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The general character of President Roosevelt's message is reflected in its reference to the Philippine policy of his party. Its exalted author says of that policy that "we have not gone too far" but "we have gone to the limit." According to this veracious state paper, everything has been nicely fixed by Mr. Roosevelt's party so as to be just about right. His party seems to him to keep the middle state, leaning neither on this side nor on that. It holds affairs in perfect equilibrium.

In regard to prosperity the balance has been effected with such great delicacy of adjustment that even so much as a hostile wink might easily produce disastrous consequences. Though Mr. Roosevelt is considerate enough to admit that Republican prosperity is not the creature of law, he claims for the laws—American protective tariff laws, of course—that they have been instrumental in creating the conditions that make prosperity possible, and earnestly admonishes Congress that by unwise legislation it would be easy to destroy prosperity. A mere menace to protectionism, without so much as touching its sacred substance with hostile hand, "would produce," says the equilibrative Mr. Roosevelt, "paralysis in the business energies of the community."

This claim that protection is instrumental in making prosperity possible is certainly not over-regardful of "the limit," in view of the fact that countries which have no nicely adjusted tar-

iff protection are as prosperous as our own. And though the example of those countries did not confront Mr. Roosevelt, his own common sense ought to tell him that while legislation might check general prosperity it is only such as is restrictive that does so. Legislation that repeals restriction has the opposite effect. This may check the prosperity of the few, but only because it expands the prosperity of the many. Privilege is dependent for prosperity upon restriction; it must be protected. But productive industry suffers under restriction; it wants no protection, except against pirates. What it needs is freedom.

One thing about the President's message in its references to the tariff is highly gratifying. He asserts the fixity of the principle of protection as our national policy. This view of American politics is either true or it is not. If true, then the party to be perpetually intrusted with its conservation is Mr. Roosevelt's. If protection is our fixed principle, those Republicans are right who insist that when the tariff is altered in detail it must be altered by the friends of the principle. That leaves no room in American politics for a tariff-tinkering party. Protection is either good policy or bad, a sound principle or a vicious one. On this issue the people can divide into parties. They can be protectionists or free traders; they cannot be protectionists on one side and assistant protectionists on the other. Mr. Roosevelt leaves no room for cavilling. Protection is our permanent policy, as he proclaims; or it is not, as those who oppose his policy must maintain. His position here is highly gratifying because its tendency is to force the Democratic party to be openly and unreservedly what it is in spirit—the free trade party.

In a homily on capital and labor in his message the President says many true things. But characteristically he says them all in the abstract. In the concrete these same good things seem to have no meaning for him. For instance, he observes that "every employer, every wage worker, must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor so long as he does not infringe upon the rights of others." What could be truer than that? It is a universal principle, just as Mr. Roosevelt assumes it to be, and as sound in morals as the eighth commandment, of which it is an expression. But Mr. Roosevelt, though he speaks with the air of a Moses at the foot of Sinai, doesn't believe in the sentiment, if he understands it. Either that, or else he complacently stultifies himself. For the man who understands and believes in that sentiment cannot be a protectionist without stultification. If everyone "must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to do as he likes with his property or his labor so long as he does not infringe upon the rights of his neighbor," then he must be guaranteed his liberty and his right to exchange his property or his labor as freely with a Canadian, a Mexican, a European, an African or an Asiatic as with a fellow citizen of his own. He infringes no one's rights by preferring to trade his property or his labor with another, though the other be a foreigner. Yet the purpose of protection, the principle of which Mr. Roosevelt adopts, is to prevent just that freedom in the use of property and labor. It aims not to guarantee men the right to do with their property and their labor what they like, but to compel them, on pain of forfeiture of some of their property and labor, to do what special business interests demand. The

only tariff policy that accords with the property rights that Mr. Roosevelt thinks he believes in is the policy of free trade.

Of the President's recommendation for the shackling of trusts, nothing better can be said than that it is "powerful weak." The one thing that could be done by Congress to cripple trust monopoly he opposes, because it would conflict with the protection policy of his party. It will be interesting to observe the disposition that his party in Congress makes of the recommendation he does submit. The responsibility now rests there for action against the trusts. Mr. Roosevelt will not prosecute under the existing anti-trust law because he thinks it inadequate, and asks Congress for one that will cover the ground. Now watch for the bill that Congress enacts. Watch sharp!

Any comment upon the President's message would be defective if it ignored his revolting references to the Philippines. Think of an American president, the chief servant of a people committed to the proposition that all men are created equal—think of his officially boasting that this government has conferred upon the people of a peaceful republic which it had wantonly conquered and crushed by force of arms, something more than ordinary Oriental freedom! The Czar of Russia or the Sultan of Turkey might make such a boast. The Emperor of Germany can make it. So can the King of England and Emperor of India. And has our republic lived to so little purpose that it can claim no greater credit for the extension of the guarantees of liberty over the world than can be claimed for kings and emperors, czars and sultans? Then have we fallen indeed. From Washington with his admonition that we spread liberty abroad by example at home and not through foreign entanglements, and Lincoln who seemed a second incarnation of Jefferson, down to Roosevelt who turns for his highest standards of liberty for Orientals to Oriental despots and

European potentates, is a long, long descent in the evolution of democracy.

But for one thing there would be something hopeful and inspiring in Mr. Roosevelt's truly democratic letter regarding appointments of Negroes to office. That one thing, however, deadens enthusiasm and puts a check upon hope. It is the fact that experience has proved his ability to say so many good things which he doesn't very strenuously mean. Ever since Mr. Roosevelt swapped his convictions, away back in 1884, for a political career, to which single-eyed he has since sedulously devoted himself, his good words have been subject to a usurer's discount. So with his excellent letter on the Negro question one is forced to wonder whether it's author may not have had in view more the possibilities of Negro delegations to the next national convention than the principle of equal rights for God's image in ebony.

Abram S. Hewitt has done at last what all Democrats of his kind will have to do and what he ought to have done long ago. He has stopped masquerading as a democrat by publicly announcing his withdrawal from the Democratic party.

Mr. Hewitt was never a democrat. A pro-slavery man, he belonged to the Democratic party when it had least title to be regarded as democratic; a plutocrat, he afterwards tried to secure for it the good will of American plutocracy. Frustrated in this purpose by the superior attractions which Mr. Hanna offered, and the stubborn resistance of men like Bryan, Mr. Hewitt voted for its plutocratic adversary in 1896 and 1900, while still professing to it the allegiance he now renounces. In 1896 the act was pardonable, for the economic form of the issue obscured the political significance of the contest. But there was no valid excuse for a real democrat in 1900. The formal secession of such a man is a good thing for the democracy of the Dem-

ocratic party. The fact that he was "a life-long Democrat" is a shabby plea. For a man of his advanced age to boast of being "a life long Democrat" is to boast of having been an apologist for human slavery.

The advantage to the party of losing the support of such men as Mr. Hewitt is not because the party has a superfluity of support, let us say by way of answer to the sneers of their apologists who ask whether the party has so many votes it can afford to spare any. By Mr. Hewitt's confession it would appear that the party has not been getting their votes any way. But even if it had been getting their votes, their open opposition would be preferable to their treacherous affiliation. This is not because votes are not needed. It is because those men demoralize the party and foster the distrust of democrats in the other party. For every plutocratic Democrat the party loses, as it has lost the plutocratic Mr. Hewitt, scores of democratic Republicans will become attached to it in consequence.

"Reorganization" on the plutocratic basis is now out of the question. The recent elections proved that. As an observant correspondent of the St. Louis Globe-Democrat wrote soon after the results were known, those elections conclusively demonstrated "that there is more than one element in the Democratic party which can refuse to support the party when the party does not do things in a way to please it." The democratic Democrats also can bolt. In other words there is a difference of principle in the party, which no "reorganizing" process can reconcile. It is the conflict between its plutocratic and its democratic elements. Should the latter retain control the former would bolt, as they have done heretofore. Should the former gain control the latter would do the bolting. Either way there is no possibility of a victory for the plutocratic Democrats. For every plutocratic purpose the plutocratic Republicans suffi-

ciently "fill the bill." All Democrats of the Hewitt variety would therefore improve their reputation for candor without jeopardizing their hopes of political preferment by promptly imitating his example.

A type of the plutocratic Democrat is the district attorney of New York, Mr. Jerome. He hasn't withdrawn from the party yet, as Mr. Hewitt has, but in a recent speech at the New York dinner of the descendants of the Mayflower he gives every evidence that good political faith demands he should. Said he:

Thomas Jefferson and those great old fakirs, although I am a Democrat, talked about the equality of men, and we hear it prated about, although men were never equal, and God forbid the time will ever come when there are not nobler and wiser people to whom we can go for counsel. This doctrine of equality which would try to put down the strong and extol the weak is false. The theory is all rot. It never can prevail and we have got to recognize that the strong are going to rule and dominate, and if the strong are not wise and good, things are not going as they should. But this weak and wishy-washy sentimentality that talks about equality and liberty and wants to offer to the ignorant savages in the Philippines representative government which they are no more fitted for than for membership in the Church of England is all rot. Liberty and equality and tolerance may prepare the ground in which great policies may grow, but liberty and equality is not possible. It was never intended. The president of Columbia, when they asked him for a subscription for the Statue of Liberty, said: "Liberty enlightening the world? It never enlightened anything."

Mr. Jerome appears to have been qualifying himself for second place on the ticket of the Cleveland Democracy.

A comical attempt to evade the force of the Illinois vote for enforceable referendum laws is being made by those newspapers of the State which are accustomed to dancing to any tune the monopoly corporations see fit to play. These papers announce with great gravity that the advisory vote in favor of the referendum laws has failed because it falls below a majority of all the votes cast for the leading candidate at the election. The transparent purpose is to

create an impression that the demand for referendum laws was voted down by the people, and thereby to furnish a plausible excuse to subsidized legislators for opposing their enactment. The absurdity of this little by-play appears at once when it is understood that there was no question of popular adoption or rejection by majority vote or otherwise. The popular vote upon the demand for an enforceable referendum was taken under the so-called "public policy" law—the object of which is simply to secure expressions of public opinion on public questions. Under no circumstances is a vote under this law mandatory. Though every voter were to vote in favor of a given public policy, still the legislature would not be bound to adopt that policy; and if but one person voted for it, yet the legislature might adopt it. Questions of majorities have nothing to do with the matter. The vote is only advisory, and all that legislators have to consider is whether it is emphatic enough to call for legislative action. If it is, no legislator can screen his perfidy behind the plea now urged to defeat the will of the people of Illinois regarding the enforceable referendum. He may urge, if he please, that the proposed policy is bad; but he cannot urge that he has been commanded by the people of the State to oppose it.

How emphatic the expression on the referendum proposition was may be seen by reference to the vote upon the three questions submitted—namely, an enforceable State referendum law, an enforceable local referendum law, and direct election of United States senators. It is as follows:

	State Ref- erendum	Local Ref- erendum	Popular Election Senators
For .....	428,469	390,972	451,319
Against .....	67,664	83,377	76,976
Majority .....	340,815	307,595	374,344

For popular election of United States senators the affirmative vote amounts to a majority of all votes cast for the leading office, state treasurer. This majority is 21,331. But for the State referendum it falls 1,520 votes short of a majority of all the

votes cast for treasurer, and for the local referendum it falls 39,016 short. As already explained, however, that makes no practical difference. The question is how the voters stood who took sufficient interest in the question to vote upon it; and they voted overwhelmingly in the affirmative. The vote on the State referendum is 11 per cent. of the population, while that which was cast for and against the present State constitution in 1870 was only 5 per cent. of the population at that time; and in number as well as percentage the former is twice the latter. The majority for the State referendum is 7 per cent. of the population, while the majority for the present State constitution was only 4 per cent. It is also twice as much in number as the majority for the constitution. In majority, therefore, and in the aggregate, and in ratio to population, the referendum vote is double that of the constitutional election. Shall it be said that a vote large enough to impose upon a State its organic law, is not large enough, even though doubled, to advise a legislature to submit to the people an amendment to that instrument? In this assault upon the referendum law the crooked finger of corporate influence is plainly visible.

It is understood that the Illinois board of equalization, always singularly allied to monopoly interests, contemplates taxing the stock values of commercial corporations as well as those of monopoly corporations. Apparently the object is to discredit the law requiring taxation of stock values, which was never enforced until the Chicago school teachers compelled its enforcement through the courts. If the law authorizes the taxation of both kinds of corporations, value for value, it ought to be altered. The value of a commercial corporation's stock is usually little more than the value of its goods, whereas that of a monopoly corporation is largely composed of special privileges. The former is private property and should not be taxed; the

latter is public property and should be taxed to the utmost. For taxing purposes the true distinction of property is not individual and corporate. There is no just reason for taxing the same kind of property more when a corporation owns it than when it is owned by individuals. The true distinction is between different kinds of property. Let the kind of property, however valuable, that enterprise and industry produces be exempt; but tax that which, having value, is vested in individuals or corporations by the public. Exempt the street car, but tax the value of the street franchise; exempt the locomotive, but tax the value of the right of way; exempt the good will of the department store, but tax the valuable lot it monopolizes; exempt the house, but tax the value of its site.

Colorado has adopted an amendment to her constitution which runs in the right direction. It empowers cities to make their own charters. This is a step toward the localization of power in municipalities, which seems to be in some sort a reaction from the centralization policies which followed in the wake of the civil war and have almost obliterated State sovereignty.

As the Colorado amendment is called the "home rule amendment," the announcement of its adoption has led to the supposition, widely published, that the Bucklin amendment (p. 498), which provided for home rule in taxation, had been adopted notwithstanding earlier reports to the contrary. This is a mistake. Beyond all doubt the Bucklin amendment was lost. It was defeated by probably something less than two to one. Exact figures cannot be given until the official count is announced. Only two counties are known to have been carried for it—Teller county, embracing Cripple Creek, where the affirmative vote was 2,593 to 1,620; and Lake county, embracing Leadville, where it was 1,590 to 823. Owing to misrepresentations and rustic prejudice the farming regions

voted strongly against the amendment. This influence defeated it in Bucklin's own county of Mesa. Under the circumstances, however, the Mesa county vote was astonishing. The county is Republican, the Republicans had made a party fight against the amendment, and the farming districts gave a majority of 342 against it. Yet it was defeated in the whole county by only 90 votes. It carried Bucklin's precinct by 29, his ward by 11, his city—Grand Junction—by 115, and the other towns of the county by 252.

Besides the thoughtless farmer vote, several causes operated to defeat the Bucklin amendment, none of which had any reference to its merits. For one thing the land speculators were strong enough in the Democratic party to prevent its adopting the amendment as a party measure. That party thereby lost an opportunity to make general the enthusiasm which Bucklin, campaigning almost alone, produced in limited degree. Had the Democrats not made this blunder, they would have drawn out the "stay-at-home" vote, which was almost wholly Democratic, would have held many Socialists and most of the Populists, and would have carried the election for their candidates instead of suffering defeat. It is evident, also, that in those circumstances the amendment would have carried. For with no political party, with no great daily paper, with no other political leader than Bucklin, with only a little money, and against the largest campaign fund ever raised in Colorado, against all the political leaders of both parties (including Senators Patterson and Teller), against most of the daily press, against the influence and corruption of all the large corporations and the consequent opposition of their dupes in the farming regions, against the impulse of a State reaction to the Republican party, against the political machines of both parties, and against more or less dishonesty in the count—in spite of all these dis-

advantages, fully one-third of the total vote of the State appears to have been cast for the defeated amendment.

In his report the postmaster-general describes the mailing rights of periodical publishers under the law as a subsidy. If this is true, and we agree with the postmaster general that it is, the remedy is not what the postmaster general proposes. He asks for the privilege, practically autocratic, of distributing the subsidy himself. Nothing more dangerous in the way of bureaucracy could be proposed. It is bad enough that Harper's Magazine, for instance, should receive an enormous postal subsidy, amounting to thousands of dollars a month, while the share of the Cross Roads Gazette is only a few cents a week. But if the postmaster general were empowered to pick and choose, allowing a slice of the subsidy to this publisher and denying it to that one, the situation would be infinitely worse. If low rates of postage for periodicals are in effect a subsidy to publishers, the remedy is to abolish them. Publishers have no more right to subsidies than farmers have, or coal miners, or hod carriers. Let a fair estimate be made of the cost of carrying publishers' matter, then let the postage be fixed upon that basis, simply allowing publishers to mail in bulk instead of affixing stamps, and you have a just arrangement, and one which has the merit of curbing the censorship of the American press which the postal department assumes to exercise.

The evil in this matter would not be removed by discriminating between newspapers and magazines, as the postmaster general also proposes, and carrying the former at one cent a pound and the latter at four cents. Such a distinction would enormously increase the power of the postal autocrat to exclude papers he did not like. All he would need do would be to decide that they are not newspapers, but only magazines. Moreover, a newspaper is no more entitled to a

postal subsidy than is a magazine. The postmaster general is wrong (except from the point of view of paternalism) in advocating on educational grounds a postal subsidy for newspapers as distinguished from magazines. The dissemination of what is called "news," is no more educative, it is often less so than the circulation of instructive magazines. But if a distinction of this kind were made, "populistic" weeklies could easily be jammed into the magazine class because they lack current news such as the Associated Press provides, and so be compelled to pay higher postage than their plutocratic competitors. And this doubtless is one of the objects of Postmaster General Payne's reform.

Is it imagined that the postmaster general would make no unfair discrimination? Rough experience is a better witness than confiding expectation. Down in Florida there is a paper called "Freedom." Its teachings are not agreeable to the postmaster general. Otherwise its rights to the mail are the same as every other paper in the country. A year or so ago the department denied it publishers' rates. There was no hearing, no legal process of any kind, no consideration whatever of property rights; nothing but a bureaucratic ipse dixit. A hearing was subsequently given at Washington, and the original order was revoked. There had confessedly been no cause whatever for denying ordinary publishers' rights to the paper. Yet meantime the publisher of Freedom had been obliged to deposit cash sufficient to cover postage at full third-class rates, as the condition of being allowed to continue the publication. Since the examination was prolonged, the deposit so required was heavy. It would have been enough to necessitate suspension had not the publisher been well off. Recently the department again attacked this paper. In one of its issues it printed an illustrated description of the town in which it is published—Sea Breeze—something that has long been com-

mon with newspapers. For that reason, and apparently for that reason alone, the department has again denied Freedom the publisher's mailing rights. This is only one instance that happens to be unusually prominent, but it is typical. It is an indication of what a corporation tool in the postal department would do if his opportunities for censorship were broadened.

Fortunately the courts are now intervening to protect publishers from the high-handed policy of the postal bureau. Within the week, in the case of the Monthly Official Railway List, which was ousted arbitrarily from the mails a year ago, the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia has decided that when a paper is once admitted to second-class privileges it has a property right therein which cannot be withdrawn except by due process of law. This is good legal doctrine and sound political policy.

A terrible explosion, causing many deaths, occurred in the Swift packing house, Chicago, last week. It was caused by the carelessness of some of the men who replenished an almost empty boiler with water. This was the immediate cause. But the primary cause was the employment of tired men in the boiler room for twelve long hours a day. If the grand jury does not make an investigation and take that fact into consideration it will neglect an obvious duty.

A customs officer of the name of Theobald has been peremptorily dismissed, nominally "for the good of the service," but evidently for no other reason than because he has been spying upon rich smugglers and causing them to be searched and their smuggled goods confiscated when they land in New York. Spying of this kind is not nice business, truly, and one can sympathize with Secretary Shaw's repugnance to having such a creature in his department. But the man was doing his duty under the law, and if we are to have "protection to American indus-

try" we should not shrink from its disagreeable incidents. So long as rich protectionists try to evade the law there must be spying Theobalds to detect them. Does Mr. Shaw intend that protection shall not apply to Americans who are rich enough to go to Europe annually and become their own smugglers? It would seem so. Theobald's abrupt dismissal can mean nothing to the other treasury spies than that they must confine their spying to the steerage and to merchants, and allow rich smugglers to bring in their goods without question. Among the seizures Theobald had made and for which he has been dismissed, was a diamond necklace worth \$17,000, which he found among the trinkets of Mr. Schwab, of steel trust fame.

#### THE JUGGLED CENSUS.

In a pamphlet, "Our Juggled Census," the writer of the present article sought to demonstrate the grossly misleading character of statistics of the present census. His assertions, as far as they relate to agricultural statistics, find strong confirmation in the report, since published, of a special committee of inquiry appointed by the National Board of Trade.

This committee, which, besides others, included the statistician of the New York Produce Exchange, the editor of the Chicago Daily Trade Bulletin, and the editor of the Cincinnati Price Current, found the most glaring errors in the census report of farm areas, with corresponding errors in the crops harvested. In explanation of the reason for the investigation that report says:

The chairman of the committee on crop reports in his statement referred to the fact that when agricultural statistics of the census bureau were made available to the public last spring they were in many particulars so decidedly at variance with prevailing expectations, based on other official data and unofficial investigation, that a sense of surprise was manifested, and the importance of questions involved led to much of comment suggestive of the need or desirability of an investigation which should support or discredit such exhibits. In recognition of this situation, and its relation to service to follow on presentation of such information, the matter was taken up

by the president of the national board of trade.

In the report we find, also, the following statement:

Features of inconsistency in the census bureau work are to be found in comparisons of area, in instances where the agricultural returns make the farm areas equal to or exceed the land surface, according to survey records as presented by the twelfth census. There appear many such instances. In 20 states, in which there are 1,490 counties, there are 101 counties made to appear as having farm lands equal to or in excess of the entire surveyed land surface. This number includes a few which by a small fraction of one per cent. are under 100 in the comparison, but which practically represent the entire land surface. The excesses over an equal extent of area range up to 40 per cent., the aggregate number of acres indicated in the farm returns for these 101 counties being five per cent. greater than their entire surface, without allowances for highways, towns, railroads, etc. Of the 101 counties there are 69 which appear to have more farm acres than the surveyed land records indicate within their boundary lines; there are 23 having over five per cent. excess of such area; there are 13 having over ten per cent. of such excess; ten having over 15 per cent. of such excess; eight having over 20 per cent. of excess, in comparison with the reported actual land surface. For Ohio, 19 per cent. of the number of counties are shown to represent 100 per cent. or more of the entire surface as in farm lands; in Iowa 17 per cent.; Kansas 12 per cent.; Kentucky nine per cent.; Missouri nine per cent.; Tennessee six per cent.; Indiana six per cent., etc.

In addition to these 101 counties found by analysis of census bureau data to reflect returns of farm lands equal to or in excess of the surveyed land surface of such counties there are 700 other counties showing 90 per cent. or more, of which 335 represent 95 per cent. or more, in such comparison. Thus over 28 per cent. of all the 2,800 counties of the country represent farm areas reported as 90 per cent. or more of the surveyed land surface.

Whether these conditions, reflecting a large extent of farm acreage in excess of what can be accepted as the true position, are due to overestimates in returns of enumerators, or to duplications in the mechanical operations incident to the methods of the census office in the tabulating work, or to both of these, with inconsistent work in editing the schedules, and other causes, cannot be stated by the committee, but they are evidences of erroneous work, the measure of which in influence on results cannot be satisfactorily estimated.

While there are the large number of instances of inconsistencies and excesses in the comparisons of farm returns of area and survey records here-in mentioned and demonstrable by the available data, it does not follow that all the census exhibits of farm areas not having such evidences of inconsistency are free from errors, or exaggerations, in the statements of farm areas. For instance, a county which may have only 60 per cent. of its area actually in farm lands may be exaggerated 50 per cent., and not appear to be over 90 per cent. in the comparison with the land surface of such county. Again, a county which may have only 45 per cent. of its area in farm lands may be doubled in the crop exhibit without going over the 90 per cent. relation to actual land area. It is therefore impossible to determine or to suggest the limit to which such exaggerations or errors may exist in portions of the work wherein the conditions do not admit of such demonstration as in such cases as are herein specifically stated. Exaggerations or errors which enlarge the area basis correspondingly affect unduly the results in regard to production of crops represented.

In reply to this report Mr. Powers, the United States statistician-in-chief for agriculture, has given out a statement maintaining the substantial correctness of the census reports, in which, among other things, he declares that the Board of Trade committee in making its report did not possess statistics of surveyed lands for a single State.

It is true that the data of areas published in the twelfth census, which was used by the committee, are not, as the committee seems to have supposed, statistics of surveys of the land office. They are, however, the data of areas adopted by the census office at both the eleventh and twelfth censuses and are shown to vary from the surveys of the land office by less than one-tenth of one per cent. That being so, the answer of the agricultural statistician seems but a contemptible evasion.

Further evidence of the gross exaggeration of farm acreage as reported at the present census is found in a comparison with the acreage as reported at preceding censuses, for States and counties in which there could be no possible increase and in which there must, on the contrary, have been an actual decrease owing to the growth of towns and cities. A

careful comparison of the data of the two censuses indicates a general and remarkable increase in farm acreage even in counties where there are rapidly growing cities.

In Cook county, Ill., which embraces Chicago, there is shown an increase of farm acreage of 19,718 acres; and in the state of Illinois one of 2,296,451 acres.

In Ohio there is an apparent increase of 1,149,577 acres, and in Hamilton county, of that State, which embraces Cincinnati, an increase of 22,367 acres. For Cuyahoga county, embracing Cleveland, a city which during the decade increased its population by 120,325, there is shown an increased farm acreage of 7,669 acres.

The increase for Hamilton county would represent an area, if in one tract, over seven miles long and five miles wide; and that for Cook county an area over six miles long and five miles wide.

In the counties embracing the rapidly growing cities of Detroit and Grand Rapids, Michigan, there are shown increases of 12,018, and 42,700 acres respectively, and these are not exceptional cases, but fair instances of a general increase indicated where no increase is possible.

Taking the country as a whole a comparison of the data of the two censuses indicates an increase in farm acreage during the last decade of 215,373,314 acres, exclusive of Hawaii. During this period, according to the report of the land office as given in the United States Statistical Abstract, the total amount of land disposed of by the land office during the ten years preceding the census year amounted to 113,508,000 acres. Of that amount 22,379,593 acres were lands selected by railroads. From these figures it appears quite evident that there could have been no such actual increase in farm acreage as is indicated by census figures.

As was shown in my pamphlet, and also in my recent article in the Public (p. 452), much of this apparent increase is due to a change in the census classification of farms which results in the return as farms of small tracts of land that were not

considered farms at any previous censuses.

This enumeration as farms of cabbage and potato patches on city lots, while it accounts for much of the apparent increase in farm acreage, does not account for the wide discrepancy between the figures of the department of agriculture and those of the census as to the production of wheat and other staple products. According to the estimates of the department of agriculture the amount of wheat produced during the census year was 547,303,846 bushels and according to the census it was 661,143,657 bushels, a difference of nearly 114,000,000 bushels. That this discrepancy is largely due to the exaggerated census figures appears from our statistics of exports, which indicate that but 186,096,762 bushels of the wheat crop of the census year were exported. This, if we accept the census figures, would show that in this year our people consumed nearly  $6\frac{1}{4}$  bushels of wheat per capita, or from 40 to 50 per cent. more than the usual amount as indicated by official estimates for other years. This increase might be taken as unmistakable evidence of the prosperity of the consumers, were not the prosperity theory conclusively disproved by census wage statistics, which, when honestly compared, show a decided decrease in average earnings during the last decade.

This important fact the census office has sought to conceal by an adroit juggling of the data.

HENRY L. BLISS.

## NEWS

The second session of the Fifty-seventh Congress began on the 1st. Only routine business was done, the Senate adjourning for the day in less than a quarter of an hour and the House in less than an hour. On the 2d both houses adjourned for the day after each had listened to the reading of the President's annual message. But on the 3d the regular business of the session began. In the Senate a substitute for the bill passed by the House at the previous session, for the admission of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma as States, was reported by the committee on territories. It recommends the admission of

Oklahoma and the Indian Territory as one State, omitting New Mexico and Arizona. The House, after discussion, appropriated \$50,000 for the anthracite coal strike arbitration commission.

In his message, President Roosevelt dwells upon the prosperity of the country. While recognizing that this prosperity "is not the creature of the law," he declares that "undoubtedly the laws under which we work have been instrumental in creating the conditions which made it possible," and that "by unwise legislation it would be easy enough to destroy it."

Noting then a great increase and general diffusion of the wealth of the country, the President observes that the conditions favoring it have "also favored somewhat the growth of what was evil," and this leads him to a consideration of the trust question. He believes that "monopolies, unjust discriminations, which prevent or cripple competition, fraudulent over-capitalization, and other evils in trust organizations, and practices which injuriously affect interstate trade, can be prevented under the power of the Congress to 'regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States,' through regulations and requirements operating directly upon such commerce, the instrumentalities thereof, and those engaged therein." Accordingly, he recommends "the passage of a law, reasonable in its provisions and effective in its operation, under which the questions can be finally adjudicated that now raise doubts as to the necessity of constitutional amendment." If, however, such a law be invalid, then he urges that "we should not shrink from amending the Constitution so as to secure beyond peradventure the power sought." In this connection Mr. Roosevelt considers the proposition to deprive trust-made goods of tariff protection. "Not merely would this be wholly ineffective," he argues, "but the diversion of our efforts in such a direction would mean the abandonment of all intelligent attempt to do away with these evils."

Moreover, he proceeds, the abolition of tariffs on trust-made goods would tend to destroy the protective system. This he would scrupulously avoid, because "the mere threat" of "dislocation" of that system, "not to

speak of the performance, would produce paralysis in the business energies of the community." Yet he would not fossilize the tariff, but would readjust its terms by reciprocity treaties and upon reports of commissions, which, while regarding "fixity of principle as regards the tariff," will permit "the necessary reapplication of the principle" from time to time "to the shifting national needs."

On the currency question Mr. Roosevelt recommends that upon banks, as "the natural servants of commerce," should be "placed, as far as practicable, the burden of furnishing and maintaining a circulation adequate to supply the needs of our diversified industries and commerce." He urges, furthermore, that all kinds of currency should be made "interchangeable, and at the will of the holder convertible into the established gold standard."

On the subject of capital and labor the message contains a homily but without specific recommendation.

The policy in the Philippines is described as having established a large measure of American liberty in those islands. "Not only," reads the message, "does each Filipino enjoy such rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as he has never before known during the recorded history of the islands, but the people taken as a whole now enjoy a measure of self-government greater than that granted to any other Orientals by any foreign power, and greater than that enjoyed by any other Orientals under their own governments, save the Japanese alone." Mr. Roosevelt adds that while "we have not gone too far in granting these rights of liberty and self-government," "we have gone to the limit in the interests of the Philippine people themselves it was wise or just to go."

The other subjects mentioned in the message are Cuba, reciprocity with New Foundland, The Hague tribunal, the Isthmian canal, the Pacific cable, army reorganization, increase of the navy, the postal service, irrigation of and other matters relating to the public lands, Alaska, the Indian tribes, government aid to farmers, the government of the District of Columbia, and the public printing establishment.

From the press dispatches the

United States appear to have entered into diplomatic conferences with Great Britain and Germany relative to the South American republic of Venezuela. Although nothing more definite about the termination of the civil war in Venezuela has been reported than what we produced last month (p. 503), the dispatches indicate that the opposition to President Castro has been subdued, although some unimportant conflicts with small bands of insurgents are still reported. But a new danger has loomed up which may even revive the insurrection. The country is threatened with invasion by Great Britain and Germany. The latter has long menaced Venezuela. Upon the basis of a Venezuelan railroad loan held by German subjects (vol. iv, p. 601-2), it has threatened to collect the debt by forcibly taking possession of Venezuelan custom houses. Great Britain has since been drawn into an agreement with Germany for the ostensible purpose of collecting similar British claims and protecting European interests in Venezuela. This agreement was divulged in London on the 22d of November. It was at the same time reported, also from London, that the British government had received assurances that the United States would not interfere so long as the Monroe doctrine, which denies the right of European powers to acquire territory on this side of the Atlantic, was not defied. Both powers are represented by war ships in the Caribbean sea, and Admiral Dewey has gone to the Caribbean to take command of the large American fleet now in those waters nominally for practice maneuvers. It has been indicated by Great Britain and Germany to present to Venezuela a joint ultimatum, but on the 1st Berlin reports were to the effect that President Castro had signed an agreement acknowledging part of the German claims and that the proposed ultimatum had consequently been postponed. Then there were rumors from Washington that negotiations through the Seligman banking house were on foot for an issue of Venezuelan bonds, to be guaranteed by the United States, out of the proceeds of which the German and British claims might be satisfied. Since these rumors, however, it is reported from Washington that the two European powers are to make a joint naval demonstration at once. It is intimated that both have given assurances to the American government that

their purpose is to serve an ultimatum on President Castro demanding the payment of the obligations due the complaining commercial companies, and, if that fails, to establish a peaceful blockade of the principal Venezuelan ports, probably Puerto Cabello and La Guayra, and, if that fails, to seize custom houses and collect duties to the extent of the debt. To this purpose the government at Washington is understood to make no objection.

Great Britain's Irish difficulties (pp. 455-6, 487, 502) are apparently in process of satisfactory, even if only temporary, settlement. To that end, many of the landlords themselves are in conference with the tenants, though a large landlord faction opposes the movement. A convention of Irish land owners was held at Dublin on the 28th. At the same time and in the same city a committee of other Irish land owners, led by Lord Dunraven, assembled and addressed a communication to the convention proposing a conference with the tenants relative to a possible sale of the lands to them. Dunraven's committee based this proposal upon the fact (see p. 522) that it had sent voting papers on the subject to 4,000 owners of more than 500 acres each, and that the vote returned stood 1,128 in favor of a conference with tenants and 578 opposed, the others not voting. To this communication the landlords replied that the tenants must first perfect a business organization and formulate the terms they desire. Lord Dunraven's response was the adoption by his committee of a resolution instructing the landlords that support his policy to take immediate steps for a conference with their tenants. It is believed that in this policy of conciliation he has the support of the king and the ministry.

The British House of Commons passed the much debated education bill (p. 502) on the 3d by a vote of 236 to 132. It was immediately sent to the House of Lords, where, on the same day, it received its first reading.

In Germany what promises fairly to bring about a dangerous crisis in parliamentary government has nearly come to a head. This serious situation has been precipitated by the determination of the protectionists to force through the ministerial tariff bill, a bill which is opposed stub-

bornly by both the Socialist party and the People's party. Under the rules of the reichstag the measure must be considered by paragraphs; but this process was too slow to satisfy its supporters, and a combination of the Conservative, the National Liberal and the Center parties was made for the purpose of ordering that the measure be passed upon, not by paragraphs, but as a whole. A motion to this effect was made, whereupon the reichstag was in an uproar in a minute. The People's party and the Socialist party, united against the conservative coalition, denounced the motion as out of order and autocratic. No vote upon it has yet been reached. The nature of the feeling aroused may be inferred from the following cabled extract from the speech of the Socialist leader, Bebel, in denunciation of the protection combination:

By devices such as these the tariff will be presented to the ruling classes at Christmas so that they, over their caviar and oysters, may sneer at the efforts of the Social Democrats to protect the pockets of the poor.

France is in the throes of another labor strike, that of the stokers and sailors, which has assumed serious proportions at Marseilles and become a subject of parliamentary consideration. For want of sea transportation passengers to the number of a thousand or more are delayed at that port, and 8,000 troops are patrolling the streets. In answer to an interpellation in parliament on the 1st, the minister of commerce explained that the policy of the ministry in the matter of strikes was to maintain an attitude of neutrality toward both parties, to protect the workmen in the free exercise of their right to strike, and also to enforce regularity in the public service. The postal service was already provided for, he said, and there was not a single mail bag now delayed; but it was not possible to re-establish the passenger and freight traffic in the normal way. There were several other modes of doing so, he continued, one being to furnish sailors of the navy to the steamship companies; but the ministry did not desire to do this, as it would be taking sides with the companies. Another method was to transport the passengers and freight on government ships, but if the ministry did this, it would collect the tolls for the benefit of the state. The third way was to requisition the vessels of the companies and

man them with sailors of the navy. The government was still considering which was the best and most efficacious remedy to apply to the situation.

The arbitration commission in the American anthracite coal strike, which took a recess on the 21st (p. 537), resumed its sessions on the 3d, when several witnesses were examined on behalf of the strikers, Mitchell being among them.

Thanksgiving day was, as usual, football day in the colleges and universities of the United States. The record of principal victories is as follows:

Michigan over Minnesota.....	23	to	6
Chicago over Wisconsin.....	11	to	0
Nebraska over Northwestern.....	12	to	0
Illinois over Iowa.....	89	to	0
Purdue over Notre Dame.....	8	to	6
Ohio over Indiana.....	6	to	6
Lake Forest over Monmouth.....	12	to	11
Kansas over Missouri.....	17	to	5
Leland Stanford over Utah.....	35	to	11
Knox over Chicago Dentals.....	65	to	6
Princeton Tigers over Rush.....	33	to	0
Pennsylvania over Cornell.....	12	to	11
Columbia over Syracuse.....	6	to	6
Carleton Indians over Georgetown.....	21	to	0

The college football casualties for the year ending on Thanksgiving day, November 27, 1902, as compared with those of the preceding year, are reported to have been—

	1902.	1901.
Deaths.....	12	8
Fatal wounds.....	1	0
Serious wounds.....	85	75
Total.....	99	83

NEWS NOTES.

—The Crerar library, of Chicago, has purchased Prof. Richard T. Ely's great collection of labor literature.

—The gold standard has been adopted by Spain and the mints closed to the free coinage of silver.

—The Rev. Dr. Joseph Parker, minister of the City Temple, London, and a preacher of international fame, died at London on the 28th.

—Prime Minister Sagasta, who recently reorganized the Spanish ministry (p. 522), resigned on the 3d. He declared that the resignation is irrevocable.

—By orders from Washington, received at Manila on the 2d, Maj. Glenn, convicted of using the "water cure" (p. 249), is to be tried again for cruelty committed during the Samar campaign.

—At recent general elections in Greece several of the ministers failed of reelection, and on the 1st the entire Zaimas cabinet, organized over a year ago (vol. iv., p. 535) consequently resigned.

—The monthly statement of the

treasury department for November shows on hand November 30, 1902:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash balance.....	204,575,588 09
Total.....	\$354,575,588 09
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902.....	358,574,116 85
Decrease.....	\$3,998,526 76

—The Socialist party vote in the State of Illinois, according to the Chicago Socialist, is as follows:

Chicago.....	13,612
Cook county outside of Chicago.....	641
Other counties.....	5,633
Total for State.....	19,946

To this the Socialist Labor party adds 8,325, making a combined socialist vote of 28,270.

—At a special election in San Francisco on the 2d, a proposition to issue \$700,000 in bonds for the purpose of equipping and operating the Geary street railway as a municipal utility received 15,120 votes to 11,334, a majority of 3,786. But as a two-thirds vote was requisite, the proposition failed.

—Prof. Asser, the Dutch jurist who has been arbitrating the claims of American sealers for the seizure about ten years ago of their vessels by the Russian government, has delivered his award in favor of the United States. He holds that a warship of one nation cannot pursue and capture a trespassing vessel of another beyond the territorial boundaries of the former nation.

—The November treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government for the five months ending November 30, 1902, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff.....	\$126,469,738 95
Internal revenue.....	98,257,686 24
Miscellaneous.....	16,754,714 89
	\$241,482,149 08
Expenses:	
Civil and misc.....	\$52,368,061 37
War.....	57,942,740 67
Navy.....	33,502,290 89
Indians.....	6,250,858 91
Pensions.....	60,711,475 71
Interest.....	16,590,779 95
	\$227,366,227 50
Surplus.....	\$14,115,921 68

—The first international sanitary conference of the American republics convened at Washington on the 2d, the governments of Mexico, Cuba, Chili, Costa Rico, Salvador, Honduras and the United States being represented. Formal organization was completed by the election of Dr. Walter Wyman, surgeon general of the United States marine hospital service, as president, and Dr. Arthur R. Reynolds, of Chicago, as secretary.

—Lord Lansdowne, British secretary of state for foreign affairs, handed to the Chilian and Argentine ministers on the 25th the award of the British arbitration commission in the boundary dispute between Chili and the Argentine Republic, which more than once threatened to result in hos-

tilities between the two countries (p. 140). The award is essentially a compromise. Of the disputed territory eleven-nineteenths, are awarded to Chili and eight-nineteenths to Argentina.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE MESSAGE AND THE TRUSTS.

—Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Dec. 2.—In his treatment of the trust question the President is disappointing. His discussion of the subject is characterized by the same vague, inconsistent and inchoate suggestions that characterized his speeches during his campaign tour last Fall. He does not seem to know where he "is at," except that he desires to impress the people with the idea that he "means business" without arousing the fears of the trust magnates.

THOSE PHILIPPINE ATROCITIES.

—Springfield Republican (Ind.), Nov. 28 (weekly ed.).—There is hope even for Charles Francis Adams, Carl Schurz and Herbert Welsh. On the morrow of their complete vindication by the confession of the army captain who tortured Father Augustine to death, Mr. Roosevelt again assails them, charging them with "cruel injustice" because they have made an issue of the practice of torture as a modern method of conquest. His tone, however, at Philadelphia was a bit more subdued than it was at Welrs last Summer, when he said, apropos of the Adams-Schurz charges, that the army has been "cruelly maligned even by some who 'should have known better.'" When men prove their charges, as the Adams-Schurz committee have now done in the Father Augustine case, they are entitled to a little more consideration from the President of the United States than he had previously shown to them.

OPPORTUNITY FOR THE NEGRO.

—Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Dec. 2.—President Roosevelt is right when he says that the door of opportunity should not be shut to the Negro and that every encouragement should be given to the men of integrity and ability of the race. However, appointing Negroes to office in Democratic States should not be the limit to the incentive to the Negro to rise. There ought to be at least one Negro in the President's cabinet, while the Negroes ought to be given their quota of the Federal offices in the Northern States. It is a cheap sort of play for Negro delegates to descant upon the equal rights of the Negro in the South, while barring him from office in the North. —Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Nov. 30.—Mr. Roosevelt never made a greater mistake than when he made public his letter to the citizens of Charleston. By the publication of that letter he calls attention to his administration on this particular line. He need not imagine that the people will be deceived by fine words. So long as all of his "in" appointments are made for the Southern States and his selections of Northern Negroes are "from" appointments, he need not expect that intelligent men will accept him seriously on this point.

PROSPERITY.

—Kansas City World (Dem.), Nov. 21.—According to an official report made by the Ohio bureau of labor statistics, a summary of interviews with 7,000 working women in Cincinnati, Columbus and Cleveland shows the average cost of living to be \$5.24 per week, and the average wages \$4.83 per week. —Buffalo Enquirer (Ind.), Dec. 2.—Prosperity has come to be a vague term. Some may prosper and the masses may be distressed. Half may prosper and the other half may not. Most may prosper and there may still be a large minority who suffer. Let not partial prosperity be confounded with general prosperity.

## MISCELLANY

### THE PLEA OF LABOR.

For The Public.

I do not want the earth. I only ask  
That portion of its plenty which is mine;  
That I may live the life which God's de-  
sign  
Marked not for slothful ease nor endless  
task.  
I will not fawn at Fortune's feet, nor bask  
Contented where reflected glories shine,  
Until the coming day when wrath divine  
Shall tear away from Mammon's face the  
mask.  
Give me fair recompense for dangers  
faced;  
Give me but fair reward for labor done;  
A chance to breathe of God's pure air a  
breath,  
And time for rest in all the hours of haste,  
That I may see the smiling of the sun  
Ere darkness cometh in the guise of  
death.

TOM CARDER, JR.

### ESKIMO ART AND LITERATURE.

We take the following article from the Literary Digest of November 15. As printed in the Digest it is illustrated with naive and vivacious pictures reproduced from Mr. Moeller's book. The translation was made especially for the Digest.

From Godthaab, Greenland, a vil-  
lage of 300 or 400 inhabitants, comes  
the news of the death of Lars Moel-  
ler, the pioneer journalist of the Es-  
kimo race. The Gartenlaube (Berlin)  
prints the following account of this  
unique character, and of his labors  
on behalf of Eskimo art and litera-  
ture:

More than 40 years ago, the Danish  
authorities, who have always endeavored  
to develop the capabilities of the Eskimo,  
discovered Moeller's intellectual superior-  
ity to the mass of his race, and assisted him  
to go to Copenhagen and learn the printer's  
trade. Upon his return to Godthaab in 1860  
he opened a printing-office and issued a  
book of illustrations of Eskimo life, all  
drawn and engraved by natives.

Subsequently Moeller founded an illus-  
trated journal in the Eskimo language to  
which he contributed drawings, verses, and  
news items. He accompanied Nordenskiold  
in some of his journeyings, and the explora-  
tor speaks highly of his intelligence and  
artistic talent.

Moeller also introduced photography  
among his people, working until recently  
with an old-fashioned camera and wet  
plates, but producing excellent results. It  
must be remembered that in Greenland  
photography is beset with difficulties. The  
work is necessarily confined to the short  
summer, and even then it is often inter-  
rupted by fogs. But Moeller took advantage  
of every moment of sunshine to photograph  
the wild scenery of Greenland, sending his  
pictures to Copenhagen for sale. He did a  
good business in portrait photography, too,  
for his countrymen are as vain as other  
people.

A hundred men hasten to get rich.  
All fail, save one, and he gobbles up  
the other 99.—Schoolmaster.

### RAILROADS TO ABOLISH PASSES.

According to the New York Com-  
mercial of November 21, the railroads  
in the Trunk Line association are to  
issue fewer complimentary passes in  
future, and to show less favor to poli-  
ticians. Not only will they enforce  
the anti-pass pact more rigidly than  
heretofore, but the President's pri-  
vate lists are to be restricted. The  
politicians, who have been altogeth-  
er too generous in the use of free  
transportation for themselves and  
friends, are to be curbed. On this sub-  
ject the Commercial says:

It is not believed these barnacles can be  
absolutely and entirely removed, but it is  
thought they can be trimmed down so as  
not to be so much of a drag and imposition  
on transportation departments as well as  
less able to supply passes or free tickets  
to friends and others who have not the re-  
motest right to ride over a railroad with-  
out paying fare.

The ability thus to take advantage of the  
railroads has been a great boon to many  
politicians to whom the privilege has been  
invaluable in maintaining a prestige  
among influential constituents.

It is hoped, but not expected, that  
the railroads will be as good as their  
word, and stop issuing passes to  
those "who have not the remotest  
right to ride without paying fare." But  
this brings up an important ques-  
tion—who are entitled to free rides?

Surely all senators and congress-  
men, and all state legislators and  
councilmen in large cities who vote  
lands, franchises, and other favors,  
worth millions, to the railroads, are  
entitled to some recognition. They  
will not, without some consideration,  
vote to give the railroads what be-  
longs to the people. How many con-  
gressmen, for instance, would this  
winter vote for Babcock's bill for a  
"Union Station" in Washington, if  
their passes were taken away from  
them? This station is to be built  
practically by the city of Washington  
and donated to the railroads. The do-  
nation, which will include the right of  
way to the station, is estimated to  
be worth some \$50,000,000 to the rail-  
roads. For this one act the railroads  
could well afford to carry free, for 20  
years, not only the congressmen who  
vote for it, but all of their near rela-  
tions.

No, railroads are too well managed  
to make such a horrible mistake as to  
cut off passes to their legislative  
friends. Not until they possess  
everything worth having above  
ground, or until they absolutely con-  
trol legislators, through campaign  
funds and political bosses, can the  
railroads afford to stop the supply of  
passes to politicians. It is not be-

lieved that they are near enough to  
either of these goals to make such ac-  
tion safe. And yet they are very  
powerful. B. W. H.

### ROOSEVELT'S ATTACKS ON PRES- IDENTS.

The Columbia (Mo.) Herald, which  
enjoys the distinction of being one of  
the "handsomest country newspapers  
in America," and which is also one of  
the ablest Democratic newspapers in  
the country, has been reading the  
books written by Theodore Roosevelt.  
Naturally Roosevelt's "Life of Thomas  
H. Benton" interests a Missourian.  
Editor Williams, of the Herald, says  
that while abroad the two most  
talked-of Americans that came to his  
notice were Missourians—Benton and  
the mule. Editor Williams has been  
reading Roosevelt's "Life of Benton"  
and has made some copious extracts  
therefrom.

It will be remembered that about a  
year ago Republican organs were  
filled with violent criticisms of men  
who dared to speak slightly of a  
president, and criticisms of a pre-  
sident were likened to anarchy. Indeed,  
the assassination of William McKinley  
was attributed to the newspapers and  
speakers who criticised Mr. McKinley  
and his policies, and these same Re-  
publican organs demanded a federal  
law limiting free speech and free  
press. These facts are recalled for  
the purpose of emphasizing some of  
the extracts the Columbia Herald has  
made from Roosevelt's "Life of  
Thomas H. Benton."

Speaking of Thomas Jefferson, Au-  
thor Roosevelt says:

The scholarly, timid and shifty doc-  
trinaire. . . . Was the father of nullifica-  
tion and therefore of secession. . . .  
Cheap pseudo-classicism that he borrowed  
from the French revolutionists. . . .  
Constitutionally unable to put a proper  
value on truthfulness.

Of Martin Van Buren, Author Roose-  
velt said:

Faithfully served the mammon of un-  
righteousness. . . . Succeeded because  
of and not in spite of his moral shortcomings.

This is what Author Roosevelt  
wrote concerning Franklin Pierce:

A small politician, of low capacity and  
mean surrounding, proud to act as the  
servile tool of men worse than himself.

When Author Roosevelt wrote of  
James K. Polk this is what he said:

Excepting Tyler, the very smallest of  
the small presidents between Jackson and  
Lincoln.

Of President Monroe, Author Roose-  
velt wrote as follows:

Colorless, high-bred gentleman of no es-  
pecial ability, but well fitted to act as pre-  
sidential figurehead.

But Author Roosevelt's opinion of John Tyler is especially interesting. He said:

He has been called a mediocre man; but this is unwarranted flattery. He was a politician of monumental littleness. . . . His chief mental and moral attributes were peevishness, fretful obstinacy, inconsistency, incapacity to make up his mind, together with inordinate vanity.

If we remember aright, similar estimates of presidents made by other gentlemen were denounced as "anarchy" and "abuse of the freedom of speech" by the writer of the above estimates of presidents. And if memory is not playing us false we recall a number of remarks to the effect that such "attacks" on a president were responsible for "anarchy," and that those who made them should be held responsible along with the assassin for any crime committed because of their "influence upon weak and irresponsible minds." Is it patriotism to defame a president after death, and anarchy to criticise him while living?

A comparison of Author Roosevelt's words with President Roosevelt's words will bring to light many interesting things.—The Commoner.

MISUNDERSTOOD.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye devour widows' houses and for a pretense make long prayer.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye pay tithe of mint, anise and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law,—judgment, mercy and faith: these ought ye to have done and not to leave the other undone.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward but are within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: for ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchers of the righteous;

And say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets.

Coming from the meek and lowly Jesus, that is rather strong language. He condoned the sins of thieves and murderers and prostitutes; he consorted with fellows of the baser sort; he had only sorrow for Judas who betrayed him, only gentle forgiveness for Peter who forswore him.

These scribes and Pharisees, then, must have been pretty bad men.

On the contrary. They were the very nicest people in Jerusalem. They were distinctly the better element. They were the wardens and vestry of Trinity, the stewards of the First Methodist, the elders of Westminster, the deacons of the Park Congregational. They were the pillars of society, the college presidents and trustees of boards. They were the men of unimpeachable probity and integrity.

And this came from Jesus who was a Jew to the tip of his fingers. No wonder he was crucified. If any clergyman to-day care to make an interesting experiment, let him read that chapter from Matthew, lean over the edge of his pulpit, shake his finger in the face of the front pews and tell them, That means you, do you understand, you, you!

What was the offense of the scribes and Pharisees that brought this terrific denunciation?

It was not lawlessness. Outside the Brahmin castes there were never men who kept the law so scrupulously. They were not like those representatives of the better element who lie to the assessor, who juggle with franchises, who corrupt the legislatures and defy the courts. They were ever so much better than that.

It was not rottenness, like the frivolous decadence of the Four Hundred. They were painfully moral, and the way they kept the Sabbath made it a dreadful day.

They were not mean. They made it a point to give tithes, and that is more liberal than Mr. Rockefeller, whose liberality is so prodigious that he has had a doxology sung to him by a national convention of a great church.

Imagine the buzz in the congregation, the indignation in the synagogue, upon this wholly unwarranted attack by a Jew of the peasant class against all the better element. Do you suppose there was no Baer in the sanhedrim to urge that such a pestilent anarchist ought to be put down?

People who can remember the wrath of all respectable classes against John Brown, of Ossawatamie, can guess something what it was like.

Their offense which brought this withering scorn, was simply that they stood for the established order of things. They insisted on their legal rights, their vested rights, that was all. They despised the poor. They

gave alms, plentifully enough, but they sat fast in the social order that made the mass dependent.

They advised the poor to be temperate and thrifty and save their money. They held that anybody could be successful who would be prudent and economical. They said that God never intended that all men should be equal, and it was absurd to suppose anything of the kind; let them be content in the station to which it had pleased God to call them, and thankful to their betters for giving them good counsel and establishing soup kitchens in the time of stress.

They were most exemplary citizens, patterns for their community. Jesus objected to the pattern.

They devoured widows' houses, but in the most respectable fashion. Mind you, the outside of the cup and platter was clean. They took nothing more than the law allowed, and the suggestion that it was robbery was wholly incomprehensible to them. Their conduct was absolutely correct. They had nothing to arbitrate, and they stood on clearly ascertained rights.

There may have been frauds and scallywags among them, but Jesus was not talking about them specially. He swept the whole class into his condemnation, and he referred pointedly to the most virtuous and righteous of them.

Why? Because they shut up the kingdom of heaven against men, the kingdom he came to proclaim, the reign of justice, mercy and faith, the kingdom that was to come in earth as it shall be in heaven.

What else does he mean by omitting the weightier matter of the law, which is first of all judgment? It was not police court judgment that they neglected. They were right up on the front seat when it came to good government. They furnished the president and vice president of the civic league. And if there had been a protective tariff in those days they would have been the foremost advocates of prosperity.

He meant social justice. Respectable, upright, kindhearted in a way, they stood for the perpetuation of injustice. And he came to establish the kingdom, the reign of the higher law, the state that is expressed by the brotherhood of man and founded on social justice.

They wouldn't have killed the prophets, oh, no. They did find it necessary to put down this disturber of the peace.

Gentlemen, scribes and Pharisees of to-day, members of the better element, that is to say: What is your attitude toward the prophets?

You wouldn't have killed the prophets. Of course not.—John Stone Pardee, in the *Argus*, of Red Wing, Minn.

#### TOM L. JOHNSON, MAYOR OF CLEVELAND; A REMARKABLE PERSONALITY.

An article specially contributed to the *Evening Journal*, of Ottawa, Can., and published in their issue for November 8.

To introduce "the whole philosophy of Henry George" into the legislation and administration of his own country is the labor of a great Hercules which Hon. Tom L. Johnson, presently mayor of Cleveland, O., has undertaken, and to that labor he brings such a combination of qualities that, if he lives, he will either succeed completely or at least make such a failure as John Brown made, a failure which was only the necessary preliminary to success.

James Creelman, the eminent American interviewer, says of Johnson: "He has the mind of an idealist in the body of an ox." "Words can hardly express the sense of energy conveyed by the personality of this extraordinary man, yet nature has given him the plump, laughing, unwrinkled aspect of an ease-lover." In these days of stress and strain, when a Schwab breaks down and a Rockefeller must husband his strength as though every unit of energy were worth millions, this outfit of perfect nervous balance and robust health is the first thing necessary for the worker in the field of political agitation.

"Give Johnson ten years more," said one of his friends some time ago, "and he'll own every street railroad franchise in the United States." Johnson is a fellow citizen of Rockefeller, the typical millionaire of the United States, and of Mark Hanna, the great high priest of the plutocracy. He has fought them both in business, asking no quarter and smiling all the time. If they have come out with more millions than he, it is because he has quit the game while still young, having found a more interesting use for his time. A writer in *Chambers' Journal*, a conservative publication, nevertheless credits Johnson with the ownership of twenty-five millions, all his own winnings, starting with no capital save a year's schooling and enough money to buy

a bundle of newspapers, with which he established a business.

You do not hear Johnson prating the tea-meeting drivel about men growing enormously rich by their own hard work and frugality. He saw from the first that money was made in quantity through the control of monopoly. When he peddled papers he used his first money to buy the exclusive privilege on a little railroad; when he manufactured iron, he protected himself with patent rights and took full advantage of the protective tariff; when he went into the street railway business, his first care was to get his franchise solid.

The plutocrats cannot talk down to him as they would to a man like William Jennings Bryan, giving him and the public to understand that this matter of being "captain of industry" is really something quite beyond the comprehension of agitators and common men. Johnson knows all the ins and outs of the game of captaining industry, and he knows that the plain bald fact is that money-making is a mere scramble, and that the only man who has a chance to win much is the man who gets a section of the ground railed off so that he can have that part of the scramble for himself. Therefore he tells the people in effect: "You are foolish to give these privileges to Rockefeller, Hanna, myself and others like us. The effect of such a public policy is that you make the wealth, but the fortunate and pushful few get it. Be reasonable, be just, and make laws which shall secure to every man exactly what he earns." And when captains of industry tell him that this is only an iridescent dream, his answer is: "I have quit business and gone into politics; I will never rest until our laws exemplify the great Jefferson's rule: 'Equal and exact justice to all; special privileges to none.'"

#### WORK FOR HIS IDEAL.

It is two years next January since Johnson announced at a banquet of Cleveland Democrats that he had freed himself from business entanglements of every sort and was ready to work for his ideal.

In thus abandoning the mere toiler's job of stacking up more millions and turning to work worthy of a man with a heart and a brain, Johnson has far greater qualities than mere energy and business ability. He is a born general, and he has had enough experience in politics to understand the ground. Moreover, he is a po-

litical economist more learned as to facts and more scientific in his reasoning than any man who occupies a professor's chair for the teaching of that branch of learning. And above all he is as much in earnest as any religious enthusiast. Henry George, than whom a purer soul never lived, said of him on one occasion, when it was suggested that he should distrust this millionaire: "Distrust Tom Johnson! Why, I would as soon think of distrusting myself as of distrusting Tom Johnson." It was Johnson who supplied much of the money and a large part of the energy for Henry George's first campaign for the mayoralty of New York; it was he who managed the second campaign which ended so tragically in George's sudden death just before election day; and it was in his arms, almost, that George died.

Johnson's idea of the future may be a dream, but he threatens to make his efforts to realize it a nightmare for all privilege holders. His idea of opposing privilege is not to make lectures about it, but to kill it, attacking first the part that is most exposed and that can most readily be reached.

In announcing the devotion of his life to the advocacy of the rule of justice, Johnson declared that he wanted no office, and would accept none. But he spoke somewhat hastily, for within a month he was nominated for the mayoralty of Cleveland by the Democrats and accepted. There were things to be done in his line, and the people of Cleveland seemed to think he was the only man for the job.

In the first place the Democratic party in Cleveland, and even in the state, had fallen to the position of a mere organization for the division of the spoils with the Republicans, who for years have been dominant, and the best men in the party felt that something should be done about it. In the second place, certain street railway franchises were about falling in, and there were people who were quite ready to accept a nice, juicy renewal for 50 years, such as had been granted for the benefit of certain bosses in Cincinnati. In the third place, and most immediately important, the Democratic machine, which was in control at the Cleveland city hall, had prepared to give away valuable city rights in the real estate of the water front, and there was no time to lose if the job was to be headed off.

**THREE-CENT STREET CAR FARES.**  
Johnson declared for three-cent

street railway fares, with universal transfers, and when the street railway people said that this was impossible, Johnson set his opinion as an expert against theirs, and pledged his reputation to have the street railway put on a three-cent fare basis if the people would give him the power.

The Republicans, knowing that the anti-Johnson Democrats had no chance, did all they could to win. They carried all their ticket except the mayor, but Johnson ran away ahead of the rest of the Democratic ticket and won by a plurality of over 6,000.

Meantime, as a citizen, he had sued out an injunction which had the effect of holding up the water-front deal until after the election. He qualified as mayor just half an hour before the injunction expired, and vetoed the ordinance, thus killing the deal.

His next step was to reach an understanding with the members of the city council. He formed a combine of honest Republicans and Democrats against the "gray wolves" in the council, the result of which has been that personal advantage has been eliminated as an element in the consideration of municipal ordinances. Acting under the power given him by the state law, Johnson appointed the heads of departments who, together, form his "cabinet." His experience in directing great enterprises enabled him to choose good men; and most of them were from outside the ranks of the party workers and leaders. Though big enough men to manage the affairs intrusted to them, they were not too big to work in consultation with a man of the mayor's caliber.

Leaks were stopped in the finances, the waterworks system was put on a paying basis, the parks were increased in area, and, by the removal of the "Keep-off-the-grass" signs and otherwise, were made the playgrounds of the common people instead of the gardens and driveways of the rich, the "tenderloin" district was regulated as never before, and many minor improvements were made in the management of the city's affairs.

The three-cent fare platform was not merely to get in on. As soon as preliminaries could be arranged a number of routes were chosen and tenders called for. The conditions were enough to make the old-time monopolists sick—three-cent fares and universal transfers, a forfeit to

guarantee early construction and operation, arbitration of labor disputes, right of purchase by the city at any time on a valuation, and so on. A bid was received from responsible parties, and the people got ready to ride about the city at three cents a ride. But the existing companies interposed and the three-cent fare proposition has been in the courts almost ever since.

As a single taxer, Johnson knows perfectly well that to reduce the fares will not be to really benefit the people if nothing else is done. The effect will be only to increase the value of the land, and so compel the people to pay the landlord what they had been paying to the traction concerns. His idea is that the three-cent fare and the agitation necessary to gain it will be the shortest road to municipal ownership. His own belief is that street cars should be to a city as an elevator is to an office building—run free and the cost of running collected in the taxes. He does not insist upon that, but he does insist that the street railway shall not be used as an engine for taxation, but that the price charged for a ride shall represent the cost of the average ride and no more. He thinks and says frankly that the course he is pursuing in relation to the street railway question leads toward the single tax, and that that is what he is after.

#### EQUALIZING TAXATION.

But, great as has been the turmoil resulting from this particular branch of his efforts to carry out his cherished idea of embodying "the whole philosophy of Henry George" in the laws of his country, it is as nothing compared with that which has followed his more direct attempt to put the taxing system upon a basis of justice.

One of the men of the mayor's cabinet is an iron molder whose reading of political economy led him to take a very active part in labor agitation, so active that he was blacklisted and found himself "not wanted" when he went to look for a job. This man was put in charge of taxation matters. To assist him, a St. Paul man who had invented a system of valuing land for taxing purposes was engaged. A revaluation of land was undertaken by this department. "Johnson's tax school," it came to be called, because it used blackboards, wall-maps, and enlarged photographs, and all who were interested in any block of land under consideration—and citizens generally—were invited to attend and

follow the demonstrations. The leading citizens, who had been accustomed to the old, cumbrous fashion of assessment, were not only incredulous, but contemptuous. But those who attended were surprised to learn that, given the value of certain lots in a block, the value of the other lots could be figured out, almost to a dollar, by a clerk, who neither knew nor cared where the land was located.

It became evident that a revaluation of city property was to be made which would reduce the assessment of many a poor man, but would double and treble the assessment of certain favored holders whose "pull" had been considered as well as the market value of their holding land. As usual, an injunction was secured to stop proceedings by restraining the city from paying the salaries of the officers engaged in this disturbing business. Mayor Johnson obeyed the injunction to the letter. He paid the salaries out of his own pocket and ordered the "tax school" to go ahead.

But this was only a part of the work. It was found that no less than \$20,000,000 of property owned by privilege-holding corporations escaped city taxation altogether. This was promptly listed and the owners were invited to call and settle. Moreover, it was shown that the whole state of Ohio received from the railway companies and other public service corporations only one-third of what it was fairly entitled to, and that the burden thus unfairly thrown upon the farmers, business men and workmen was not less than four millions of dollars a year.

#### LOTS OF LITIGATION.

It would be impossible, in any space less than that of a book, to explain to those not familiar with the laws of Ohio the complications of litigation and legislation to which all this has given rise. Johnson's opponents, the republicans, are in complete control of the state machinery, both legislative and executive. So long as the courts gave decisions in their favor, they trusted to injunctions and other legal proceedings, but when these would no longer avail, they "ripped" Johnson's taxing machinery out of existence. "Ripperism" is a thing with which Ontario is not acquainted. It is the act of a hostile state legislature imposing its will by statute upon an unwilling municipality. Carried to its logical conclusion, it abolishes municipal home rule and reduces civic representatives and officers to mere servants of the party boss of

the state. A more vicious use of party prejudice it would be hard to conceive. . . .

#### CONTROLS THE DEMOCRATS.

While all this was going on, Tom L. Johnson had troubles with his own friends, the Democrats. He had declared open war against the existing party machine and had stated in plain English that it would be better to drive the boss of the party in the State over to the Republican camp. The struggle for control of the party was not the less rancorous because only one side, Johnson's, fought in the open. A man of less resource and power would have been completely buried by the weight of prejudice and self-interest against which he was striving. But Johnson wrought perfect miracles of party management, with the result that he is now in absolute and undisputed control of the State machinery of the Democracy. As one of the Democratic Congressmen said, speaking avowedly on behalf of the defeated boss: "Johnson can have everything his own way. He has the piano and can sing and play any tune he wishes to." . . .

The fight against privilege, with its "rippersm" and its tax-dodging, was carried squarely into the campaign which has just closed for the election of some of the chief executive officers of the State. The head of the Johnson ticket was no other than the minister of the Vine Street Congregational church in Cincinnati, an institution which has a glorious record as the very soul of the movement for the abolition of slavery at a time when to be an "abolitionist" was to endure social ostracism and persecution of every kind. Rev. Herbert Bigelow, the minister referred to, takes the Single Tax as a part of his religion. He goes into politics, as Johnson has done, to establish the rule of justice in the community.

#### THE RECENT CAMPAIGN.

The late campaign was made as brief as was consistent with a clear presentation to the people in every part of the state of the issues involved. "Home Rule and Just Taxation" was the slogan, and to make known the principles they stand for, the Johnson Democrats entered upon a campaign after Johnson's usual style. As in his congressional campaigns, instead of having meetings in public halls, he used a great circus tent, which was pitched now in this part of the city, now in that. His opponents were always invited to share the time with his own speakers, and, at the conclusion

of the speaking after the usual Single Tax style, which all who have ever heard Henry George or any of his followers speak will recollect, questions were called for, and everybody who asked a question was assured of a fair and respectful answer. Johnson himself, with his clear brain, his marvelous knowledge of facts, his true respect for a man as a man, and his constitutional and absolutely unflinching good-humor, is greatest answerer of questions that the movement ever produced.

#### HIS FUTURE PLATFORM.

The knowing ones have slated Johnson for the governorship, a Senatorship and the Presidency, in due succession. Johnson himself has declared that he is a candidate for no office, except to succeed himself as mayor of Cleveland. As for the governorship he has said that he would not accept the nomination, and would refuse to serve if elected. . . . Johnson, like all Single Taxers, is an absolute free trader. "Tariff reform," which is now, so much in favor with even Republican protectionists, only deepens the smile on Johnson's face and brightens the twinkle in his eye. When he runs for the presidency, if he ever does, it will be on a platform, not of "free trade as they have in England," but of free trade such as only Cobden himself ever had thought of. He will be for tariff abolition and the raising of national revenues by a tax on the value of land irrespective of improvements. The plutocrats have killed "Bryanism," but if Tom L. Johnson lives they will meet an opponent who will make them think regretfully of Bryan almost as one of their friends. And all the discontent growing out of the \$20-coal and 40-cent beef, out of low wages and trust-cornered goods, and, above all, out of the hard times which the plutocrats are preparing for the poor by the piling up of millions for themselves, will express itself through Johnson's demand for equal and exact justice for all and special privileges for none.

"Rather absent-minded, isn't he?"

"Extremely so. Why, the other night when he got home he knew there was something he wanted to do, but he couldn't remember what it was until he had sat up over an hour trying to think."

"And did he finally remember it?"

"Yes, he discovered that he had wanted to go to bed early."—Philadelphia Press.

#### THE WEAKNESS OF THE WISE.

For The Public.

Somewhere there lives a people just as clever as can be,  
With a knack for penetrating every kind of mystery,  
While certain facts quite obvious to ordinary men  
Seem somehow to be this side of that clever people's ken.  
They explore all fields of nature, and for long have been intent  
Every kind of curious engine and contrivance to invent  
In order all life's comforts to abundantly command  
With the very least expenditure in toll of head or hand.  
Their success in this direction is a marvel and no less;  
One acquainted with its story would not hesitate to guess  
That life among those people is in peace and plenty spent  
With all the women satisfied and all the men content.  
But no; some points are lacking in their wisdom's vast array,  
On account of being too simple for such clever folks as they.

A strong suspicion some time since was forced upon their thought  
That their unexampled progress has not helped them as it ought;  
That their wonderful inventions and their new industrial ways  
Have but little eased the burden of the toiler's weary days.  
But when they go with questions to their learned men of light,  
As to what may be the reason of their hopes' recurring blight,  
They are overwhelmed with figures and with logic marshaled well  
To prove that what they see and feel is quite impossible.  
That yet they are not satisfied will cause no great surprise,  
For the very cleverest people must at last believe their eyes,  
So their doctors now are testing sundry measures understood  
As likely soon to realize their hopes of general good,  
But to first inquire just how some reap where they have never wrought  
Is an idea quite too simple for their deep and abstruse thought.

As a fundamental mischief, earliest and by far the worst,  
Their lands were all divided among those who got there first,  
Which works a disadvantage pressing now with crushing weight  
On the ones who by no willful fault were born somewhat too late.  
And because they thus are largely of the chance to work bereft  
They combine to fight each other for such chances as are left,  
Overlooking the monopoly which makes them all its prey,  
For that object is too near for such far-seeing folks as they.

Their transportation system is most marvelous to see,  
Now that steam power is fast giving place to electricity;  
But the people's chance to profit thereby naturally falls  
Since their grandsires gave the highways to the men who laid the rails.

The consequent extortions they endeavor to abate  
 Through impotent commissions, who in vain investigate;  
 The preposterous pretense that roads can thus be given away  
 Being too clear to be seen through by such sharp-eyed folks as they.

Within their rugged mountains we conveniently at hand  
 Coal, iron and all minerals that their various wants demand,  
 But because their grandfathers sold the mines to some one, cheap as dirt,  
 Dreadful coal, and iron famines they see no way to avert;  
 For by their deep sagacity those people are estopped  
 From knowing that mines justly taxed must needs be worked, or dropped.

So all their other common wealth, town lot and rural field,  
 Into the hands of Privilege unquestioning they yield;  
 And because the grandfathers gave or sold a title never theirs,  
 The grandsons hire the earth to which God makes them equal heirs.  
 That grandfathers cannot deed away their grandsons' liberty,  
 Is of course a truth too simple for such clever folks to see.

While really toward freedom all their feeling strongly leans,  
 They show but slight conception of what genuine freedom means;  
 'Gainst wholesome foreign rivalry a tariff line they draw,  
 Then when monopolies combine, despite restraints of law,  
 And with merciless exactions make their lives a burden grow,  
 Their brilliant statesmen reinvoke the sole relief they know  
 And add on new restrictions to the old ones' sore abuse,  
 Giving Privilege her weapons and forbidding her their use.  
 Thus they overlook another point, too plain for them to see,  
 That men must turn to freedom, not restraint, to make them free.

Doubtless that sagacious people will go struggling on for years,  
 Their pathway damped sometimes with blood as well as sweat and tears,  
 Just because the measures needed their condition to amend  
 Are too simple for such cleverness to ever comprehend.

JAY HAWKINS.

In intimating the need of somebody "to save the republic from that kind of opulence by which public spirit languishes, and civic glory dies," Gen. John C. Black is none too clear.

Unhappily, the various kinds of opulence look alike to many.

Fancy our chagrin, were some of the best of us to act on Gen. Black's suggestion in good faith, only to find in the event that we had rescued the republic from the kind of opulence that carries elections for Christianity and humanity, or the kind that keeps the tariff in the hands of its friends, or

the kind that enables our territorial importance to be commensurate with our navy.—Life.

"The apartments on the tenth floor," said the manager of the Skyscraper flats, "command a higher rent than those on the other floors, because they're the safest in the building."

"Indeed?" remarked the home-seeker.

"Oh, yes! You see, few airships ever fly that low, and automobiles never jump that high."—Catholic Standard and Times.

Mrs. Flatt—What causes this smoky haze in the atmosphere?

Mr. Flatt—Why, the janitor is trying to burn some smokeless coal in the smoke-consumer.—Indianapolis News.

Why wouldn't it be a good idea to get all the "bad trusts" to step to the left, so that they could be punished without hurting the good ones?—Atlanta Journal.

### BOOK NOTICES.

#### THE AFFIRMATIVE INTELLECT.

This is the title of a second book by Charles Ferguson, author of the "Religion of Democracy," a work which received very distinguished consideration two or three years ago. The "Affirmative Intellect" is issued by the Funk & Wagnalls company, in good, clear type and attractive form. The first thing a reviewer feels called upon to say of Mr. Ferguson is that his style belongs to a class which is as far as possible from being classic. The classic style, in whatever language, has a certain calmness and dignity; and while firm and confident, it still betrays a certain amount of respectful self-restraint. There is a style, the opposite of all this, which may perhaps be called the oracular style. It affects to put forth sentences, each one of which might be marked for quotation. Each sentence is an unconditioned statement, cast at the humble reader in such an emphatic way that he feels he dare not dodge it except at the peril of his eternal undoing. Some of the masters have had this style—as, for example, Carlyle and Emerson; but now that we can look back at these masters across the silence of a few years, we are beginning to suspect that their influence would perhaps be more abiding if they had been more careful, and less oracular, in many of their assertions. Mr. Ferguson's style belongs to this oracular class.

Then, in speaking of style, one can never omit the quality of clearness, that is, the quality of imparting to the reader a clear idea of what the author wishes to tell him. Now it must be confessed that an author may have thoughts so elevated or so new that it is very difficult to make them clear to the average reader; but all the more will he of course strive to speak simply and plainly. Furthermore we have to confess that poets and seers sometimes speak most effectively in symbols, and that the prosaic reader may find it difficult always to interpret these symbols with readiness; but this is a peculiar kind of literature for which we are prepared to make allowance. Mr. Ferguson's language is not symbolic, and has not this warrant for lack of clearness. His thoughts are, we believe, ele-

vated and new; but he certainly has not striven to make them clear.

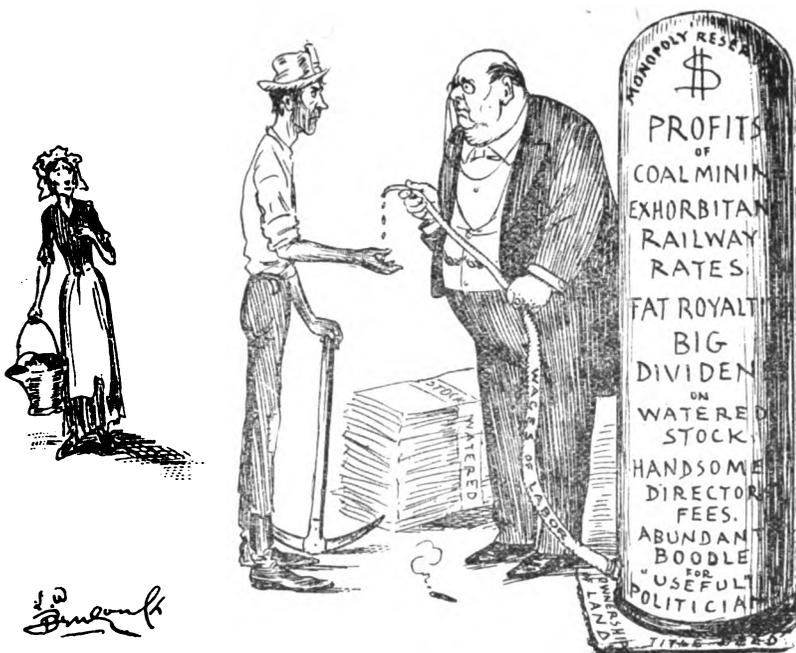
Take his preface, for example. It consists of a dozen short sentences, half of which I should judge to be unintelligible to most readers. A few days ago I handed the book to a man of culture and intelligence, saying that it was a book well worth seeing, and asking him to read the preface. He did so, and professed that he had not the faintest idea of its meaning. He read several of the sentences over and over, and still avowed that he could get no meaning whatever out of them. One of the sentences at which he particularly stuck was this: "To be a friend to another is to defy him;" and this also was a puzzler: "The greatest man is the Man that is nearest—and farthest away." We humbly submit that writing of this kind is unpardonable, and that an author of earnest thought, such as Mr. Ferguson surely is, ought straightway to set about changing his style. In saying this much we beg him to accept the assurance of his own dictum, that "To be a friend to another is to defy him."

Turning now to the book itself, we venture to say that it is one of singular force and originality, and deserves a wide reading. We say this in spite of the humble confession that we do not just see what practical issue the author would have us make. But he is stimulating and earnest, and puts forth striking sayings, many of which will compel assent by their appeal to elemental principles, and will furnish texts to thinkers a century hence. The burden of his message would seem to be that all authority, all sanction of law, must proceed from within, and not from any external source. "The original sin of the world is not contempt for arbitrary laws, but respect for them." All imposition of law from without is evil. It discredits the human spirit. The discrediting of the human spirit begets social privilege and injustice and the principle of aristocracy. In other words, all our trouble lies in subjecting the wills of men to an external and transcendent authority. What we want is that all social law shall proceed "from the sanctified and consentaneous wills of the people." This is the principle of Democracy, which "clears the ground by abolishing all authorities, except the authority of God as realized in living men."

It would be impossible, without extending this review to undue length, to follow the author further in the development of this important central thought. He says many things on the way which we should like to quote. But there is one particular point which seems to us at present to call for special notice.

Mr. Ferguson states a truth admirably as follows: "The normal elements of production are two: nature and the workman—the intellect of God implicit in the order of the natural universe and the intellect of man making himself at home there. The orthodox economists . . . have made it out that the elements of production are three—to-wit, nature, labor, and capital. That is to say, they have split the human element into two parts."

Rejecting the so-called orthodox view and accepting the normal elements as he eloquently states them, he surprises the reader by his failure to give a more enthusiastic assent to the importance of freeing the element of nature from the curse of special privilege. It would seem that he, of all modern writers, should certainly see the importance of the issue as a practical basis for all further freedom of the human will in the contact with social conditions. We can agree with him that nothing will avail if people are faithless to democracy; but is not this step the primary need, and the very mark, of democracy at its present stage of development? We cannot close this very imperfect review of this truly democratic book without expressing the hope that its author will find anchorage in this belief. J. H. DILLARD.



**DELICATE SYMPATHY!**

□ Coal Baron - More wages! You unfeeling wretch! Don't you know that an increase in wages must mean an increase in the cost of coal to poor widows? Have you no heart?

**PERIODICALS.**

-A paper on proportional representation, by Robert Tyson, and one on the British "Garden City" movement, by Annie L. Diggs, are among the articles furnished by the Arena for December.

-The Christmas number of Willis J. Abbot's Pilgrim is notable for a series of impressive editorials, even exceptionally so, by Mr. Abbot, and a fine contribution to the subject of the coal strike, by Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow.

-Ida M. Tarbell contributes to the December McClure's the second installment of her readable and valuable history of the Standard Oil trust. The same issue contains an especially timely article on the labor question, by John Mitchell.

-The true history of Capt. Kidd, embodying the explanation of why his name has become the synonym for piracy, is one of the features of the December Harper's, which opens with a critical comment on King Lear, by Algernon Charles Swinburne, and contains a characteristic story by Mark Twain.

-"The Yellow Van," a story of rich and poor in England, the second installment of which appears in the December "Century," promises to be peculiarly interesting to students of social problems. The author is Richard Whiting, who wrote "No. 5 John Street." In the same issue of the "Century" Henry Loomis Nelson, professor of political science at Williams college, tells the facts about "the so-called steel trust." His point of view is that of "scientific socialism."

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**"The Trust Problem."**

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**ADMISSION FREE.**

Sunday, December 14, John Z. White, "The Real Remedy."

-The Independent of November 20 has a very interesting article entitled "The Confessions of a Young Author." It is anonymous, of course, and it carries the impression of truth, giving details which hardly any writer could be brave enough to divulge over his name. The view it gives of the present silly "literature" is enough to make hope-sicken well-nigh unto death. Talk about "commercialism," here you have its full-blown flower. Suburban lots and oil wells furnish only a crude product in comparison. The way the young author fixed up a story to suit the grave editor is worth quoting: "I wrote in a few love scenes; these love scenes—an editor would call them the 'love element'—were after the sickeningly conventional style of romantic wooing; my wife and I made up the speeches while half-stifled with laughter, and at times hardly keeping them from becoming obvious farce. But this apparently made no difference to the grave editor."—J. H. D.

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