the Clarksburg was one. Specifically it charged that some of the defendants named had addressed meetings composed in part of coal miners, in which they attempted to inflame and excite the hatred and animosity of the miners towards the proprietors of the coal mines, and in their speeches advised the miners to quit work. There were also charges of assaults, of injuries to mines, etc., calculated to intimidate the miners; but these acts, even if true, have no bearing on the question of granting injunctions against free speech.

Upon these allegations the New York trust company obtained from Judge Jackson an injunction restraining the officers of the miners' union from doing all manner of things. Its language is technical and obscure, but its purpose and object, as Judge Jackson himself subsequently declared from the bench, was—

to prevent all unlawful combinations and conspiracies and to restrain all the defendants in the promotion of such unlawful combinations and conspiracies, from entering upon the property of the Clarksburg Fuel company described in this order, and from in anywise interfering with the employes of said company in their mining operations either within the mines or in passing from their homes to the mines and upon their return to their homes, and from unlawfully inciting persons who are engaged in working in the mines from ceasing to work in and about the mines or in any way advising such acts as may result in violations and destruction of the rights of the Clarksburg Fuel company.

That the intention was to prevent labor meetings and labor speeches is obvious. The word "unlawful," with which Judge Jackson interlards his explanation, has neither force nor meaning, but is thrown in for good measure. Of this the subsequent proceedings leave no room for doubt.

When the defendants were haled into court for violating the injunction it appeared, according to Judge Jackson, that they had done nothing whatever but attend lawful public meetings and make speeches urging the miners to strike. They assembled a meeting about 1,000 feet from the opening of one of the Clarksburg mines and 250 feet from the mining property, and within view of the min-

ers' residences. One of the speakers referred to the injunction as a farce, saying it would not prevent other labor organizers from taking the places of any that might be arrested for contempt. Another called the miners slaves and cowards, criticised Judge Jackson's action, said that the jails would not hold the labor organizers if the injunction were enforced, argued that it was the duty of every man there to urge the men that were at work in the mines to lay down their tools, advised the men to strike, called Judge Jackson a hireling of the coal company, said the coal operators were all robbers and that the reason the court stood in with them was that one robber liked another, and told them to pay no attention to Judge Jackson or the court, but just make the miners lay down their tools and come out. At another public meeting Judge Jackson was criticised and denounced for granting the injunction, and one of the speakers said that he should be impeached. Moreover, a vacant lot was rented by these labor organizers in which to hold an open air meeting.

Whether these things actually occurred or not we are unable to say. It is Judge Jackson's version. The labor organizers might give a different version. We are sure they would insist, for instance, that nothing was said which could fairly be construed into advice to intimidate the working miners, and that if they told their hearers to "make" the miners strike that word was used and understood in the sense of "urge," which in fact is one of its familiar colloquial uses. But be the truth as it may be, what we have stated as the acts which Judge Jackson holds to be in violation of his injunction, are the very acts as he himself describes them in the authorized report of his opinion now before us, and they are all the acts he does describe.

He indulges, indeed, in a great variety of offensive epithets, such as "agitators," and "busybodies" and "vampires," and he draws inferences. But the inferences are unwarranted by his own statement of the facts, and the offensive adjectives, coming not from coarse-spoken workingmen but from the cultured occupant of a Federal bench, disclose a bias far from judicial. It is upon the facts we have outlined above that Judge Jackson has sentenced these representatives of the miners' union to imprisonment.

And those facts show nothing more — apart from the uncomplimentary

but not unlawful remarks about Judge Jackson, which might be balanced off by his equally uncomplimentary but not unlawful epithets—than that Judge Jackson holds his injunction to have been violated by the lawful assembling of public meetings and the making of public speeches.

Even if those meetings and speeches were unlawful, they were not the kind of things which it is within the province of injunctions to restrain.

The remedy would be prosecution for crime, where the charge might be considered by a grand jury, the accused be confronted by his accusers, the facts be finally determined by a petit jury, and the function of the judge be limited to imposing a sentence prescribed by law.

But here, Judge Jackson formulated the offense which he himself forbade; its alleged violation was brought before him for trial, without the preliminary inquiry of a grand jury; he tried it himself, taking oral evidence or affidavits as he chose and allowing the cross examination of witnesses or not in his own discretion; he decided the facts himself without the intervention of a petit jury; and he imposed the punishment absolutely at his own will. He was law-maker, judge, jury and executioner, all in his own person.

And this with the purpose if not the effect of suppressing one of the great fundamental rights of American liberty—the right of free speech. If Judge Jackson was within his powers as an equity judge, then any judge sitting in equity can issue an injunction restraining the publication of newspapers, or restraining the holding of any kind of public meeting, which might be prejudicial to the pecuniary interests of a complaining party. Free speech and a free press would become the football of an arrogant judiciary.

Judge Jackson is to be thanked for having thus exposed "government by injunction" in its enormity. With such a flagrant instance as a warning example, it may be that the workingmen of the country will realize at future elections that there are some things more important than a "full dinner-pail," especially if it isn't full.

It may be that they will realize, too, the impotency of any direct proceedings against such men as Judge Jackson. Their talk of impeaching

him is the veriest folderol, unless they can prove positively that he owns stock in the coal mines his injunction was issued to protect, or in some other way show that he is corrupt. This they probably cannot do. What seems to them indicative of corruption is nothing more than the bent of mind which constant association with the employing class naturally creates. Even if they could prove corruption, it is not likely that they could induce a majority of a Republican House of Representatives to impeach a judge who is kind to coal barons, nor make two-thirds of a Republican Senate vote to convict.

They cannot impeach Judge Jackson. But they can put a stop to "government by injunction." All they need is to oust from power the party that supports government by injunction, openly through its judges and cunningly through its Senators, and make the politicians of the other party understand that the labor vote is a decisive factor in politics which may "bolt" at any time.

So long as workingmen divide their vote between the parties, so long as those who do "bolt" huddle in small and ineffectual groups of permanent side parties where they play at politics, just so long will there be judges to twist the law in the interest of great capitalists and Senators to obstruct remedial legislation.

NEWS

An outbreak of violence at Shenandoah, Pa., on the 30th marks the progress of the anthracite coal strike (p. 248). The newspaper explanation of its origin refers to an attack by strikers upon two "strike-breakers" whom a deputy sheriff was escorting through a line of strike "pickets." Being dressed in street clothes, these two men were not at first suspected; but one of them carried a bundle, which aroused suspicion and it was torn from him by "pickets." Upon being opened it proved to contain a miner's blouse and overalls. The "pickets" then seized and assaulted this man, whereupon the deputy sheriff opened fire with his revolver upon them and the mob that had begun to gather. He wounded two men. Then he and the "strike-breakers" took refuge in a railroad station, which was soon surrounded by a mob of 5,000. They killed a brother of the deputy sheriff

who was making his way into the station, and stoned the station until the police force came to the rescue, firing a volley into the mob which drove it back. It returned to the attack, however, and followed the police who fired repeated volleys at it as it moved away. About 20 strikers, all foreigners, were shot, some of them fatally. State troops have been ordered to Shenandoah. Smaller riots are reported from other places in the anthracite region. The officers of the coal miners' union have posted bulletins disowning any connection with the rioting and calling upon all miners to aid in maintaining the peace. It appears that the rioters are all foreigners.

Prior to this turn in the strike attention was concentrated upon the action of two United States judges in West Virginia in connection with the use of labor injunctions. Judge John Jackson has issued an injunction early in July against the West Virginia strikers (p. 119). The law suit, though brought in behalf of the Clarksburg Fuel Co., was not brought by that company, for it is a West Virginia corporation and at its suit the Federal Court would have had no jurisdiction against residents of West Virginia. But its bonded creditor, the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York, a New York corporation, instituted the proceedings on the ground that its loan was jeopardized by the strike. The injunction which Judge Jackson granted prohibited the strikers from intimidating or doing things tending to intimidate miners in the employment of the Clarksburg Fuel Co., and on the 24th he imposed sentences for its violation upon several labor union organizers who had held public meetings and made pro-strike speeches within 250 feet of the company's property and 1,000 feet of the mine opening, and upon a vacant lot which they had rented for the purpose. The judge sentenced Thomas Haggerty to 90 days' imprisonment and five of the others to 60 days each. He convicted Mrs. Mary Jones, known to the labor world as "Mother Jones," but, explaining that "as she was posing as a martyr, he would not send her to jail or allow her to force her way into jail," he discharged her with a warning that it would "go exceedingly hard" with her should she be guilty of another violation of the injunction.

Officers of the National Associa-

tion of Mine Workers declare their intention of pressing impeachment proceedings against Judge Jackson. As the basis of such proceedings the secretary-treasurer enumerates the following grounds:

(1) The court was without jurisdiction because the Clarksburg Fuel company is chartered by the state of West Virginia, and its interests are wholly within that state. (2) Judge Jackson used his position as judge to protect his interests as a stockholder in a coal company. (3) Judge Jackson, before the trial began, bullied the defendants in open court and told them they were guilty before a witness had been sworn. (4) After the evidence was in, and before the case had been argued by the attorneys, he admonished the defendants that he would make their punishment accord with their subsequent acts. (5) That before a witness was sworn he told them if they would leave the state and promise never to come back he would not send them to jail. (6) That he violated all rules of equity to protect his interest in a coal company. (7) That Judge Jackson used private 'inquiry' in lieu of sworn testimony to influence his decision, and he so stated in open court during the trial.

The other injunction proceedings were before Judge B. F. Keller, another Federal judge of West Virginia. On the 28th he granted an injunction which, while not in terms forbidding the distribution of food and other supplies among the strikers, is generally regarded as designed to do so. The suit is brought by the Gauley Mountain Coal company against national officers of the miners' union. They are charged with sending supplies from national headquarters to support strikers who gather in camps in large crowds in the vicinity of the colliery and assert their purpose of staying there until the employes in the mines join them in their strike.

A serious strike of telegraph messenger boys began in Chicago on the 25th. It had its inception in the offices of the Western Union and spread at once to the Postal. The young strikers demanded \$6 a week, an eight-hour day, and recognition of their organization; and for several hours business was injuriously affected by non-delivery of telegrams. The Postal company soon settled with their messengers, but the Western Union held out, employing men at \$40 a month instead of the boys whom they had been paying \$15 a month. But the striking boys intim-

idated the men, and at last the company agreed to meet a committee. As the result of an interview, a peace was patched up, the boys going back to work under an agreement for 75 cents a day, with ten cents an hour for over time, the regular hours to be ten as before.

An enormous strike of farm laborers is reported from Galicia, part of old Poland and now the northeastern province of Austro-Hungary. It is raging in the east of the province, near the Russian border, and 100,000 agricultural laborers, most of them Russians, are reported as being engaged in it. Russian students, also, are said to be participating in the strike, which is supposed to derive from that fact some political significance. Near Lemberg, about 60 miles by rail from the Russian frontier, extensive stores were fired on the 25th, and similar acts of violence were reported from neighboring localities. The landlords have applied to the government for troops, but the local authorities recommend instead that they try conciliation by increasing agricultural laborers' wages.

In another part of old Poland the German emperor is pressing forward his drastic policy of Germanization. To that end a bill appropriating \$62,500,000 for the purchase of land from Polish proprietors in Prussian Poland and the settlement of Germans there has passed to its third reading in the Prussian diet. In the debates upon this bill the imperial chancellor, Count von Buelow, characterized the Poles most offensively, and afterwards by a domineering speech at Marienburg the emperor himself excited universal Polish hostility. The popular feeling in Posen is so bitter that Polish noblemen have begged the emperor to postpone his proposed September visit, lest he be assassinated. His response is an expression of his intention to show that he is master by entering Posen at the head of his troops, 90,000 of whom are to attend the Fall maneuvers there.

What gives most importance to all this, perhaps, is its possible effect upon the "dreibund" treaty (p. 200) between Germany, Italy and Austria. The Austrian Poles are so angered by the offensive speeches of the German emperor and his chancellor that their representatives in the Austrian reichsrath have decided

to oppose the whole "dreibund" policy. The German emperor's name was hooted by them in the reichsrath, and while denouncing him they also denounced the Austrian government for cowering before him. To intensify this danger to the "dreibund" treaty the Russian government, against which in part the treaty is made, is pursuing a policy of giving exceptional freedom to Russian Poles along the Prussian frontier with a view to creating Russian sympathies among the Prussian Poles by bringing Russian liberality to the Poles into sharp contrast with the drastic Prussian policy.

France is stirred profoundly by a religious agitation which threatens open revolt. The struggle is due to the rigid enforcement by the new ministry (p. 150) of the "associations law," enacted a year ago (p. 202), which subjects the Catholic orders to regulation by the civil powers. When the new ministry with M. Coombes at its head faced the new parliament at its first session, a vote of confidence in the determination of the ministry to apply the policy of "laicism (anti-clericalism), fiscal reform and social solidarity" was carried in the chamber of deputies by 329 to 124. That was on the 12th of June. Two days afterwards, June 14, the ministry outlined its policy as follows:

- (1) Vigorous anti-clerical policy;
- (2) reduction of military service to two years;
- (3) imposing an income tax either rigidly proportional or progressive;
- (4) withdrawal of educational privileges from all religious institutions, leading up to a future state monopoly of schools and universities;
- (5) radical reforming of the judicial machinery, implying, perhaps, a revising of the criminal and civil codes in order to rescue justice from a tangle of contradictory jurisprudence;
- (6) the pensioning of aged and disabled workers and widows with children;
- (7) state ownership of the railways.

Pursuant to the first and fourth items of this policy, an order was issued on the 10th enforcing the "associations law" by directing the police to close all religious schools which did not apply for special authorization under that law and which might remain open at the end of six days. For doing this the ministry was interpellated on the 11th, but by a vote of 328 to 218 the interpellation was at the premier's request, postponed.

Great popular excitement followed the subsequent efforts at closing Catholic schools. All France was in a turmoil, and in many cities and towns the resistance was so great that the gendarmes were called in to support the police. Throughout the country, schools and cloisters were turned into fortresses, around which the Catholic peasantry formed protective cordons and defied both police and gendarmerie. A mass meeting held in Paris on the 26th to protest against the closing of the Catholic schools was broken up by mobs, which organized counter demonstrations. On the 27th two mass meetings were held in Paris, one for the suppression and the other against it, the attendance at each being about 15,000. Neither was seriously disturbed, though there were several violent encounters in the neighborhood. In the midst of the enforcement of this anti-clerical policy the chamber of deputies took a recess on the 12th until October.

To the closing days of the present session of the British parliament a vigorous debate over maladministration in Ireland has lent excitement. When the appropriation estimates for Ireland came before the House of Commons on the 23d, John Redmond, leader of the Irish parliamentary party, moved a reduction of the salary of George Wyndham, chief secretary, and the acrimonious debate followed. The question came to vote on the 25th and the motion was defeated, 168 to 117; but the object of the Irish party was accomplished in laying bare the oppressive system of government prevailing in Ireland, the main features of which the ministry were unable to deny.

Another motion, made and supported by the Irish party, but which was opposed by the Liberals as well as the Conservatives, was a protest against the appointment of Lord Alverstone, Sir John Bigham and Sir John Ardagh as a royal commission to inquire into the question of remitting or reducing the sentences imposed in South Africa by British military courts during the war. It was urged that the approving attitude toward the Jameson raid of two of these appointees, Alverstone and Bigham, made them unfit to serve on such a commission. The protest was defeated, July 28, by a vote of 210 to 64.

Mr. Chamberlain took occasion on

the 30th to make a speech from the floor of the Commons dealing comprehensively with the South African question. Regarding the status of the defunct republics he is reported as saying that—

the imperial government had established a crown colony in the strictest sense. The next step would be to add a nominated official element, and then nothing but circumstances and time would separate the new colonies from full self-government, the ultimate goal of their ambition. That consummation would not be delayed; if for no other reason, because it might relieve the government of the tremendous burden of responsibility involved in the present situation, but all must understand that the government would not be rushed nor hustled into any action which circumstances did not warrant. The speaker said he was one of those optimistic enough to believe that the new colonies would reach the ultimate goal of their ambition much sooner than many persons now thought possible. So far as the government was concerned, the surrender promises would be kept, in spirit as well as by letter. The government, he said, was bound both by honor and interest to this course.

After many days the Boer resolutions of surrender adopted at the conference at Vereeniging (p. 137) on the 31st of May by a vote of 54 to 6 have been transmitted in full text. They are as follows:

This meeting of representatives both of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State, held at Vereeniging, from May the 15th till May the 31st, 1902, has received with regret the proposal of His Majesty in connection with the cessation of the present hostilities, and the communication that this proposal must be rejected or accepted unchanged. It regrets that H. M.'s government have absolutely refused to negotiate with the governments of the two republics on the basis of our independence or to allow our governments to communicate with our delegation. For our nation has always thought that not only on grounds of justice it has a well-founded claim to that independence but also because of its great material and personal sacrifices made for that independence.

This meeting has earnestly considered the state of our country and people and paid special attention to the following facts:

1. That the war policy of the British military authorities has led to the total devastation of the territory of the two republics, with the burning of farms and villages, the destruction of all means of existence and the exhaustion of all resources necessary for the

support of our families, the subsistence of our forces and the continuation of the war.

2. That placing our captive families in the concentration camps has led to an unheard of state of suffering and disease, so that within a relatively short time about 20,000 of our beloved ones have died there, and the horrible prospect has been opened that in this way our entire race may become extinct.

3. That the Kaffir tribes within as well as without the limits of the territory of the two republics are nearly all armed and take a part in the struggle against us, and by committing murders and perpetrating atrocities create an unsupportable state of things in many districts of the two republics, such as quite recently occurred in the district of Vrijheid, where 56 burgers were murdered and mutilated on the same occasion in a most horrible manner.

4. That by proclamations of the enemy to which he has already given a commencement of execution the burgers still fighting are threatened with the loss of all movable and immovable property, and so with total material ruin.

5. That the conditions of the war have made it impossible for us for a long while already to keep the many thousands of prisoners taken by our forces so that we can only inflict small damage on the British forces, whereas, the burgers who are taken prisoner by the British forces are sent abroad, and that after the war has been raging for nearly three years, only a small part remains of the forces with which we began the war.

6. That this fighting remnant which forms but a small minority of our nation has to fight overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and, moreover, practically exists under conditions of famine and destitution of the necessaries of life, and notwithstanding our utmost endeavors and the sacrifice of all that was dear to us, we cannot reasonably hope for ultimate victory.

This meeting therefore is of opinion that there are no reasonable grounds for supposing that this people will retain its independence by continuing the war, and considers that under the circumstances the nation is not justified in continuing that war, as it can only result in the social and material ruin not only of us, but of our posterity.

Compelled by the above circumstances and considerations, this meeting instructs both governments to accept the proposals of H. M.'s government and to sign them in the name of the people of both republics.

This meeting expresses its confi-

dence that the conditions called into existence by the acceptance of the proposals of H. M.'s government may soon be improved in such a manner that our nation may attain to the enjoyment of those privileges to which it believes itself justly entitled, not only on the grounds of its past, but also because of its sacrifices during the war.

This meeting has with great pleasure noted the resolve of H. M.'s government to extend a great measure of amnesty to such British subjects as have taken up arms on our side, and to whom we are attached by ties of blood and honor, and expresses the wish that it may please H. M. still further to extend this amnesty.

From the Philippines there are indications of unrest in Mindanao, where the Mohammedan natives were some time ago supposed (p. 71) to have been brought under subjection.

Another court-martial has been concluded at Manila, this time in the case of Lieut. Edwin Hickman, of the First cavalry. He had ducked two Filipinos in a pond in Tabayas, their offense being that they refused to guide him to the headquarters of the Filipino general Caballes. Lieut. Hickman admitted the charge, but pleaded that he was justified under general order 100. He also produced a telegraphic order from Gen. Chaffee, says the special Manila report of the 24th to the Chicago Inter Ocean, "urging the location of (Gen.) Caballes, regardless of the measures necessary to do so."

Further steps have been taken to secure an investigation of the atrocities in the Philippines. They come in the form of an open letter to President Roosevelt from Charles Francis Adams, Carl Schurz, Edwin Burritt Smith, Moorefield Storey and Herbert Welsh, representing a meeting of representative anti-imperialists (p. 55) held at New York city last spring. The letter is long and circumstantial, and offers to direct the President's attention to concrete cases of atrocity the investigation of which would demonstrate a regime of kidnaping, murder, robbery, torture of both men and women, and the infliction of death penalties on testimony elicited by torture.

National political affairs in the United States were marked by a Democratic dinner at Nantasket, Massachusetts, on the 24th, at which

Wm. J. Bryan and Edward M. Shepard were the principal speakers. Mr. Bryan afterwards went into Maine for a speaking tour in support of the Democratic ticket to be voted upon at the approaching state election. His progress is described by Democratic papers of Maine as a continuous ovation.

In Iowa the Republican convention met on the 30th. The highest officer to be elected is secretary of state and this convention nominated W. B. Martin. But the most important action of the convention was its adoption of the tariff plank of last year's platform which was then forced upon the party by the faction at the head of which Gov. Cummins triumphed over that led by Gov. Shaw (now Secretary of the Treasury). For months past the Republican party of Iowa has heatedly debated the movement of the Shaw faction to reject this plank this year. In behalf of that movement it has been argued that the objectionable plank is virtually a plea of guilty to the Democratic charge that the tariff is the parent of the trusts. This debate was carried to the convention, but did not break out upon the floor. It was settled in the committee on resolutions, where the Cummins faction again won into point and the old plank was readopted. The plank in question, while endorsing the policy of protection, favors "such changes in the tariff from time to time as become advisable through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world." The platform approves the Philippine policy, commends President Roosevelt's administration, and, while refraining from proposing him for the next presidential nomination, looks forward to his election as "a foreshadowed event demanded by the popular will and one that will maintain and promote the national prosperity and conserve every national interest." On the trust question it asserts—

the sovereignty of the people over all corporations and aggregations of capital, and the right residing in the people to enforce such regulations, restrictions, or prohibitions upon corporate management as will protect the individual and society from abuse of the power which great combinations of capital wield.

Ohio politics are affected by the political situation in Cleveland,

where Mayor Johnson is still struggling with the railroad and street car interests. To save all question as to that one of the 3-cent fare street car franchises with reference to which an injunction was obtained and which the council reconsidered by a minority vote (p. 250), Mayor Johnson has vetoed the ordinance. In his veto message he says that as the parties procuring the injunction announced that their sole reason for applying for it was to prevent the laying of a track on East Madison avenue, he thought it wise to veto this one ordinance rather than delay the entire three-cent fare legislation. The cause removed, he said that of course the injunction would be dissolved at the complainant's own request, unless, indeed, there were more behind the suit than had as yet been alleged—the mayor's allusion being to the general belief that the 5-cent fare companies are behind the injunction suit.

Local taxation is also one of the burning questions in Cleveland, and in a form which makes it of interest to taxpayers everywhere. The work of the mayor's tax office, under the management of Peter Witt (vol. iv., p. 406) has been completed so far that a comparison of every taxpayer's land tax, with what relatively to the taxes of others it ought in fairness to be, can be made; and Mayor Johnson has presented to each taxpayer an interesting explanation, of which the following is a specimen:

Mayor's office. Facts about your taxes. July 29, 1902. Mr. James Pannell. Huron street—Dear Sir: You are paying \$326.10 too much taxes on your land.

The tax department has for a year and a half had under examination the question of unequal distribution of tax burdens in the city of Cleveland. The investigation of inequalities in the valuation of land for taxation has been so far completed that we can give you the aggregate result in your ward and the actual result in money in your particular case. We will give you similar information as to the inequalities in the valuation of buildings as soon as it is completed. Here we consider only the lot exclusive of improvements.

In the Tenth ward, the total cash value of all taxable land is \$5,865,790; its valuation for taxation upon the duplicate in the office of the county auditor is \$2,292,840 or 39 per cent. of its cash value. In the ward there are 159 pieces of land which are valued at less than 39 per cent., some as low as 20 per cent. of their value, as in the case of the land of Mathias Hess, 108

feet triangle at the junction of Bolivar and Prospect streets, the land having a cash value of \$26,350, is assessed at only \$5,400; there are 433 pieces that are valued at more than 39 per cent., some as high as 127 per cent. of their cash value, as in the case of the land of James F. Ganson, 12½x100 feet, north side of Webster street, between Plum and Brownell streets, and being 25 feet from the corner of Brownell street, the cash value of which is \$560, while it is assessed at \$710.

The value of your land which appears on your tax bill as Original Lot No. — Sublot— on 50 feet Huron street is \$40,650. It is valued for taxation at \$26,720. The tax valuation at 39 per cent. would be \$15,850. You are therefore assessed at 66 per cent. of the cash value of your land. You are now charged \$801.60 in taxes on your land. You should pay only \$475.50.

This unjust and unequal assessment was made by the Decennial appraisers; considered by the Decennial Board of Equalization and reviewed by them as a Board of Revision. This is the assessed value on which taxes for last year and this year are to be based.

The Annual City Board of Equalization proposed to correct these inequalities but the recent legislature abolished that Board to prevent it from making these corrections and also because that Board had the courage to raise the assessed valuation of the property of the street railways and other public service corporations nearly \$20,000,000, which would have made those corporations pay on the same basis as small home owners. The legislature put in the place of the Annual City Board of Equalization a Board of Review which is now in daily session in the old Courthouse.

This Board of Review is the board to which you must appeal for relief from this over valuation.

The tax department will call to the attention of the Board of Review all cases of under valuation.

Three state officials took off the \$20,000,000 added by the Annual City Board of Equalization and by doing so raised your taxes 10 per cent. This is an additional injustice to the one caused by the inequality above pointed out. Divide the total of the taxes you are required to pay by 10 and it will show you, in dollars, a part of the injustice done you by the legislature in abolishing the Annual City Board of Equalization, and by the three state officials in setting aside the increased valuation made by that board. This will also show you how much you have to pay of the taxes, which ought to be paid by the public service corporations, but which they unjustly make you pay through the favoritism of public officials.

Apply to the Tax Department, 109 City Hall, for further information to

aid you in having your taxes reduced by the Board of Review in the old Courthouse.

Facts about the tax rate:

The tax rate of 30 dollars and 35 cents on each thousand dollars is unjust; particularly so to all over-assessed property, and is due to the fact that powerful corporations are able to have their property so much under-assessed that they avoid the payment of nine-tenths of the taxes they should pay.

If the street railroads paid taxes in proportion to the value of their property, it would exceed the amount due from the public service corporations and would cause a still further reduction of at least 10 per cent., bringing the rate down to 24 dollars and 59 cents on each thousand dollars.

This rate would raise the same sum that is now levied for all purposes and would amount in the case of each taxpayer to a reduction of 20 per cent., or a tax of only four-fifths of the present charge.

In short, after making the reduction first pointed out of \$326.50 in the amount of your taxes due to unequal valuation, there would be, if the steam railroads, street railways, and other public service corporations paid their fair share, a still further reduction of one-fifth, which would reduce your taxes from \$475.50 to \$380.40, the amount you should pay instead of \$801.60, as you are now charged.

Thus a fair and equal distribution of the tax burdens would mean a saving of \$421.20 to you on your land alone.

Very truly,

[City Seal] TOM L. JOHNSON,
Mayor.

As to the increase of \$20,000,000 of valuation which the city board made with reference to street railways and other franchise property, which would have made them pay the same proportion of taxes that house owners pay, as stated in the foregoing document, one of the judges of Cleveland decided on the 29th that the action of the state board of equalization in cancelling this increased valuation cannot be reviewed by the courts.

Referring to the consequent over taxation of house owners, and his explanatory circulars to taxpayers, of which 3,400 have been sent out, Mayor Johnson says:

If we still had our annual tax board as we had when this work of tax reform was planned the next step would be to correct the unequal valuation revealed in these circulars. But the legislature has taken away that tax board and substituted a board of tax review. I sincerely hope this board will set about to remedy the inequalities in valuation of Cleveland property

now shown up as the annual city board of equalization would have done had it remained in existence. If the board of tax review does not we at least have done our part in showing up the inequality of the present valuation to every citizen interested.

In Chicago it is reported that terms have been virtually agreed upon between a subcommittee of the council committee on local transportation and the street car companies (vol. iv., p. 810) with reference to an extension of the street car franchises. The terms reported are, (1) a fifteen-year extension of franchises; (2) compensation of 10 per cent. of gross receipts; and (3) ultimate municipal ownership.

Revolution to the south of us has not subsided. In Haiti (p. 200) civil war was declared on the 21st, and by the 28th it was raging in earnest. Two battles had then been fought. In one Gen. Jean Jumeau, an insurgent leader under Firmin, was defeated near Port au Prince by the provisional army under Gen. Colin, and in the other Gen. Nord, provisional minister of war, was defeated at Limba by insurgents under Gen. Salnave. The United States gunboat Machias is at Cape Haytien protecting foreign interests and residents.

NEWS NOTES.

—The international convention of the Iron Molders' union closed its session at Toronto on the 27th.

Dr. Charles K. Adams, formerly president of the University of Wisconsin, died at Redlands, Cal., on the 26th, at the age of 67.

—A prize fight between Jeffries, the pugilistic champion of the world, and Fitzsimmons, ex-champion, which came off at San Francisco on the 25th, was won by Jeffries in the eighth round.

—The senate of the University of Chicago, voting by mail on the question of segregating the women's from the men's classes (p. 200) returned on the 26th an affirmative vote. The trustees thereupon held a protracted session on the 29th to consider the subject, but came to no conclusion.

—The United States circuit court has decided, through Judge Grosscup, that the city of Chicago may lawfully reduce to 75 cents per 1,000 feet the price of gas supplied by the Peoples' Gas Light and Coke company, because the higher rate named in the charter was not intended as a contract rate, but as a limitation.

—Capt. George W. Streeter, who claimed title to what he called the "District of Lake Michigan," on the Chicago Lake front, and who was tried for a murder in connection with his efforts to hold possession (p. 723), the jury disagreeing, was evicted on the 30th by decree of the Circuit Court of Cook County.

—At a by-election on the 29th to fill the vacancy in the British House of Commons for North Leeds, the Liberal candidate, Rawland Barron, was elected by a majority of 758. As the Conservative majority in 1900 was 2517, and the constituency had been Conservative since 1886, the result is regarded by both parties as significant of a probable change in popular opinion since the general parliamentary elections.

—Great Britain has formally withdrawn all claim of sovereignty over the islands of Utilla, Ruatan and Bonacca, in the Gulf of Honduras, acknowledging that under treaties with the United States and with Honduras, made in 1850 and 1860, respectively, they belong to the Republic of Honduras. These islands are occupied by Americans and English, and English is the language spoken.

—It was reported from London on the 30th that Rockefeller, Rothschild and Noble have combined their oil interests, controlling 80 per cent. of the world's supply, in a gigantic international trust. The wells of Rockefeller are located in the United States; the wells of the Nobeles in Russia; and those of the Rothschilds in Russia, China and other parts of Asia. Standard Oil officials deny the report of combination.

—St. Petersburg dispatches of the 25th told of the receipt there from Seoul, the capital of Corea, of information that Japan had signed a second treaty with Great Britain (for account of previous one see vol. iv., p. 711), which specifically guarantees the independence of Corea, and that Corea pledges herself in return to raise her naval and military establishment to a footing sufficient for her own defense, and in case of raising a foreign loan, agrees to restrict herself to the money markets of Great Britain, Japan and the United States.

PRESS OPINIONS.

GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Chicago Daily News (neut.), July 25.—The issue of government by injunction, if pressed forward temperately and wisely, should have a careful hearing before the American public.

Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), July 25.—The workingmen who in 1896 helped to save the "honest" dollar are now receiving their reward in "government by injunction."

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), July 25.—Unless we have completely surrendered to the policy of government by injunction, then it is difficult to see where a

mere judge obtains his authority to send people to jail simply because of a public speech.

Buffalo Enquirer (Ind.), July 28.—Judge Jackson, of the federal court of West Virginia, who has gone farther in his assistance of the coal barons and the coal trust in his efforts to crush labor than any judicial official heretofore, . . . is likely to have an airing before the public which will be anything but pleasing to him.

Columbus Press (Dem.), July 25.—Another outrage against American freedom has been committed by one who wears the ermine but lacks the judgment of a just judge—the restriction of constitutional liberties leveled against the miners by Judge Jackson in the United States court at Parkersburg, W. Va. This is not the first time Judge Jackson has astonished the nation by flagrant abuse of the writ of injunction.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), July 25.—The strongest objection to "government by injunction" Judge Jackson completely ignores. It deprives men of the constitutional right to trial by jury. The judge issues a writ, tries alleged violators for "contempt" of court and sends them to jail. No jury is impaneled to pass upon the facts of the contempt charge, and the judge decides the questions of fact as well as of law.

Chicago Record-Herald (Dem.), July 26.—District Judge John Jay Jackson . . . has made a new issue as to the right to organize which cannot be too quickly taken up to the supreme court for final settlement. . . . There is much room to question his exercise of the power of a court of equity to make it contempt of court to exercise the common right of assemblage, agitation and united action on the part of employees.

Heart's Chicago American (Dem.), July 30.—Judge Jackson sends union men to jail for 90 days, because they have tried to persuade their fellows to join in a strike. He says that as arguments they used "inflammatory and intimidating utterances." He does not prove this. And then he, a judge of the United States, addresses in most abusive terms citizens brought before him, men made helpless by the power of the court.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), July 29.—Rarely has a Federal judge been so generally and severely criticised, and not a word is heard in his defense. Impeachment of Judge Jackson is talked of, and movements looking to that test are in progress. . . . The accusation is made that he used his judicial power to further the interests of corporations in which he was a stockholder. That is improbable, but it is a fact that he abused his authority and gave way to scandalous and slanderous language from his place on the bench.

Chicago Chronicle (Dem.), July 26.—Every just man capable of forming a sound judgment will agree with Judge Jackson in the opinion that if any man attempts to "compel" another to quit work or if any number of men conspire to "compel" others to quit work against their will by violence or intimidation there is a criminal violation of law. But is a man or are any number of men to be adjudged guilty of such violation of law and punished for it without such trial as is guaranteed by the constitution? Judge Jackson seems inclined to answer that question in the affirmative.

PHILIPPINE ATROCITIES.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), July 20.—The president's answer to this letter [the Chas. Francis Adams letter] should be a demand on the Lake George committee for a bill of particulars, with a list of its witnesses, on the back of

the indictment of the United States army.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), July 28.—The material fact is this: A committee of honorable, competent, even distinguished, men claims to have proof of crime and wrongdoing on the part of American officers and privates, and it asks for an opportunity to submit these proofs.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), July 29.—The signers of the open letter say they are ready to direct the attention of the president to "concrete cases." . . . Let them submit their "concrete cases" and the evidence they believe they have collected. The President will see that whatever of a tangible nature they submit receives due consideration.

BRYAN'S EASTERN TOUR.

New Haven Union (Dem.), July 28.—Mr. Bryan's triumphal progress through New England, beginning with his appearance at Nantasket Beach on Thursday, extending clear to Maine, and ending with his speech at Seaside park, in Bridgeport, late on Saturday, calls attention once more to the great and continuing hold he has upon his party and the masses of the people. It serves notice upon the politicians that while they may control the conventions and possibly dictate the platforms, they cannot sway the people in opposition to their own opinions and interests.

DEMOCRATIC "REORGANIZATION."

Nashville Daily News (Dem.), July 26.—The Republicans are happy when Democratic conventions ignore the Chicago and Kansas City platforms. So are the Cleveland faction. Why? Is it because this tends to help the Democratic party? Is a yearning for its success the inspiration of their glee?

Johnstown Democrat (D.), July 28.—Mr. Bryan may not have said the last word upon the moted harmony question. His latest utterances, however, have done more to dignify the discussion than all the previous "harmony meetings" put together. The eminent ex-Democrats of the Cleveland-Hill school have made harmony synonymous with expediency of a partisan nature. . . . Mr. Bryan counts that fight lost in which principles suffer in order that parties may win.

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 36 of that publication.

Record Notes.—A supplementary issue of the Congressional Record, dated July 24, contains the following speeches: On civil government in the Philippines, Representative Crumpacker (p. 8535), and Galnes (p. 8547); on trusts, Representative Small (p. 8541); and on money contraction, Representative Newlands (p. 8544).

"I see that Harvard professor says the Monroe law is a dead letter."

"Oh, that's the smoke nuisance law, isn't it?"

"No, it isn't."

"Oh, it's the law regulating the speed of automobiles?"

"What's the matter with you?"

"Oh, now I remember. It's the law closing the saloons on Sunday?"

"Well, I guess he's right."

"Who's right?"

"The Harvard professor."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

MISCELLANY

A JOURNEY.

For The Public.

"Come!" cried I to my soul,
"Some journey let us make
Far from these boundaries—
Beyond the edges of the sun,
Where the light of love expires
And oceans lap on soundless shores,
Where all ends—hope, dreams, ambition."
And girdled like a pilgrim
I started, guided by my soul,
Bethinking of those rank abodes
Infested by the grimy shades
That wallow in the pits of hell.
And shuddering o'er the gap
Between me and the unseen,
I raised my staff and journeyed,
Going onward, onward slowly
To a city, huge, tumultuous,
Where the brawl and clang
Turned men to things, and people
Worshiped monsters.
And impatient for the quest
Of scenes unvisited, I cried:
"Let's hasten to our journey's end!"
"We are here!" moaned my guide.

JOSEPH LEISER.

OHIO TAX REFORM IN WASHINGTON'S TIME.

The tax reformer of to-day cannot claim much originality for his ideas after all. In the Ohio state library is a copy of the first newspaper published in Ohio, the Sentinel of Cincinnati. Under a date when George Washington was still president and Gen. St. Clair was governor of what is now Ohio, the editor of this paper gravely discusses the problem of taxation.

At this time the legislature consisted of two judges and Gov. St. Clair. This body had, after grave deliberation, passed a law levying a tax on tavernkeepers and traders. Evidently it was the first tax to be levied in the new country.

The editor pauses between his labors at the composing case to discuss this tax in no favorable vein. He maintains that the large landholders should be taxed rather than the publican and trader. If the landholder is taxed he will have to parcel out his great holdings and dispose of them to small settlers. And a host of the latter, comments this fellow craftsman of Benjamin Franklin, would be of more service in protecting the territory from the Indians than whole regiments of "three dollar soldiers." There is a delicious savor of the "unearned increment" of Henry George about that land proposition, while the shot at the soldiers would go well with modern attacks against militia and the army.

He is even better when he discusses

the theory of the thing. "The land has value," he says, "while the publican and the trader are wrongfully taxed on a business venture and their earning capacity." They are punished, he avers, for benefiting the community.

Doubtless that spirited attack on the first legislature yielded many a flagon and beaver skin to the struggling editor of those days, who dared to take the side of the common folk against the gentry, from the men he championed.—W. S. Couch, in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

JOHN BULL TO UNCLE SAM.

Printed from the original Manuscript.

London, Aug. 1.

Dear Sam: Though I avent until the present time took pen in and to hanser the letters you ave been for some time sendink me in the columns of The Public, this is not because I avent read the same, for I make no bones about lettin you know that I get that jernel regular, and read every word of it each blessed week. And I will say what is more, though it does not touch me on the rawr now and again, I ave a great respect for The Public, as on the ole one of the best and ablest papers you ave over there in America. But the fact is I ave been kept so bloomin busy for the last while back, with the war in S. Africa, the coronation, the ousin question, colonial conferences, taxes on bread, and eaven knows ow much else, that I really avent ad a hoportunity to look after correspondence even with near relations. So I ope youll excuse me not writin sooner. I dont know as I would be able to set down with pen and paper now if it want for the fact that my war with the Boers is hover. Will you be so obligin, Sam, as to make a note of this fact. Most of the fun you ave been pokin at me in the letters I mention was got out of your Yankee notion that the said war was goin to last till the crack of doom. But you see Kitchener as finished hup the job a little before that date. And I ope you wont fail to observe, as a fair minded chap, that peace as been declared with the most arty and friendly spirit on both sides, and every prospect of a lastin good fellowship twixt Briton and Boer in South Africa from this time. This ought to give what you would call the knock hout to all that dirty slander as to the conduct of my troops in the war, and I ope it will with you at any rate. The Boers bein as you ave all along said, brave

and decent folk, does it seem likely they would shake ands this way with Tommies as ad been such brutes and scoundrels as the continental papers tried to make us out to be? Not by no means, Sam.

But I took pen in and at present chiefly to let you know that my war bein hover and done with, I can let you ave Kitchener to finish up that affair of yours in the Philippines, if such is your wishes. Its my umble opinion, Sam, that you avent got a man equal to the job, and I am willin to let my ero ave a go at it just to show a right feelin twixt relations. But to be downright candid, Sam, I dont really believe Kitchener could do it. You see, its different from my affair from top to bottom. Mine, I old, was a fair stand up fight and a thing I couldn't get hout of with self respect. Wen it came to the Boers crossin my borders into Natal I ad either to draw the sword or show the wite feather, and the latter I aint in the abit of doin. But ow was it in your case, Sam? If I understand the Henglish language, and nobody as a better right, your President in is proclamation as koted in The Public of larst week, says as plain as possible that you simply bought the rebellion from Spain. This is just ow I ave looked at it all along, and now you cant ave the face to deny it, as you ave been disposed to do. Such bein the case, to my mind there is nothing for it but to back out as graceful as you can, Sam. It may urt your pride, but it will save your principles. I am not so good a Christian as I ought to be, but I am pious enough to believe that no uman power can really conquer the Filipinos in such a war as you are wagin—though I aint aware as you ever declared war in a reglar way. I couldnt elp laughin at Roosevelt's proclamation of amnesty, it reminded me so much of my own stoopid proclamation to the Boers. Like mine, yours is wot you might call a bit too previous. Come, Sam, give it up like a man. Treat the Philippines as you ave treated Cuba, and everybody will think more of you. If there was any chance that the Filipinos would ever shake ands with you as the Boers ave done with me, I might see some sense in your goin ahead, but as it is, youve got a job on and that will last all your life, if it doesnt bring down your glorious institutions to the dust. Youll believe me, dear Sam, wen I say that I for one would be very sorry to see any such thing as that appen to you.

Your affectionate cousin,

J. BULL.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the original manuscript.

Dear John: At this season, when the Panama hat begins to look like it was made from a Brahmin's shirt, I write you again. You got up that fight with the Boers in just the right nick of time. If my Democratic party had been in, John, you'd have failed, for the Boers had you licked bad. Never was a fellow wanted to get loose from a fight worse than you did; but the Boers didn't know it, and then my Republican party helped you, and they thought it was me. The Boers thought the world was agin 'em then, and quit. If they had even had a good lawyer in the settlement, you'd have given 'em their liberty and given 'em boot, wouldn't ye, now? By just keepin' out of sight in the bushes they would have made you come to time, for you couldn't have stood the expense. But it's all over, and my Republicans did it. Yes, they did. Say! It's a great Republican party that wipes three republics off the slate in three years, ain't it?

And, John, I vum! I believe you lost the fight. I do! For see here: sometime when a combine is formed agin you in Europe, and you come to your Uncle for a little backin', and say to me: "See here, Sam, I've always been a friend to republics; just float a few of your warships over on my side for show," some of my Democratic boys with a tab on you, is pretty sure to say: "Hold on, Dad! That's the old bruiser that grabbed the African gold mines, and overthrew the Boer republics! Remember the Boers!" and I'll have to give you the cold shoulder, the same I turned to them. An' 'twill serve you right, too. You have known mighty well, John, that my present administration wasn't me, and that you'd have me to reckon with yet.

Of course, I'm only a-guessin'; but my Democratic party, when it gets steam up (sometimes it's called Democrat and sometimes Republican) is a power that makes things rock; and if it should happen that you need help you'll be wishin' some day that you had had statesmen on deck in 1902, instead of thieves.

Say, John! how do you mine your coal? I'm mining my coal with railroads—almost button my boots now with a corporation; but it don't work good. My railroads think they can dig coal; been tryin' it for a dozen years, and always failed—can't keep me warm! Now a railroad can't dig coal no more than a horse can catch

grasshoppers—not built for it. The horse could carry the 'hopper; but catch him? Nixie! This sets me to thinkin' how to keep from freezin' to death, and one idee is to condemn the coal land by the government, as I need it from time to time, and dig my own coal. I could pay the coal companies what they gave for the coal land, and interest at four per cent.—make it good as my bonds. I could pay the miners—wouldn't have to shoot 'em every year to make 'em work cheap. I could ship the coal cheap as wheat; and nobody would pay more than four dollars a ton, and could get all he wanted any time he wanted it, delivered at his door. What do you think?

Yours for republics and free coal,

UNCLE SAM.

THE IMMORALITY OF GAMBLING.

A correspondent of the New York Sun declares that "there is nothing inherently wrong in gambling," setting forth his position as follows: "Except in so far as a violation of the municipal law may be deemed a moral offense, there is nothing inherently wrong in gambling. It may become a vice, however, as for instance, where a man wastes his competence in gambling and his family thereby suffers want." To these words the writer adds that the reason that gambling cannot be stopped is that "the moral sense of the people is not offended."

We are surprised that our contemporary did not challenge these assumptions of its correspondent concerning the nature of betting, and of gambling, which is organized betting; and also the implied definition of the nature of immorality. If there be anything that is contrary to righteous living, and thus inherently immoral, it surely is betting and the gambling which follows. The very foundation of charity and of justice, and sound morality thence is the love of use, or benefit to the neighbor under the law of fair exchange. It is the giving of an equivalent for what one receives. But the essential principle of betting and gambling is that perversion of justice by which one may get something for nothing. It is a contrivance for obtaining another's possessions without paying him for them. It may thus be seen to be diametrically opposite to the fundamental of charity. Yet such is the passion of man for thus securing the goods of the world that he is

willing to run the risk of losing in this way his own possessions, provided only he stands a chance of experiencing the gratification of this lust.

All this in case of honest betting. But so opposed to charity is the inherent spirit of betting that charity cannot live in the gambler's heart, and hence gambling is almost invariably connected with dishonest modes; nay, with crime. It is so closely allied to robbery that it naturally allies itself to the robber's purpose, and he makes use of it as the outer form in which to cloak his crimes. The gambling passion vitiates the love of use, and from its inherent nature is the offspring of hell. We apprehend that it is this, its alliance with crime, that makes it so offensive to the law.—New Church Messenger.

A LETTER TO THE COBDEN CLUB.
Boston, July 9, 1902.

Harold Cox, Esq., Secretary of the
Cobden Club, London, England.

My Dear Sir: In response to your inquiry I beg to say that I have duly received and profited by the many publications so courteously sent to me by your association. They have been helpful and illuminating.

Although the United States suffers from an oppressive tariff on foreign trade, its vast extent, its natural resources, and, above all, its absolute freedom of exchange within its own borders, have enabled it to enjoy a phenomenal prosperity. While this has been achieved in spite of the restrictive policy, an ignorant and superstitious belief prevails that the country's commercial progress is chiefly due to the tariff.

Nevertheless, the cause of free trade advances steadily, and, in my opinion, its adherents were never so many. Like England we have been engaged in a lamentable war of foreign conquest for power and material gain. In such periods of abnormal excitement and false ideals all reforms are arrested. Popular attention is diverted from home evils and concentrated upon military glory.

Great captains, with their guns and drums,

Disturb our judgment for the hour,
But at last silence comes,

and with it sober reflection and a returning sense of war's demoralizing cost. Meantime the natural forces which ever oppose moral and social wrongs have not been inactive. Our much lauded Dingley tariff has proved

a constant irritant, its excessive duties working to our own commercial disadvantage not less than to the abasement of our ethical standards.

For our productive industries have outgrown, even if they ever needed, the shelter of protective laws, now a manifest barrier to the wider markets of the world towards which our manufacturers are compelled to reach. It has dawned upon them that they can cope with all other nations in the industrial field if unhampered by taxes upon raw materials. The fact has been demonstrated by their present success, notwithstanding their self-imposed disadvantage. Given equal opportunity, American enterprise would show results far more striking than those already attained.

It is also becoming clear that the retention of the protective tariff is chiefly for the nurture and perpetuation of the monopoly combinations known as trusts. By this special privilege the monopolists are able to maintain high prices in the domestic market while selling their surplus abroad at large reductions. On its account the cost of living has increased in greater proportion than have wages. Hence discontent and a multiplication of strikes with lawless and deadly violence. The fact cannot fail to influence the thoughts and votes of the laboring men who have cherished the fallacy that indirect taxes enhance wages. The demagogue's cry of "the full dinner pail" has lost its force.

More power will come to the free trade party when it resolves to oppose uncompromisingly the principle of indirect taxation, not excepting "a tariff for revenue only." That fatal exception can always be made to cover special privilege and keep alive the protective spirit. If it were easy to draw a strict line between revenue and protective duties, the latter would go down by the force of the constitution and the condemnation of the supreme court. But in a free government no indirect methods of taxation should be tolerated. Eventually they threaten its supremacy.

Permit me to say frankly that the true admirers of Cobden in this country believe that the Cobden club would have a far wider influence if it should occupy the radical and logical ground which Cobden foreshadowed. With the total abolition of indirect taxation the way opens for the only just and equitable economic revenue—that derived from the taxation of land values.

That Richard Cobden foresaw that the land question was to be the inevita-

ble sequel to the corn law triumph is clear from this memorable utterance:

I warn ministers and I warn land owners and the aristocracy of this country, against forcing upon the attention of the middle and industrious classes the subject of taxation. For, great as I consider the fraud and injustice of the corn laws, I verily believe, if you were to bring forward the history of taxation in this country for the last 150 years, you will find as black a record against the land owners as against the corn law itself. I warn them against ripping up the subject of taxation. If they want another league, at the death of this one—if they want another organization and a motive—for you cannot have these organizations without a motive and a principle—then let them force the middle and industrious classes of England to understand how they have been cheated, robbed and bamboozled upon the subject of taxation.

These pregnant words were spoken in 1845. Is it not the part of wisdom of all who profess to be disciples of Cobden to push forward the cause of impartial government and real democracy by attacking the heart of privilege, whose outer breastworks only were carried by "the great commoner" and his coadjutors in their noble and historic struggle for human rights? Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

THE BASIS OF HARMONY.

Portions of the address delivered by Wm. J. Bryan before the New England Democratic League, at Nantasket, July 24, as reported in Chicago Evening Post.

In view of numerous harmony dinners and the discord they have created, it may not be out of place to consider the basis of harmony. Harmony is but a synonym for order, and is not the result of chance, but a product of inexorable law. The musician must learn the scale and properly arrange the notes, or harmony, no matter how earnestly wooed, can never be won. Harmony in government is likewise the result of fixed and unchangeable rules. Jefferson states two of these rules—absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority and frequent elections. The second aids the first by giving hope of a remedy from present ills, however grievous. If he were living to-day his observation probably would suggest a third rule—the ascertainment of the will of the people by methods so direct, so fair and so honest that the minority cannot doubt that that will has been actually expressed.

The great founder of the Democratic party, whose profound philosophy sounded all the depths of human nature and measured the height and breadth of human government, not

long before the end of his eventful life said in a letter to Mr. Lee that there were but two paramount parties, the aristocratic and the democratic; that these two parties existed in every country, and that where there was freedom to think, speak and write these parties would become apparent. With the aristocratic party he classed "those who fear and distrust the people and wish to draw all power from them into the hands of the higher classes." With the democratic party he classed "those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, though not the most wise, depository of the public interests." Every well-informed student of history will recognize this distinction. In every community you can draw a line separating the aristocrat from the democrat. It will not be a perpendicular line, nor will it be a horizontal one; it will not separate those of illustrious lineage from those of humble birth; it will not separate the rich from the poor; it will not separate the educated from the uneducated; it will not be along lines of vocation or occupation, but it will separate those "with the tastes, spirit, assumption and traditions of the aristocracy" from those who "believe in a government controlled by the people and favor political and legal equality."

It is impossible to secure harmony between people of opposite sympathies, and it is a difficult thing to change a man's sympathies; it requires a political regeneration to make a democrat out of an aristocrat. It is a much easier task to show a man that the principles he has been advocating and the policies which he has been supporting are aristocratic in their present effect or in their tendencies. The Republican party of today is aristocratic in its policies and tendencies, for it is controlled by a few in the interest of a few, but there are many Republicans who remain with their party only because they do not understand the change which has taken place in that party within the last few years. When the policy of a party is controlled by its voters, then the party stands for the will of the majority, but when the party is dominated by a small minority then the organization stands not for the will of the majority, but for the will of those who dominate it. There can be no doubt of the democratic instincts of a large majority of the members of the Republican party, but that party today is so controlled by organized

wealth that the rank and file of the party are not consulted about the policies, nor are the interests of the rank and file considered by the leaders. . . .

To attempt to patch up an apparent harmony between those who are not in sympathy with Democratic purposes is not only a waste of time, but would prove disastrous. The men who deserted the party in 1896 may be divided into two classes—those who left because they understood the issue presented and those who left because they did not understand the real nature of the contest. Until the former are completely changed in their sympathies they cannot return to the party without injuring it. The latter will be reconciled to the party when they themselves become aware of the real character of the life and death struggle now being waged between plutocracy and democracy. I say plutocracy because the aristocracy of to-day is one of wealth rather than of birth, and it includes not only those who have been alienated from the common people by the possession of great wealth, but those who, although without much wealth, pander to it and measure all things by a money standard. Organized wealth has become so potent in governmental affairs that some even now despair of applying any effective remedy. But such underestimate the patriotism of the people and the strength of the public conscience. The people have a remedy within their power—the ballot—and with it they can and will right every wrong and remedy every grievance.

The struggle between human rights on the one side and greed on the other is an unending one. Our party must take part in the struggle, but that struggle cannot be permanently settled by this generation or by any future one. We cannot tell what issues we may have to meet; we can only determine to meet them in a democratic spirit, to apply to them democratic principles and to take the people's side always. . . .

How can the opponents of aristocracy and plutocracy be united for a successful attack upon entrenched privilege? Not by making peace with the enemy; not by imitating their works, their methods or their phraseology, but by honest, straightforward appeal to the American people upon a platform that can be understood and with an organization that can be trusted. Already many of the Republicans are wavering, but they can never be won to the Democratic party as long as they can say that our party is as bad as theirs. Not by surrender, nor

by compromise; not by equivocation, not by ambiguity, not by vacillation, is the victory to be won, but by bold, constant, persistent, steadfast defense of the interests of the people at all times, under all circumstances and on all questions. To lose faith in the expediency of such a course is to lose faith in the omnipotence of truth.

Representative Williams, of Mississippi has a new negro story.

"Are you the defendant?" asked a man in the court room, speaking to an old negro.

"No, boss," was the reply. "I ain't done nothing to be called names like that. I'se got a lawyer here who does the defending."

"Then who are you?"

"I'se the gentleman what stole the chickens."—Baltimore News.

"Hello!"

"Hello!"

"Is that Dr. Rybold?"

"No. Do you want Dr. Rybold?"

"Yes."

"All right. Hold the—hold the air a minute. I'll call him."—Chicago Tribune.

Muggsy—Me aunt died yesterday.

Swipsey—What was de score?—Ohio State Journal.

BOOK NOTICES.

"DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL ETHICS."

This is one of the volumes in the series called "The Citizen's Library," published by the Macmillan company, under the editorial supervision of Prof. Richard T. Ely. It is, as the preface tells, the substance of lectures delivered at various university extension centers. The author, Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House, is sure of an audience when she speaks and of readers when she writes. People like to hear from one who is believed to have had actual experiences, and actual experiences are apt to be interesting. By far the most interesting parts of this book are those coming direct-

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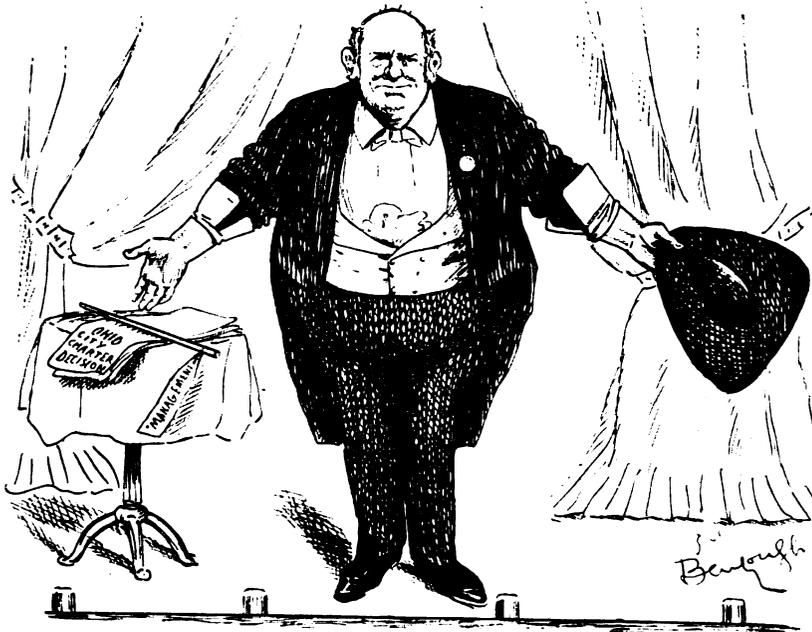
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"KEEP AN EYE ON THE PROFESSOR."

Prof. Mark Hanna—Ladies and Gentlemen, having thus succeeded in knocking all the city charters of Ohio into a cocked-hat, I will now proceed to draw therefrom a municipal code which will put all those cities under the control of State Boards—another name for your Uncle Mark.

ly from the author's practical work in Chicago.

When she writes on more general topics she becomes academic in both style and treatment, and one wonders at her prefatory apology for "informal style." It is just the reverse. Her sentences are too often molded in the stiffness of the orthodox vocabulary which we have come to expect in books on sociology. It is a pity that one who might speak with the freshness of a real worker should come so near being caught up into the alluring dignity of academic dullness.

Passing over what one misses of a strong grasp of the problem of progress in democracy by securing economic equality, we must still thank Miss Addams for this volume, which is sure to have an important influence upon its readers.

Charity organization societies, kindergarten workers in slums, child-labor reformers, and all such philanthropists, will find much food for thought in the chapter on charitable effort. Housekeepers who are puzzled over the "servant question" ought to read the chapter on Household Adjustment. The good people who are surprised at strikes in Pullman, where "everything was done for the men," can find explanation in the chapter on Industrial Amelioration. Students of educational methods will find a new thought in the chapter under this title. And lastly, leaders of municipal reform will learn in the final chapter why it is that they have no secure grip on the masses.

The highest service which the book will do, is to help some to understand that democracy has brought into the world a new thought of the relation between human be-

ings; that the old conception of master and servant must go; that patronizing beneficence is obsolete; that the whole feudal idea of the "protective spirit" is utterly opposed to democracy. This new thought does not readily find entrance into the minds of many who are, by the old standard, genuinely benevolent. It is a hard saying. The great value of this book of Miss Addams is that it contains this "hard saying." It may be covered up under such terms as "untrammelled comradeship with our fellows," "social ethics," "subtlety of intercourse," and the like; but it is there.

J. H. DILLARD.

A series of papers by Clarence Lathbury, on the beatitudes of Jesus, which, as the author says, "might well be called the Code of Joy," is published under that title by the Swedenborg Publishing association, of Germantown, Pa., prefaced with a poem on "The Blessed," by Mary A. Lathbury. The book belongs in the religious category, but is not of the old good-goody religious sort. It is a strong book, in which full-blooded men will be interested, and from which they will get satisfaction.

The National Civic Federation has issued a full report (published by the Knickerbocker Press, New York) of the proceedings of its conference at New York last December, when its famous "Industrial Department," of which Senator Hanna is chairman, was organized.

This report contains the speeches of Oscar Straus, Bishop Potter, Senator Hanna, Samuel Gompers, John Mitchell, and others, besides several papers, as well as the minutes of proceedings.

WHAT PROMINENT PEOPLE SAY BUT SAYING A THING DOESN'T MAKE IT SO

"Down in New York there is a pretty, pious, pistareen pigmy, who publishes a paper that pretends to preach just the way Jesus would do if he ran a periodical. This dinky-man calls his paper 'The Straight Edge.'"—*The Philistine*, East Aurora, N. Y.

"An absolutely blasphemous publication . . . Unfit to be read in any society connected directly or indirectly with the Christian Church."—J. M. Buckley, D.D., LL.D., referring to the remarks of The Straight Edge on "Common Sense."

"The Straight Edge, 1 Seventh Avenue, New York. Subscription price: "Nothing but love and good will." On request a small handful of "Squibs and Things from The Straight Edge," including the right juicy roast of the "Rocroft Shop" and the spicy little essay on "Common Sense" will be sent to any address. Enclose ten cents if you happen to have it.

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