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It is a serious and difficult alternative, that which the British minister and the German emperor have thrust upon President Roosevelt.

If he accepts their offer to submit the Venezuelan question to his arbitration, he risks involving his country in complications which it is his duty to guard her against. If on the other hand, he declines their offer, then he becomes in a way apparently responsible for a wanton war that may be prosecuted to the extent of involving her in complications even more distressing than any that might result from his acceptance.

The choice is not a simple one. Unlike every other great question that has confronted Mr. Roosevelt since his accession to the presidency, and all that confronted his predecessor, it cannot be put to the test of the few great principles that have constituted our national ideals and our moral code. It presents purely a question of administrative expediency, upon which national ideals and moral concepts cast but little light. The dilemma is one of statecraft and diplomacy rather than one of patriotism and morality. For that reason a mistake will not be a crime, and Mr. Roosevelt, whichever way he may decide, will have a degree of sympathy that his strenuous career as an imperialist has not commanded.

There is no good reason for having forced this alternative upon Mr. Roosevelt. What the real motive may have been for refusing to go before The Hague tribunal, as Mr.

Roosevelt has requested the belligerent powers to do, it would be useless to speculate upon; but the reported reason, that The Hague tribunal has no power to enforce its decrees, is no reason at all. Arbitrators never have such power, or, if they happen to have it, they are not expected to use it. The Hague tribunal would have the same power to enforce its decree against Venezuela, should it decide against her, as to enforce it against Great Britain and Germany should it decide against them, namely, the power of the world's opinion. The primary object of international arbitration is not to enforce decrees. It is to settle disputes. When an award is made, the successful nation will find it no more difficult to enforce her claim which has now the sanction of an impartial tribunal as just, than she would have had to enforce it when its justice was disputed and in doubt; while the unsuccessful nation, if too weak or too fair to resist the award, has the satisfaction of knowing that she is not being bullied into submitting to injustice and indignity, but is acquiescing in the judgment of an independent tribunal.

Only a little reflection is necessary, therefore, to understand the absurdity of one of the objections to Mr. Roosevelt's becoming the arbitrator. It is argued that if he decides against Venezuela it will be incumbent upon the United States to enforce his award. Yet no one thinks of hinting that if he should decide against Germany and Great Britain it would be incumbent upon the United States to compel them to abide by that decision. True, it may be assumed that they would submit and therefore that no one would be needed to enforce an adverse award. But why jump to the conclusion that Venezuela would not do so if the award were against her?

She might not be able to pay a money indemnity out of hand; but if required to pay more than she were able, why infer that she would refuse to negotiate a fair settlement? It is to be feared that much of this talk about the necessity the United States would be under of enforcing a decision against Venezuela—which it is somewhat prematurely assumed President Roosevelt would make—is another indication of the restless spirit of American imperialism. The monopolists of this country are as hungry for South American territory as are those of Great Britain and Germany with “me too” Italy thrown in. They would be well pleased if Destiny were to take such a turn as to make it our pious Duty to civilize Venezuela out of her tempting lands.

An important step has been taken by the tariff reform committee of the New York Reform club, which has been almost quiescent for several years, though in the early 90's it did much excellent free trade work. It has decided to call a tariff conference at New York during the coming year to which “representative free trade men from various parts of the Union” are to be invited. One particularly encouraging thing about this matter is the honest boldness with which the term “free trade” is now used by the Reform club. Nothing is to be gained in any agitation vitalized by a principle, either by honest timidity or disingenuous evasion in declaring its purpose.

In the discussion which led up to the decision to call this tariff conference of free traders, ex-Congressman John DeWitt Warner placed the issue squarely as one between protection on the one hand and free trade on the other. That does not mean that in legislation the whole tariff must be at once abolished or nothing

be done; what it does mean is that reforms of the tariff, whether little or great, shall be made in the direction of free trade and upon free-trade principles. Any other tariff agitation is not worth the making. Protectionists are willing to reform the tariff in the direction of protection and upon protection principles. That is what they mean when they urge the reform of the tariff "by the friends of protection." And therein lies their strength. They secure the confidence and support of all protectionists; while those who propose to reform the tariff with due deference to protection and protection principles, yet as enemies of protection, antagonize protectionists and excite the distrust of free traders without awakening any enthusiasm among people who are neither the one nor the other but a little of both. What the anti-protection policy needs is to be made candidly affirmative in form as it is in substance. Some policies, though affirmative in substance, are necessarily negative in form. Circumstances make them so. The anti-imperialist policy is an example. But the free trade policy is distinctly affirmative and there is no valid excuse for endowing it with the weakness of the negative form. Let the compromisers be "anti-free traders" if they want to be; but let the men of principle, though they must needs compromise in legislation from time to time in order to make headway, keep their principles always in public sight. If they are free traders they will gain strength for their cause, even for the small advances in their cause, by honestly saying so.

Mr. Warner's spirit was expressed at this meeting also by Henry W. Lamb and Edward M. Shepard. Mr. Shepard had recently made a powerful free trade speech before the Free Trade league at Boston, of which Mr. Lamb is president, and on the later occasion he appears from the press reports to have spoken without timidity and with welcome definiteness. His declaration that "the de-

lay of the last Democratic administration in dealing with the tariff question was a lasting calamity," is as true as any words that ever fell from the lips of a public man. It embodies a condemnation of the Cleveland regime for which there was no legitimate excuse and can be no political forgiveness.

Mr. Shepard made one point regarding free trade which free trade advocates too often ignore, though it is of supreme importance. Saying that there had been three free trade periods in this country, all periods of prosperity, he referred to that from 1789 to 1812 as the first, and to the one which began with the tariff of 1846 as the second, and then for the third to the present day "when our foreign trade is dwarfed by our internal trade." "At this time," he went on, "our trade with all other lands is utterly insignificant when compared with our inter-State trade, the ratio being 16 or 18 to 1," and "no protectionist can fail to ascribe the enormous prosperity of the country to the free exchange of commodities in the United States."

It is true, if Mr. Shepard put the point exactly the way he is reported, that he made a play upon words in speaking of the present as a free trade era because there is free trade between the States. We have had free trade between the States since the foundation of the government. But even if this be word play it does not misrepresent or mislead. On the contrary, it emphasizes a fact so big and obtrusive that it would need no emphasis if the people had not been taught to forget that our system of free trade between the States is the greatest free trade experiment known in history. What Mr. Shepard evidently sought to do was to impress his hearers with what is absolutely true, the fact that our inter-State free trade is as it has always been the chief factor in producing all the national prosperity we now do or ever have enjoyed. His statement that its vol-

ume is from 16 to 18 times as great as our foreign trade is a conclusive answer to those who, boasting that we are prosperous, attribute our prosperity to the external protective system which affects only one-seventeenth of all our trade, and not to the internal free trade system which affects sixteen-seventeenths of it. This is one of the arguments which warn us of the folly of making disguised free trade fights against protection. An impressive argument when raised in support of free trade as a principle, it loses all its force when used in support of tariff tinkering policies.

Local politics in Cleveland are becoming active as the time approaches for the municipal election under the new charter. For many reasons this is likely to be the most important municipal election of the coming year. The street car interests all over the United States will in all probability combine their influence and pool their contributions to defeat Mayor Tom L. Johnson for reelection. It is understood that a regular assessment of American street car interests is being made by Mr. Hanna, and its collection vigorously pushed, upon the plea that the Cleveland fight is their fight. For if Johnson makes Cleveland a three-cent fare city the water will soon be squeezed out of all street railroad stock everywhere. The word has gone out, therefore, that Mayor Johnson must be—not may be, or ought to be, or can be—but must be defeated. Nothing will be left undone by the plutocratic interests of the country to accomplish the defeat of this man, even to the expenditure of hundreds of thousands of dollars for corruption purposes. The clasping of hands by Hanna and McLean, the plutocratic Democrat, is also in contemplation. McLean has been admonished that now is his opportunity to get rid of Johnson and resume his place at the head of the Democratic party of Ohio; and he accordingly is adjusting things to organize a "fake" opposition to Johnson among the disgruntled and corrupt Democratic

heelers of Cleveland. Whoever imagines that plutocracy will die without a struggle makes a great mistake.

When Johnson ran for mayor two years ago upon a three-cent fare platform, the street railroad ring and its organs were content to believe that he was not sincere. They have since learned that he was so sincere that nothing could stop him but the "ripping" of the city, which they therefore accomplished. They have learned, too, that he has other weapons besides three-cent fare ordinances with which to fight monopolies, and that taxation is one of them. It is this that has spurred them on to close up the Peter Witt "tax school," one of Johnson's institutions where by the enormous favoritism in taxation which prevails in Cleveland has been officially exposed. They know, of course, that if Johnson carries the next Cleveland election, he will soon have the three-cent fare movement and the tax school under full headway again. Therefore it is that they are determined to defeat his reelection at all hazards.

In one of his sermons recently delivered on the subject of gambling, the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, defined the true objection to gambling. The usual objection is that gambling is wrong because its results are determined by chance. As Mr. Bigelow truly says this is no objection at all. Chance enters into most of the transactions of life. Moreover, whether a man shall take chances or not is a question for his own decision. What is there about gambling that subjects it properly to condemnation by society? Mr. Bigelow answers that it is the fact that success on one side in gambling depends upon failure on the other side. It is this that makes gambling un-social and therefore wrong—getting without giving, reaping without sowing, acquiring without earning. But what would become of many shining lights in our better element if getting without giving were condemned?

It now transpires that the Bucklin tax amendment in Colorado, defeated by more than two to one, according to the official report (p. 570), was defeated by only a small majority, if indeed it was defeated at all. The revelations of fraud in the count are astounding. Nor do these revelations depend upon the assertions of advocates of a defeated measure. The Denver Times, which opposed the amendment vigorously, concedes with marked reluctance enough to saturate the whole count with reasonable suspicion. We quote from its issue of the 13th, in which it compares the vote of one Denver district on the measure as returned by the judges of election, with the official abstract prepared in the county clerk's office:

FOR THE AMENDMENT.		
Precinct.	Judges' Co. Clerk's Return.	Abstract.
1	15	15
2	0	0
3	25	25
4	112	12
5	59	59
6	12	12
7	80	0
8	80	80
9	195	95
10	60	60
11	15	15
12	3	3
	656	376
AGAINST THE AMENDMENT.		
1	70	70
2	0	535
3	9	90
4	39	39
5	131	131
6	85	85
7	22	22
8	20	120
9	30	130
10	9	169
11	12	12
12	2	152
	429	1,555

Here is an aggregate change in only one district of 12 precincts which corruptly shifted the "official" vote from a majority of 227 for the amendment to a majority of 1,179 against it. In another district the vote in one precinct was changed in the county clerk's office from a majority of 35 for the amendment to a majority of 165 against it. That is, 50 for to 15 against, was altered to 50 for to 215 against.

The same paper quotes the county clerk as saying:

You may say for me that I admit the perpetration of all the frauds they have alleged. The evidence is indisputable and conclusive. I will start an immediate investigation and it will be a thorough one. Prosecutions will follow the investigation to the bitter end if I have to stand the entire expense myself.

These alterations appear to have been made most bunglingly. For the roughly written figures of the election judges were substituted neat clerical figures by the county clerk's assistants; and the forgeries were committed with ink of a different kind from that which the judges used.

It is explained by the local papers of Denver that these forgeries were perpetrated in order to keep the affirmative vote in Arapahoe county down below a certain small aggregate, some people who were in the secrets of the organization that opposed the amendment having felt so secure in their confidence that the election judges had been adequately bribed that they made bets upon the complete collapse of the affirmative vote. But as some of the judges were "not honest" enough to "stay bought," the affirmative vote as returned rose several thousand above the wagered maximum, and it was to save the bets that the county clerk's office force was set at work forging the returns by such alterations as those indicated above. This, at any rate, is the explanation; though similar frauds in other counties would indicate either that similar bets were made there or that conspiracy to defraud by forgery was general. The Denver frauds are believed to have been great enough to change a negative majority in the county of less than 3,000 into one of more than 10,000.

These forgeries were far from being the only frauds. Evidence is accumulating which goes to show that the opposition had raised a campaign fund which they used almost exclusively for the purpose of corrupting election judges. They did this in the guise of campaign contributions to

the two principal parties. Leaders in both parties being opposed to the measure for the same reason, namely, that they are interested in landed speculations which the Bucklin amendment would have enabled the people of each county to reach by means of taxation—it was easy to bribe the election judges of both parties without seeming to bribe anybody. Back, therefore, at the very beginning of the count, right in the voting precincts, the infamous work of falsifying the ballot began. As no one represented the interests of the amendment in voting precincts where both political parties opposed it, the election judges of those parties were able to make almost any returns they pleased. And this opportunity was not neglected. In at least one Denver district the judges having forgotten to count the ballots filled in their returns at a guess, with 23 for and 23 against. They at least held the scales evenly. But on good authority it is stated that hundreds of votes were fraudulently counted against the amendment on Capitol Hill, and specifically that in one precinct there the negative vote of 43 was returned by the election judges as 143.

Nor were the frauds confined to the Denver county. They appear to have spread all over the State of Colorado, excepting only a few counties in which the Democratic officials supported the measure and prevented false counting and doctored returns. Conejos county, for instance, returned an adverse vote of 2,128 to 62. This is a Mexican county, and according to the returns nearly all the Mexican voters must have voted on the amendment—something very improbable. In Huerfano county the vote was reported as 1,981 against the amendment and 78 for it. This is one of the counties in which the Colorado Fuel and Iron company owns the laboring population and votes their names at will. It doesn't even go to the trouble of sending its laborers to the polls and watching them. It keeps them at work, leaving to the election

officers the function of casting the ballots. These functionaries copy names into the poll books—such probable names, for example, as William Boxcar and John Tie—and put the ballots into the boxes themselves. The Colorado Fuel and Iron company controls 11 counties in the southern part of the State. In Pueblo and El Paso counties, which, with Arapahoe, contain all the large cities—localities where the largest votes for the amendment were doubtless cast—the election judges' returns were altered as at Denver.

As the large newspapers of Colorado of both parties were opposed to the Bucklin amendment, they are taking infinite pains to minimize these exposures, but they are forced to concede enough to show that the frauds are stupendous. Senator Bucklin is convinced that the conceded frauds in Arapahoe (Denver) county were not much if any worse than elsewhere throughout the State, and now regards it as doubtful that the amendment was really defeated. Steps have already been taken by Edwin N. Burdick, in Denver, who is cooperating with Senator Bucklin, to secure an investigation and a recount; and criminal proceedings against the Denver rascals, little and big, are delayed only by the fact that the grand jury is not now in session.

Press dispatches from Manila tell every now and then of the lawless exploits of "ladrones." As "ladrones" are thieves, the intention is to convey to American readers the impression that disturbances in the Philippines are confined to the operations of bands of highwaymen. But it begins to look as if these are bands of what, were we Filipinos, we should call patriots instead of thieves. For illustration, the latest dispatch on the subject reads in this wise:

In the province of Bulacan it is understood that a band of 300 ladrones, led by an American Negro, are scheming to wipe out the constabulary, and that four miles out from the town of Clacocan four American blacks are engaged in drilling a large number of highwaymen in mil-

itary tactics and training them in the use of firearms. Because of the increasing activity of the ladrones the continued withdrawal and concentration of troops in the islands is causing apprehension among the inhabitants of many provinces, who have depended wholly upon the military for protection. Ladrones are said to be notoriously bold and numerous in Rizal, and the president of that province recently called on Adj. Gen. Heistand for relief. He also has appealed to Gov. Taft.

That report does not describe the depredations of thieves. It suggests instead the operations of irreconcilables—such as are usually called "traitors" by a subjugating power and "patriots" by their fellow partisans. In the estimation of the British, Marion's men in the South and the cowboys of New York were of this type, and would doubtless have been called "ladrones" by the London papers and letter writers had so convenient a word at that time found its way into the language. The disingenuousness of our calling Filipino patriots bands of "ladrones," as the Spanish did, is exposed by mail reports from Manila received at San Francisco on the 24th. According to these reports three of the provinces now under the civil government of Gov. Taft—Cavite, Batangas and Tayabas—are to be "placed once more under military control in order to purge them of the insurrecto element." Patriotism dies as hard in the Philippines as it would in Illinois.

If the Christmas season were a season for unselfishly doing right instead of selfishly "doing good," what a blessed example it might set for all other seasons.

#### WHAT BOYS READ.

##### I.

The following letter came to me a few days ago:

Here's something that will interest you!

Mr. — found his office boy often engaged in reading in such an absorbed way that he determined to encourage such a good habit, thinking the reading was beneficial. On questioning the boy he was astonished to find what had occupied all his spare time. Ask-

ing for a list of books he had read recently the enclosed was obtained.

Here is an exact copy of the list, as written in the boy's own hand. In spite of numerous repetitions it should be read through, for only in this way can one get the full, cumulated effect. I copy as accurately as possible. The numbers probably refer to certain volumes in some series or "library."

- 1 James Boys or the Bandit Last Shot
- 2 Chasing the James Boys or a Detective dangerous Case
- 3 The James Boys and Pinkerton or Frank and Jesse as detective
- 4 The Man from nowhere and his adventures with Jesse
- 5 Jesse James and Siroc or a chase for a horse
- 6 The James Boys in Texas
- 25 The James Boys in deadwood.
- 30 The James Boys Blunder
- 35 The James Boys in danger
- 40 The James Boys Mistake
- 45 The James Boys Island
- 50 The James Boldest Raid
- 55 The James Boys dead Shot
- 60 The James Boys and the Box of diamonds
- 65 The James Boys Bad Luck
- 67 The James Boy Surrender or Carl Greens First Triumph.
- 68 The James Boy in the Mountain or Carl Greene the detective Great Surprise

The Bradys and the Factory Girl or a Secret of a poison envelope.

This is what you might call concentrated, or intensive, reading. There is no scattering over the broad field of adventurous heroes. With one exception—in which he has gone astray on the Bradys and the Factory Girl—the devoted young student has been as steady to his subject as ever Carlyle was to the adventurous Frederick, or Macaulay to the adventurous William, or Prof. Sloan to the adventurous Napoleon. He deserves this meed of praise. He has followed the advice so often given to youthful readers, not to scatter their reading, but to choose some subject and read it up thoroughly.

The writing shows that the boy is not wholly illiterate; for while he has no marks for punctuation or the possessive, every word is spelled correctly. He has probably gone through the sixth grade of a public school, perhaps higher; and he is a type of thousands. We are turning them out in great numbers, destined

to vex the souls of Harvard's presidents years to come. We are teaching them the simple art of reading, but either from not holding the pupil long enough or from some internal defect we are not teaching taste and judgment. President Eliot was right when he said lately that the products of our schools love cheap shows and gaudy literature.

## II.

We need not say more about our young friend. His list speaks for itself, and we are prepared to condemn it unanimously. But the question arises, is this the only type of reading for boys that we should be ready to condemn? Is there not quite a different list of boys' books which are even more poisonous to character than books of wild and impossible adventures?

I think there is such a list, and one all the more dangerous because it poses as the very "best reading" for boys, and has the commendation of many well-meaning people. It is a type which some business men would perhaps pat office boys on the head for reading, and yet I should mention in all earnestness that it is, in its ultimate results upon character, even more harmful than books about Jesse James. I refer to the large class of juvenile literature which tends to make boys ambitious to get ahead of their fellows, and ready to worship any success, whether true or false. Such is the tone, whether intentional or not, of many books written especially for boys; and their influence helps to make sharp dealers, unscrupulous lawyers, questionable politicians, and corrupt officials. If the Jesse James books tend to make boys admire outlawry and reckless daring, the lawlessness and recklessness have at least the merit of not being hypocritical and respectable.

Between a Life of Jesse James and a Life of Jay Gould, the former would seem to me less likely to corrupt a boy's ideals. Or take the story of the head of one of our great trusts, as I heard it told to an assembly of young boys, stripped of all possible bad features, just the laudation of overtopping ambition, the worship of financial success, would not the reading of such a life, especially as

it is held up for admiration and imitation, tend far more to have a practical influence for harm in the average boy than any story of wild adventure far removed from his actual life?

But I am not apologizing for the James Boys list! Let us condemn both lists alike.

J. H. DILLARD.

## NEWS

Arbitration of the issues raised by Great Britain, Germany and Italy in their war upon Venezuela (p. 581) appear at the present moment (Dec. 24) to be well within the possibilities.

To President Castro's proffer of arbitration, forwarded through the U. S. government, no reply had been received at the time of our last report, though the American government had specifically invited one (p. 582). But responses were received on the 20th from both Great Britain and Germany, through their respective ambassadors at Washington, who expressed a desire that the dispute be submitted to the arbitration of President Roosevelt. At first the President refused to act, and advised the ambassadors that the international arbitration court at The Hague is the proper tribunal for the adjustment of such disputes. But later in the day, and after a diplomatic intimation that neither the emperor of Germany nor the king of Great Britain were willing to submit the matter to The Hague tribunal, the President took the original proposition under advisement. On the following day President Castro signified his willingness to accept Mr. Roosevelt as arbitrator, and on the 22d diplomatic notes were delivered at Berlin and London to the American diplomatic representatives there, formally inviting President Roosevelt to accept the responsibility. Italy imitated the example of Great Britain and Germany on the 23d. Nothing further had been reported up to the morning of the 24th, except that a lengthy and important communication, explaining the British views of the arbitration proposal, is now on its way from London to Washington. It was delivered to the American charge d'affaires at London on the 23d by Lord Lansdowne, British secretary for foreign affairs, and by the former at once transmitted.

Meanwhile the "peaceful" blockade which had been tentatively established, was abandoned; and on the 19th a war blockade was declared, to take effect on the 20th. It excludes the ships of all nations. The British proclamation of this blockade, dated and made public on the day it became effective, is as follows

It is hereby notified that as the United States of Venezuela have failed to comply with the demands of his majesty's government a blockade by his majesty's naval forces of the ports of La Guayra, Carenero, Guanta, Cumana and Carupano and the mouths of the Orinoco is declared, and such blockade will be effectively maintained from and after the 20th of December, subject to the allowance of the following days of grace:

For vessels sailing before the date of this notification from West Indian ports and ports on the east coast of the continent of America—ten days for steamers and 20 days for sailing vessels.

From all other ports, 20 days for steamers and 40 days for sailing vessels.

For vessels lying in the ports now declared to be blockaded—15 days.

Vessels which attempt the blockade will render themselves liable to all measures authorized by the law of nations and by the respective treaties between his majesty and the different neutral powers.

Following is the text of the German proclamation, also issued on the 20th:

The government of Venezuela having rejected the demand which the imperial government communicated to it, the ports of Porto Cabello and Maracaibo are hereby declared to be under blockade, beginning Dec. 20. Ships under all other than the Venezuelan flag which sailed from West Indian or other east American ports before the publication of this decree will receive a period of twenty days for sailing vessels and ten days for steamers to reach their destination. Sailing vessels from all other ports are allowed forty and steamers twenty days. Shipments under other than the Venezuelan flag lying in blockaded ports upon the publication of this decree are allowed fifteen days to sail. Ships which attempt to break the blockade will be subject to the provisions which apply to neutrals under international law and in accordance with treaty.

A proclamation of the same purport was published by Italy on the 21st. Pursuant to the foregoing proclamations the blockade was effected on the 20th, and since then several merchant vessels have been turned back and others have been seized. The

first vessel to suffer at the hands of the blockaders was a German merchantman. An American vessel, the Caracas, of the "Red D" line, was forced out of the harbor at La Guayra on the 23d. She had been admitted and was partly unloaded when ordered by the blockaders to withdraw for the night; and on the following day, the 23d, was not allowed to re-enter.

Notwithstanding this open warfare, no declaration of war has yet been made by any party to the conflict. The German chancellor explains the incongruity by saying in a newspaper interview published at Berlin on the 20th, that—

This blockade will have the character of a blockade of war and we shall therefore make no distinction as to the nationality of neutrals; but we do not intend to issue a formal declaration of war, Germany and England having agreed for the present only to blockade the coast and not to take any further measures of a hostile character against Venezuela except in the case of an unexpected emergency.

In the same interview, the German chancellor explains that Germany is committed to the requirements of the Monroe doctrine, by saying:

Of course, we have not the slightest intention to make any territorial acquisitions in Venezuela. In that respect the United States government has months ago received from us explanations of a positive character.

Since our last report of this Venezuelan conflict the reply of President Castro to the German ultimatum, then withheld from publication (p. 582), has been published. It is addressed to the German charge d'affaires at Caracas, bears date December 9, and is signed by the Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs, R. Lopez Baralt. It is as follows:

On the afternoon of the 7th instant, a feast day, an employe of the German legation called at my private residence for the purpose of delivering a note from you of that date. Courtesy alone caused me to accept this note under such circumstances.

I think it is necessary before stating the purposes and desires of the Federal executive, to refer to certain points in the first portion of your note which are subject to ratification, in order to reconcile the essential object of the note with the circumstances of the case. The argument which the Venezuelan government recited in its com-

munication of May 9, in which exception was taken to all the doctrines set forth in the preceding correspondence, is cited in the said note as the only argument of the Venezuelan government against diplomatic interference in matters of a certain nature within this note, as in the memorandum of March, 1901. This argument is based upon the highest principles of international law.

The Venezuelan government perceives with surprise that you attribute to it a desire to consider this point only in the light of interior legislation. By citing in our note of May 9 of this year the twentieth article of the treaty of amity, commerce and navigation between the German government and the republic of Colombia of the 23d of July, 1892, our only desire was to add another proof to those already brought forward with regard to the assent of the imperial government to this same doctrine as maintained by Venezuela. Certain cases are now cited as precedents to enter into diplomatic relations to effect a settlement. The cases explain themselves.

The payment of certain credits relating to remote epochs were adjusted with France and the doctrine maintained by Venezuela was then respected. In the convention concluded with Spain in 1898 there appears a simple effect of circumstances analogous to those which determine what you yourself call the "Agreement of the 6th of February, 1896, between the German minister at Caracas and the Venezuela minister of finance." The said agreement referred to claims which previously had been classified by the proper junta and in this agreement the validity of the executive decree which provided regulations for the examination and payment of said claims is recognized and said claims were satisfied in accordance with the law on the subject.

Your observation with regard to the strict limitation of time in which the proceedings are to be brought before the junta are entirely wanting in force, owing to the operation of the general law establishing means to take measures against this government.

Regarding the morality of the judges, it is not possible to admit the partiality attributed to them by the imperial legation. The Venezuelan government believes the act of congress which your note qualifies as nugatory to be in consonance with the principles of equity, and that being retroactive, it tends further to smooth over the difficulties.

The Venezuelan government is unable to discover in its correspondence a single sentence offensive in tone. The desire of this government, notwithstanding the fact that throughout this correspondence it has noted the expressions of opinions little

friendly to this republic, is to ascertain which sentences contain the slightest offense to the imperial government in order to explain the same with the utmost courtesy.

With regard to the publication of the note of March 8, 1901, marked "confidential:" This note lost its confidential character through the publication of a memorandum by the German ambassador to the United States, in which was incorporated the note in question. The Venezuelan government is also surprised at the assertion that its memorandum of August 12 was conceived in offensive terms. The government thinks it can be seen that said document contains only a summary of the opinions expressed by the German ambassador to the United States, with a consequent defense made in a strictly judicial manner and in the moderate tone which is our legitimate right.

I now have to express the opinion and attitude of the Venezuelan government with regard to your final deductions and concerning the motives which led you to present them in the name of the government of the German emperor. It has been decided that since the proper junta is already installed, procedure cannot be dilatory nor differ from the form prescribed by international law. Regarding the other points, each of which comes within a certain law, it is only necessary to call your attention to the abnormal circumstances which have paralyzed any course of action relating to these matters. The Venezuelan government is now considering the appointment of a fiscal agent.

The imperial government desires that the government of Venezuela immediately satisfy the claims of German subjects arising from the civil war, and that the other matters in which the interests of German subjects are involved be arbitrated. In order that this be done it becomes necessary that a declaration be made: If the claims under consideration are just, the Federal executive as the representative of an honorable and cultured government hastens to give assurance that as such these claims will be examined. Treatment with the interested parties will facilitate, hasten or end in the satisfaction of said obligations. The Venezuelan government only awaits such time when the work of pacification, in which it is earnestly engaged, shall permit it to issue an order reestablishing public credit. The claims arising out of the present war, which still devastates the republic, will be treated with all justice under the laws to be passed to cover the requirements.

Upon the special command of my government I refrain from replying to that part of your note which relates to joint action on the part of Germany and the United Kingdom. A power like

Venezuela, which is in need of no stimulus to prompt it to fulfill its legal obligations to its utmost ability, can never expect, in its intercourse with other cultured nations any course of action which shall not conform to the principles of mutual respect and the rules of reciprocal cordiality.

Further complications for President Castro were reported on the 20th. The revolution under the leadership of Gen. Matos (p. 455), which was supposed to have been put down (pp. 551-52), appears to have revived; or, rather, to have been fostered by the Anglo-German alliance. This was intimated by reports of the 18th from Caracas, which were to the effect that the allies had been openly trying to overthrow President Castro and to place Gen. Matos in control of the government of Venezuela. Documents and letters were said to have been seized by the Venezuelan authorities which have proved a connection between the allies and the revolutionists. It was also said that since the destruction of the Venezuelan fleet by the allies (p. 583) munitions of war had been shipped openly from Willemstad, Curacao, to points on the Venezuelan coast, and steamers had sailed from Port of Spain, Trinidad, with the knowledge of the British authorities there, bearing arms and ammunition to the Venezuelan revolutionists near Ciudad Bolivar, better known as Angostura, on the Orinoco river. Close upon the heels of this report came those of the 20th, which told of the capture of Ciudad Bolivar by Gen. Matos, aided by a British vessel, and intimated that from this base Gen. Matos was about to move up to Caracas. One of the reports, a special to the Chicago News, which came from Port of Spain, Trinidad, a British island, and emanated evidently from a pen hostile to Castro, observes that "the seizure of Castro's gunboats by the allies proved an irreparable loss to the government army." For, continues this report, "just before they were seized these vessels had conveyed large bodies of troops to garrison various seaports;" but "these detachments are now isolated at long distances from Caracas and have no means of returning, as the revolutionists hold the intervening country." Farther on, the same report reads:

Although the British and Germans are blockading indiscriminately ports held by the revolutionists and those held by Castro's men, it is believed

here that the allies have had an understanding with Gen. Matos from the outset. The psychological moment in the struggle was when Castro's gunboats were seized.

It further appears that in fact the ports of both parties are not blockaded indiscriminately. Reports of the 23d say that the port of Coro, which is surrounded on the land side by revolutionists, is not blockaded, and that it is believed "that the British and German fleets are working in harmony with the revolutionists and not blockading Coro in order to allow the free entrance of Dutch schooners from Curacao bringing arms and ammunition to the rebels."

Farther down the South American continent, in the republic of Bolivia, another revolution has been for some time in progress, in which the revolutionists were reported on the 22d to have suffered defeat at a battle on the Acre river. This revolution grows out of the operations of a syndicate of British and American rubber producers which has secured a grant of the Acre country, comprising 80,000 square miles on the borders of Brazil and Peru, and rich in rubber products. The grant gives vast powers of government in addition to the land. Sir Martin Conway, the English mountain climber, is credited with having secured this grant in 1901, after thoroughly exploring the country. The boundaries are subject to a triangular dispute between Brazil, Peru and Bolivia; and last Summer Brazil demanded a cancellation of the grant. It was then reported that in consequence a conflict between Brazil and Bolivia was imminent. But the only news regarding the matter since is that of the battle noted above. How the threatening war between Brazil and Bolivia turned into a Bolivian revolution, is not explained by the dispatches.

The Haytian commotions (p. 455) have subsided and a new government has been inaugurated by the assembling of congress and the election of Gen. Alexis Nord as president. Gen. Nord was war minister under the provisional government. He occupied Port au Prince on the 15th with an army which proclaimed him president, and when congress convened there on the 18th it gave him 100 votes for president to 15 opposed, in the face of protests against the usurpation involved in the army procla-

mation. This election took place on the 21st.

For more than a week telegraphic messages have been passing back and forth across the ocean without the use of cables. This has been the final test of the Marconi system (p. 522), which is now beyond peradventure successful. They were sent between Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, and Poldhu, England, a distance of 2,300 miles. Among the messages sent were one from Lord Minto, governor general of Canada, to King Edward VII., one from Marconi to the king and a reply, and one from Marconi to the king of Italy and his reply. These inaugural messages were sent on the 21st, and the Marconi Wireless Telegraph Co. is now making shore connections on each side with a view to doing commercial business. It is announced that their charges for wireless messages across the Atlantic are to be 10 cents a word for private messages and 5 cents a word for press dispatches.

As a result of the wrangle in the German reichstag over the tariff bill, which was strenuously opposed by the Socialist members (p. 585), the rules of that body have been so changed as to strangle all debate at the will of the majority, which is enabled to pass any measure in two days. This has been done for the purpose of preventing the circulation of speeches by Socialists. As all utterances in the reichstag are privileged, Socialists have been able to utter their sentiments there with absolute freedom and to publish broadcast their speeches made upon the floor. Lese majesty laws do not apply. But now, though the privilege exists, they being no more answerable for their parliamentary utterances than before, they are to have little or no opportunity to make such utterances.

The British parliament adjourned on the 16th. In his speech the king referred to the Venezuelan affair, the Transvaal, the expedition against the "mad mullah," the Brussels sugar convention, the alliance with Japan and the treaty with China.

A labor question of huge proportions has been raised in England by the courts. It is a legacy from a strike which the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants ordered against the Taff Vale Railway com-

pany in August, 1900. The society was sued by the railway company for damages caused by breaches of contract by their employes who joined the strike. The case came before the House of Lords in its preliminary stages on the question of whether, under the acts of parliament, a labor union can be sued. Sitting as a final court of appeals the law members of the Lords decided that "a labor union can sue or be sued, for wrongs committed for or against it, as if it were a corporate body." The case then went before the lower courts for a trial of the facts before a jury, and on the 19th that trial was completed. Without leaving their seats the jury returned a verdict for the railroad company against the union of \$140,000. As the union has in its treasury over a million dollars the verdict is collectable. The general effect is to make the treasuries of all labor unions liable for any damages which employers can prove they suffer illegally in connection with strikes.

Proceedings before the arbitration board in connection with the American anthracite coal strike, continued until the 20th, when the arbitration commission adjourned over the holidays. The sessions are to be resumed on the 6th. Prior to adjournment testimony was presented by the lawyers for the nonunion men, showing acts of violence committed upon them by strikers and of boycotting from which they suffered. One death was charged to the strikers.

When Judge Dunne's initiative and referendum proposal as a substitute for the proposed constitutional amendment of the executive committee of the so-called "charter convention" of Chicago (p. 586), came back before that body on the 18th, it was accompanied by an adverse report from the executive committee. Several hours of debate followed, and the substitute was defeated. Then Judge Dunne offered one providing that—

the legislature may pass laws which will enable the city of Chicago to acquire, own, and operate, or own without operating, street railways on the surface of the streets, and above, and below the surface of the streets, gas works, electric light plants, construct, own, and operate conduits, subways, and other enterprises.

This, also, was defeated. The principal argument against both was that the legislature already has the power

to grant all they called for. "There is not a sane man to-day," said John H. Hamline, one of the leaders of the opposition to these substitutes, "who will contend that the legislature cannot give Chicago municipal ownership, cannot relieve child labor by a just law, cannot provide for the initiative and referendum."

#### NEWS NOTES.

—Western Starr will speak for the Henry George association of Chicago at Handel hall on the 28th at 3 p. m.

—Bishop Quigley, of Buffalo, nominated for Roman Catholic archbishop of Chicago (p. 587), was appointed to that office on the 20th by the pope.

—The archbishop of Canterbury, Frederick Temple, died in London on the 23d at the age of 81 years. As archbishop of Canterbury he had been at the head of the Church of England since 1896.

—Great destitution is felt in Finland, and the governor general has issued an appeal to Russia for help in certain parishes where 400,000 persons are reported to be impoverished to the point of starvation.

—Mrs. Percy Widdrington is to occupy the platform of the Chicago Society for Ethical Culture at Steinway hall on the 28th at 11:15 in the morning, her subject being "Cecil Rhodes: A Character Study."

—The Irish land conference between landlords and tenants (p. 552) began in Dublin on the 20th. Lord Dunraven, John Redmond, the earl of Mayo and William O'Brien were among the more prominent attendants.

—The Socialist party of Chicago has nominated Charles L. Breckon for mayor. A series of resolutions setting out an opportunist municipal programme, which had been reported by the committee on resolutions, were defeated by the convention by a vote of 82 to 39.

—A decision of the Supreme Court of the United States made on the 22d holds that the insurance policy of a person convicted and capably executed for crime is non-collectable. The case, which came up from Texas, is Burt against the Union Central Life Insurance company.

—The official vote of the State of Illinois for treasurer, the head of the ticket, at the Fall elections (p. 538) was as follows:

Republican .....	450,685
Democrat .....	360,925
Prohibition .....	18,434
Socialist .....	20,167
Socialist Labor .....	8,235
People's .....	1,513
Scattering .....	1

Republican plurality .....

—A newly discovered contagious disease, known as the sleeping-sickness, is reported from Uganda, East Africa, where its ravages have been great. It is a species of brain inflammation induced by overcrowding in huts, probably caused by the British hut tax imposed upon the natives; to compel them to work for wages.

—In the Ohio court of common pleas at Cleveland Judge Philipps made a decision on the 20th holding that the tax bureau established on Mayor Johnson's recommendation by the city council (vol. IV., 118, 163, 451; vol. V., 503) in aid of the city board of equalization, is illegal, on the ground that cities cannot make fiscal legislation without express authority from the State. He granted an injunction prohibiting the payment of the expenses of the bureau.

### PRESS OPINIONS.

#### THE VENEZUELAN WAR.

Los Angeles (Cal.) Herald (Rep.), Dec. 18 (weekly ed.).—The most interesting phase of the Venezuelan situation, from the United States standpoint, is the universal recognition of the Monroe doctrine in all European discussion of the issue.

London Spectator (Cons.), Dec. 19.—The object of the Kaiser's recent visit to this country was not merely to shoot pheasants, for it resulted in the conclusion of one of the most amazingly indiscreet alliances ever made with a foreign power. That Germany has achieved a great diplomatic success cannot be doubted.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Dec. 9.—It would be unjust to imply that England's first thought on the Venezuelan imbroglio was not sober, but the dispatches make it plain that her second thought is distinctly more hostile to the absurd and inglorious, shabby and reckless, enterprise into which incompetence and weakness in the foreign office have drawn her. The comments of public men and editors, irrespective of party affiliations, are almost uniformly adverse to further coercion, with its risks and dangers.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Dec. 21.—President Roosevelt must soon begin to show whether there is really as much iron in his blood as there was when he wrote his message to Congress some weeks ago. He must take a stand pretty soon that will show to the world that "Ours is not the creed of the weakling and the coward." He must soon make good his proclamation that "Ours is the gospel of hope and of triumphant endeavor." It will soon be in order for him to prove that "We do not shrink from the struggle before us."

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 19.—Venezuela is small, she is poor, she has no powerful friends, she is menaced by an allied force which is practically irresistible; and so she wavers and doubtless will finally yield to the superior strength which has her at its mercy. But she might have shown the invaders what a desperate people can do when cornered if the rich men of the republic had not trembled for their dollars and made haste to protect these at the cost of national honor and their country's pride. However, these rich men have done only what the rich men of every country and of every time have done under similar circumstances. The wealth of New York, Philadelphia and Boston was ready to grovel at the feet of Britain at the moment when Washington

and his ragged continentals were in their sorest straits.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Dec. 19.—It may not be a pleasant spectacle—this bulldozing of Venezuela—but we are hardly in a position to order the affairs of the world. Our own hands are red with innocent blood. In the Philippines we have been a conquering bully. We had better set our own house in order before we start out to discipline the world. Our jingoes may think that the world is trembling in fear and awe of the United States, but it is quite likely that two such formidable European powers as Germany and Great Britain, which could snuff our navy out of existence, lay our coast cities waste and sweep our commerce from the seas, are not shaking in their boots, nor is it likely that they are at all anxious to invite a war that would prove quite as disastrous to them as it would be to the United States.

#### ROOSEVELT AS A FREE TRADER.

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 18.—Mr. Roosevelt is a parsimonious free trader. In recommending that anthracite coal be placed on the free list, he delicately suggests that free anthracite will not benefit the people, save in the event of a crisis, in which event it will be of great benefit. It is singular that Mr. Roosevelt should so rigidly confine and limit his free trade recommendations to schedules from which no public benefit can possibly flow except in case of some great national calamity. There are commodities in which free trade would be a blessing at all times. . . . Mr. Roosevelt should also have recommended free sugar. And if free sugar, why not free hides? Some of us like to have our children wear shoes in winter. Free hides would make shoes so cheap that it would be a luxury to go barefooted. Moreover, the tariff on hides is a burden upon the shoe industry to the extent of several millions a year, and it benefits nobody but the beef trust. But Roosevelt wants to wait for a crisis. Well, the crisis will come, and it will not stop with free anthracite.

### IN CONGRESS.

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

Washington, Dec. 15-20, 1902.

#### Senate.

By unanimous consent the militia bill was taken up on the 16th (p. 300). It was considered until the hour for resuming consideration of the Statehood bill (p. 306), which occupied the remainder of the day. After the appointment of conferees on the anthracite arbitration bill on the 16th (p. 344) the subject of compensation of members of the Isthmian canal commission was discussed by Mr. Morgan (p. 344); whereupon the militia bill was taken up (p. 349) and then the Statehood bill (pp. 352, 353). The militia bill (p. 394) was the only subject of general interest under consideration on the 17th, most of the day being devoted to memorial speeches (p. 399) on the late Senator Sewall, of New Jersey. Adjournment was taken to the 20th, when Mr. Morgan spoke on Senate bill No. 461 on the Isthmian canal (p. 488). Having disposed of some miscellaneous business of no general interest, and adopted the conference report on the anthracite arbitration bill, the Senate then adjourned to January 5.

#### House.

No business of general interest was transacted on the 15th, 16th or 17th; but on the 18th a resolution regarding the Anglo-German expedition to Venezuela was adopted (p. 426-6) and the temporary revenue act for the Philippine islands was amended (pp. 426-435). Consideration of the pure food bill (H. bill 3109) was begun on the same day (p. 436) and continued on the 19th (p. 464), when the bill was passed

(p. 476). The report of the conference committee on the anthracite arbitration was agreed to on the 20th (pp. 496-97), and thereupon the House adjourned to the 5th of January.

**Record Notes.**—Text of minority report of Senate committee on Statehood bill (p. 297). Text of Attorney General Knox's opinion on the power of Congress over trusts (p. 412). Text of resolution regarding Anglo-German expedition to Venezuela (p. 426).

## MISCELLANY

### HERR KRUPP AT THE GATES.

For The Public.

"'Tis a famous arrival we have to-day,"  
Said good St. Peter, so worn and gray,  
Guarding the gates of the Golden Way.  
"A maker of guns; aye, this I know,  
But good to his credit there stands below.  
I would not err, with a soul at stake;  
On the doubt, perchance, some light may  
break

If I summon my holy colleagues up  
And ask for advice in this case of Krupp."

The good saint, then, so sorely tried,  
Hailed a courier fair to his aged side.  
"Speed away, my son, to the high saints  
all,  
And bid them in haste to our Council Hall."

Spirits celestial, as old as time,  
Feared and adored over many a clime;  
Angels of mercy and angels of wrath,  
Angels that brighten and darken man's  
path,

Punish the cruel, deliver the weak,  
Cut down the tyrant and raise up the meek;  
Saints of both sexes—all deathless of  
name—

In flying battalions of splendor came.  
Pen dare not picture the radiant sight  
Of that heavenly throng, of that temple  
of light,

When the sainted seraphs in stoles of snow,  
Heavy with cares of the race below,  
Folded their wings in the jasper hall  
In answer to Peter's unwonted call.

The old saint rose; amid silence dread  
All hung on the words as he slowly said:  
"My holy comrades, there waits at the  
gate

A soul of much earthly note; but his fate  
Doth baffle my deep and learned ken,  
Tho' seldom a task to pass judgment on  
men.

A gunmaker he, monster weapons of strife;  
And yet, he asserts, there was much in his  
life,

Such as bountiful gifts to the poor of his  
kind,

That calls for a verdict to mercy inclined.  
Your wisdom I crave—what you think, on  
the whole,

Should be done with this gunmaker's vex-  
ing soul?"

After brief silence the Angel of War,  
Clanking his spear on the jasper floor,  
Spoke with his fierce eyes all aflame:

"'Tis clear to my mind, and such now my  
claim,

That this noble soul from the land of the  
Rhine,

By the ponderous gifts he has placed on  
my shrine,

By the engines of glorious slaughter he  
framed

For the conduct of war, by which races are  
tamed

In one-tenth the time when my mission be-  
gan,

Deserves highest honors from heaven and man.  
 Bethink ye of all the improvements in strife  
 That lend such renown to the strenuous life!  
 Great battles, so-called in my primitive days,  
 Are but skirmishes now, and I turn with amaze  
 From war toys that once passed for dangerous blades,  
 To weapons that now hurl below to the shades  
 Whole armies of men in magnificent crash.  
 All praise to Herr Krupp! Is there angel would dash  
 The crown from his brow? Let him enter and rest—  
 His labors well done—in abodes of the blest."

So ended the War Saint. Then midway the throng,  
 Was heard a soft voice, clear and sweet as a song.  
 'Twas the Angel of Peace, with a dove on her breast,  
 Asleep in the warmth of his balmy nest.  
 "It ne'er will be thought," said this Angel so mild,  
 "That passion, and carnage, and misery wild  
 Can find a defense in my heart. I abhor  
 The slaughter, the grief and the wreckage of war—  
 All its harvest of death, and its embers and tears,  
 And a blood trail that leads down the desolate years.  
 Is a partner in guilt for this river of woe,  
 Not the maker of arms that augment its flow?  
 But, strangely to me, a new claim has been made,  
 ('Tis echoed by churchmen in robes arrayed),  
 That gunmakers now, with their missiles of death,  
 Do the carnage check. The sirocco's breath  
 Is held in leash by a sense of dread  
 That fills the nations, and sends widespread  
 So ominous fears of a wrath unchained,  
 That Peace and its blessings are best attained.  
 The menace of havoc impending all  
 Keeps passion fettered; and, like a wall,  
 The direful cannon frowns down to-day  
 'Twixt Greed and Battle, while Peace holds sway.  
 If years to come may this vintage show,  
 (I fain would deal justly with friend and foe),  
 Let the gunmaker's soul stay without the walls  
 Till this claim can be proven or true or false."

Saint Peter arose on his trembling knees.  
 "Are there others to speak?" He was ill at ease.  
 In his troubled mien, and his anxious face  
 Some saintly doubts it was plain to trace.  
 "Are ye ready to vote? Shall we order the poll?  
 What shall be done with the gunmaker's soul?"

Silence again, like a ghostly pall,  
 Fell on the saints in that dazzling hall;  
 Till over the throng in sepulchral tone,  
 There rolled these words from a frozen zone:  
 "Not yet, Saint Peter! Not yet the poll—

I would be heard on this gunmaker's soul!"  
 'Twas the voice so deep, so cold, so thin,  
 Of the gloomy Reaper who "gathers them in."

All knew his name and his sweep of power—  
 This Angel with face "like an asphodel flower,"

His bony feet with nepenthe shod,  
 As over the jasper aisles he trod.  
 "Ye know me well," said the Angel of Death,

As the words came borne on his icy breath,  
 "Hated and feared by the sons of earth,  
 Savage and sage, from the hour of birth.  
 The King of Terrors they call me there;  
 They link my summons with grim despair;  
 And the tombs they build to their loved and dead.

Embalm my name as the name they dread.  
 This hate is the burden of half their song;  
 Poor, blinded souls! They do me wrong.  
 Could they look in my heart they would find no trace

Of anger and wrath for the human race.  
 They little dream of the tears I weep  
 When I lay their babes and youth to sleep;  
 When pestilence stalks, or when famine holds

Their millions clutched in its fatal folds.  
 My heart is sore when floods sweep down,  
 Or a hell-blast breaks from the crater's crown.

I would that all mortals might smile and live

Till withered age its own respite give,  
 And I come to close their eyelids down—  
 My painless rest their toll-earned crown.  
 This may not be; under God's fixed reign,  
 Disease and disaster are my domain.  
 This yoke I bear. But my soul rebels  
 At the man-made burden of shot and shells.  
 One billion slain by the hand of war  
 From the dawn of time—is the damning score.

And this my work? 'Tis a loathsome lie!  
 I wield no weapons to make men die.  
 For tortured mercy, in wrath I rise  
 To hurl my protests from the skies!  
 Doth our Sister of Peace beguile her heart  
 With carnage checked by the gunman's art?

Vain, vain her dream of a balmy sleep  
 When bristling ramparts the vigil keep;  
 Hell shall be heaven, and north be south  
 Ere Peace doves nest in the cannon's mouth!

Hear, then, Saint Peter, my prayer to thee:  
 This gunmaker's soul I would take with me;

Day and night at my side to be.  
 Close in my lead he shall follow fast,  
 Where men go down in the wild war blast,  
 To bend o'er the dying, to count the dead,  
 To measure the tears for the fallen shed;  
 Gaze on the desert of long, black fields,  
 And the shell-torn homes that his life work yields.

I demand t'is soul! It is mine I say,  
 To have and to use till the Judgment Day!"

There came a hush as of Death's own spell,  
 Till these words from the lips of St. Peter fell:

"Take thou yon soul! Till the day of doom,  
 Age upon age, through the aisles of gloom,  
 On the fens of death, let him stand by thee,  
 Counting war's harvest on land and sea.  
 The soul is thine till we ask it again."  
 And there rose from the angels a loud Amen.

SAMUEL P. BUTLER.

Things do not go wrong of themselves; somebody pushes them.—Puck.

### JOHNSON'S VIGOR UNABATED.

Whoever shall conclude that the result of the election in Ohio has shelved Tom Johnson is grievously in error. The statement that Johnson is responsible for the increased republican majority in the state is not confirmed by facts or the unprejudiced statements of impartial observers. Thus in the current issue of the Review of Reviews we find this conclusion:

Mr. Johnson carried his own city of Cleveland, but the Republicans rolled up tremendous majorities at Cincinnati, in the opposite corner of the State. This was due chiefly to the fact that John R. McLean—owner of the Cincinnati Enquirer, and Johnson's rival for Democratic control and political honors in Ohio—used his powerful influence and his great machine against the platform and the State ticket that Johnson had put in the field. Ohio went Republican by an average plurality of more than 80,000, this being a gain of 50 or 60 per cent. over the plurality of the last Presidential election. It must not be too readily assumed, however, that Mr. Johnson's powerful appeals for the taxation of the securities of railways and other corporations have not sown seed broadcast that will bear fruit in years to come. An intelligent and sincere private correspondent takes the grounds, (1) that in the city of Cleveland, where Mr. Johnson had stated his case very fully and completely, the Democratic vote showed a great increase over that of a year ago; (2) that but for the Cincinnati defection, Mr. Bigelow, who headed the Democratic ticket as candidate for secretary of state, would have shown gains everywhere over Kilbourne, who was last year the Democratic candidate for governor; (3) that in most counties visited by Johnson there were gains over the Kilbourne vote; and (4) that it takes time to educate the people on such subjects as taxation, but that Mr. Johnson has been encouraged to work more vigorously than ever for such reforms, and particularly for better city government in Cleveland.

The reforms which Mr. Johnson has attempted to bring about are necessary to the good government, not of Ohio alone, but of all other states, although the necessity for them may be more urgent in Ohio than elsewhere. The success which has attended Johnson and his associates proves conclusively that education of the people is the only prerequisite for success. Perseverance and steadfast devotion to right are fortunately characteristics of sincere reformers, and the outlook for the success of Johnson and the principles he stands for is more optimistic. It was to be expected that he would suffer reverses. In all history where may the reformer be found who has not met with them, and, if he is made of the right stuff, has not triumphed in them? It is only a matter of time when Johnson will be the master of Ohio politics, and his reforms be incorporated into law.—Dubuque

(Ia.) Telegraph-Herald, of December 3.

### VENEZUELA IS CHILD'S SIZE.

Of course it is impossible to treat an irresponsible government the same as a full-grown nation. One should reverence the rights of a child as much as a man's, but when the child gets merry with a bean shooter one naturally varies slightly the attitude of formal courtesy that is borne towards a compeer. But even a mischievous child is not to be choked black in the face, not by a gentleman, still less by a Christian.

The brutal bearing of the allies was wholly inexcusable.

They set out to collect a debt in the first place, partly the arrears of government loans and partly claims for war indemnity. The first step was to seize the Venezuelan navy.

Now Turkey has owed all the nations of the world every sort of debt for years and years. No harsh measures have been taken, partly because it would stir up European jealousy and partly because the Turks would have no compunctions about butchering all the Christians within reach if provocation was offered. European powers have treated Turkey tenderly because they dared not use rough handling. Venezuela is civilized enough so there is no fear of rude reprisals, weak enough so there is no fear of immediate retribution, isolated so there is no danger of upsetting the European balance of power. Wherefore if England and Germany have a mind to administer a swift kick, nothing hinders.

Italy once had a grievance against the United States—for the mafia massacre. Did Italy send a fleet blustering to the gates of New Orleans with notice that the custom house would be blown up if satisfaction was not given in 17 minutes by the clock? Hardly. It would not have been discreet. It would have been a sin against the comity of nations.

We had claims against Great Britain once for the damages done by the Alabama, but we were politeness itself in settling it, notwithstanding there have been gibes about American diplomacy in shirtsleeves. England is man's size. — The Red Wing (Minn.) Argus.

Again, if the world had heard of the gospel of Jesus, England and Germany would not be uniting to bullyrag Venezuela.—The Red Wing Argus.

### GROUND RENT AND THE SINGLE TAX.

Editorial in the number for December 13, of the Beacon, a Boston weekly magazine edited by Huntington Smith.

It is rare that one finds in this country a band of reformers so persistent and enthusiastic in their advocacy of an idea and yet so uniformly broad minded and good tempered in carrying on their agitation as the members of the Massachusetts Single Tax league. One rather fancies that this agreeable combination of earnestness and optimism arises very largely from the mental attitude of the president of the league, Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, who has been for years a pioneer in economic reform and who has won to his side a group of vigorous thinkers made up of men of quite varied callings. The methods of the Single Tax league are educational and not revolutionary. Its members are sincere believers in the mechanical power of the wedge as being in the long run superior to dynamite, and they believe in getting in the small end of the wedge first. Notwithstanding the tendency of college professors to lend their support to the single tax idea, it will not do to call the movement academic. As far as it appeals to thinking men at all it appeals on the basis of common sense. At the conference of last Monday night, in which eight professional economists took part, the discussion turned on the question of ground rent and much that was illuminating was said on the possible distinctions between land and other forms of capital, and between rent and interest. All this was interesting, instructive and suggestive, but in the end we come back to the basic fact that land is the one form of capital which may lie utterly idle and yet enhance in value to the benefit of the individual owner simply through the cooperative activities of the entire community. It is this unearned increment in the value of land that is the disturbing element in the theories of the economists, and although numerous efforts have been made to account for it and at the same time to class land as productive capital, the attempts have not on the whole been successful. Once grant the premise of the advocates of the single tax, that land, like air and sunshine, is the common inheritance of the human race, and that land has been made a monopoly simply because of its tangible quality and through the ability of the strongest to seize and hold it

—once grant this, and the logic of the single tax irresistibly follows. Upon this much at least every reasonable person is agreed, that our existing tax system is about as bad as it can be and that almost any kind of a change would be a change for the better. The suggestion made some time ago that the general court grant to all towns and cities in the commonwealth the privilege of local option in matters of taxation is still worth considering. It is barely possible that if this privilege were granted some community would experiment with the single tax as a relief from existing extortions and inequalities, and in that case we should get some very significant data for legislators as well as economists to consider.

### WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?

Editorial in the number for Dec. 11, of City and State, the Philadelphia weekly paper ably edited by Herbert Welsh.

All our people have a plain duty to perform regarding the murder of "Father Augustine," the Filipino priest who was done to death by torture at Banate, Iloilo, Panay, December 9, 1900. It is a very disagreeable duty, but they cannot get away from it, one and all, from the greatest to the least, any more than Father Augustine could get away from the grip of Cornelius M. Brownell, of Burlington, Vt., formerly of "Paine's Celery Compound," but now in the insurance business—when he was "giving the nigger" his last dose preparatory to putting him underground. As we have been asked many times by our friends, "would you have us scuttle, desert our new responsibilities?" No, by no means, we reply; you must meet them. One of the responsibilities is this in the year 3 of the Empire; since the flag is not hauled down in the Philippines, you are responsible for the murder of this Roman Catholic priest, committed under its protecting folds, not by one of your officers alone, but by one evidently in conspiracy with others. Your authorities, instead of doing justice to the murdered man and to you—you for the time disgraced before the world by that crime—have steadily run away from justice and are running now despite what they say to hide that fact. They declare openly that all criminals have been punished, but we have demonstrated that there are many who have not

been punished. We assert that they also say privately that such crimes are "ancient history;" in some cases they even assert it publicly. That shows that they do not want to bring such crimes to justice, but to protect themselves from doing what they promise to do by conjuring up a statute of limitations for themselves. The question, then, American man and woman—citizen of the United States and happy child of the empire—is just this: What are you going to do about it? Are you going to let it become a part of history—"ancient history" in time—that you had the fact morally proved to you that a horrible murder was committed under your flag by one of your officers, in collusion with others, who helped him kidnap his victim, and that you, responsible, intelligent, influential, let that iniquitous thing be done—in a word, that you condoned the crime of shielding the confessed murderer and his associates and accomplices? Or will you demand justice as though the dead victim were your relative, brother or son? That is exactly, O child of the empire, what you face to-day, stated in bold, hard, unmistakable terms! You must make your choice in the sight of God and a very large company, speaking out now distinctly, or else forever after hold your peace. If you speak out, justice will be done. If you remain silent, saying you are sick of the whole stupid business and of the cranks who keep it stirred up, you may be sure justice will not be done. You are quite free to remain silent, but you cannot escape the verdict of history. So take your choice.

#### ASSESSMENTS IN THE MINE REGION: AN OVERLOOKED POINT.

Mr. Bolton Hall, a lawyer in New York and an incisive writer on economic questions, took pains to investigate the subject of assessments in the mining districts of Pennsylvania, and published the result of his investigations in a recent issue of the New York Journal. Salient points of Mr. Hall's article were quoted in the Philadelphia North American, but in no other paper, so far as I have seen.

And yet, of all that has been said and written on the subject of the coal strike, from the beginning of this memorable conflict down to the present moment, nothing has appeared of such real interest and importance.

What Mr. Hall found was this: That there are acres and acres of coal lands

in Pennsylvania worth from \$25,000 to \$30,000 per acre—actually claimed by officials to be worth, this—and assessed at the rate of from \$30 to \$3 per acre. These lands—or rather coal-beds—are held out of use; and the state of Pennsylvania assists Mr. Baer and his associates to hold them out of use by assessing them at these absurdly low rates.

How is this low assessment to be accounted for? There is no need to imply bribery or false dealing of any kind to account for it, though there may perhaps have been undue influences. But we see the same kind of discrepancy everywhere—in city lots and plantations as well as in coal lands.

The basic trouble is the mistaken notion, not of assessors alone but of the public as a whole, that natural values should be assessed according to what they yield. This is a false idea. Natural values should be assessed not according to what they actually yield, but according to what they may yield, if properly used.

Let me illustrate: Here, just off Canal street, is an old tumbling-down, two-storied building that may be yielding small rent because of its condition. The land on which it stands is of great value because of its location. The value of the land calls for a much fuller use. Now, the mistake of the assessors is to let the conditions of the "improvement" affect the assessment of the land-value. That land-value is there—it has really been created by the community—and there is no reason why it should not be assessed. It might, and ought to, be better used; and it would be, if it were properly assessed.

If a man is holding valuable land out of its full use, that is his fault, and he should not be rewarded for it. This is what we do: We reward such a man, and fine the man who adds improvements.

It is the same way in the country. The man who has 50 acres which he actually uses is taxed relatively much higher than a man who holds hundreds of acres, naturally just as valuable, out of use.

But to return to the coal fields, let me ask two important questions:

Is it just that the holders of the coal fields should be favored by an assessment at so much lower rate than their lands are worth, simply because they do not choose to use these lands?

And secondly, what would be the result if these coal lands were assessed at even 60 per cent. of their acknowledged value, say at \$15,000 per acre?

In other words, how long would they be held out of use, if assessed at this fair valuation?—J. H. Dillard, in the New Orleans Harlequin.

#### BURDEN BEARING.

For The Public.

The Rev. Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis instructs us from St. Paul to bear each our own burden; but how does he escape the charge that precedes this: "Bear ye one another's burdens and so fulfill the law of Christ?"

The two texts, seemingly contradictory, are perfectly reconcilable. That each shall bear his own burden is certainly the principle of individual development; but no less may the highest nobility and strength of human character be unfolded by a magnanimous sharing of the burdens of others. When a man's heredity, training and environment are all against him—when he is bound and cast to the ground with the foot of his superior upon his neck, he is in no condition to bear any burden, but that of his superior's selfishness and oppressive sin of greed. If he is assisted to rise and to throw off the load of another's guilt he is put in a position to bear his own burden. It is this in a degree that the labor union is seeking to do for each of its members, and it is no more a leveling process, as Dr. Hillis puts it, than the enrollment of church members pledged to stand together against the encroachments of evil. The great leader cannot be leveled to "the worst laborer" through any organization that attempts like the free school and the press and the church to "level men up." In spite of the denunciations hurled by the reverend doctor at the industrial unions they are working for the uplifting of the individual through conditions that may give greater opportunity for the self-development which he demands as the first virtue of the faithful citizen. There is not a single argument brought to bear against the union of labor that does not apply with even greater force to the combination of capital. The inconsistency of exalting organization upon one side and denouncing it passionately upon the other is strikingly evident in this eloquent discourse which is a powerful plea for the strong man arraigned before God for injustice toward the weaker brother. The reasoning of the learned doctor is brilliant but specious, abounding in false

images that misrepresent the facts they are intended to illustrate. His parallels are on different planes which do not even remotely touch each other.

"If 100,000,000 pygmies were placed in a row would they become giants?"

"Here is one Shetland pony that can trot a mile in ten minutes. By putting 100 Shetland ponies side by side do you think they can compass the mile in two minutes?"

Does the reverend doctor suppose such trickster conundrums the Sphinx problem that is going to confound the intelligence of the ordinary individual thinker?

But when the "law of Christ" is totally ignored by skipping the first command of burden-bearing, basing the whole duty of life on the second clause of self-help and self-aggrandisement which acknowledges the help of neither God nor man, we have a social fabric rent and torn asunder by contrary interests, and reconcilable only by the love that shares and bears and equalizes all burdens.

ANNIE L. MUZZEY.

#### THE FOOTBALL DEBAUCH.

Would it not be well for the serious-minded American people who have ideals for higher education, to take a moment of meditation to ask themselves whether they propose, without protest and in despair, to permit the colleges and universities of the country to continue the annual football debauch? That it is a debauch we need only present as testimony the columns of the daily press for the past month, including the notes on betting. But there are inside facts which we may well doubt whether many good people who lend their approval to the game are aware of. The brutality of the game may easily be seen; but the secret dishonesty which the excited rivalry leads to is not perhaps known to many outside college walls. What this rivalry is, how presidents of the smaller colleges are coming to regard the football teams as advertising adjuncts in the competition of student-getting, only those who are on the inside can know. I have myself heard a college president appeal to a football team, in an assembly of all the students, in terms that would lead one to believe that the future of the college almost depended on winning a certain game.

Now what all this leads to is a disgraceful winking at anything to win. It is bad enough for thoughtless stu-

dents to fall into the temptation of playing men under false names without the knowledge of the college authorities—I have known this to be done—but the debauch has not stopped at this. By the connivance of college authorities men are played who have only a fictitious connection with the college; and the students of the college know that the college authorities aid and abet such action.

In another college than the one referred to above I know the following facts to be true: A student was matriculated at four p. m. one day to play the next morning, when there was no intention on the student's part of attending the college. He has other business. In this same game two other players had, by the college rules, absolutely forfeited their right to play. This was known to the students, and yet not a member of the faculty was brave enough to protest, so intense was the feeling about winning the game. I may add that the game was won, and mainly through the "great work" of the false student matriculated at four p. m. on the preceding day. The opposing team had consented to accept him because they themselves had been guilty of an irregularity.

I have before me a letter received by a friend from a correspondent living near another college. It is proper for me to say that the specific instances I cite refer to small colleges. I suppose the larger institutions have not the same temptation of playing false students. The college to which I now refer has hitherto prided itself on its high moral tone. Its new president has the reputation of being a hustler for athletics, and by personal appeal he secured the return of B— for the football season. B— had already made arrangements to attend a professional school. The letter says:

B. did matriculate and take a class or two, and will be paid enough for playing to get his outfit for winter, and to take him to —, and to give his mother a little; and she is satisfied, provided he does not get hurt. He will go to — as soon as the ball season is over, about the 25th, I believe.

Many are quite disgusted with Dr. —. Say he is doing so much about athletics, and letting down the dignity of the university in many ways, just to get a large number enrolled, and does not care whether they stay or not, if he can make it appear in the catalogue that the number of students has increased under his presidency.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, this private note, which had no thought of publication, will touch many responsive chords.

In this communication I have spoken

only of the moral side of the football debauch. I have said nothing of the neglect of work caused thereby. This is another story.—Medius, in New York Nation of Dec. 4.

#### THE LINE BETWEEN TRUE DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM.

Is government fundamentally intended as a paternalistic institution? If it is, socialism is correct. Should government provide employment for the people? If it should, socialism is right. Should the natural rights of individuals be subservient to the wishes of society? If they should be, socialism is the ideal system. Did society exist before the individual? If it did and the individual is but a branch of the tree of humanity, then socialism is the correct conception of human institutions. Do individuals grow great only as society grows great? If so, then let us have socialism, for under that, government will direct the footsteps of the citizen, just as a loving mother leads her sleepy child to bed and tucks him in, whether he will or no. Should society take the initiative in progress and civilization, should it direct the education, the thought, the culture, the love and the aspirations of the citizen? If so, let us have a paternalistic government based upon the doctrine of socialism. Should the citizen lean upon and base all his economic conditions upon society? If so, by all means adopt socialism. Do the powers of government descend from above down to men, or ascend from men up to government? Does history show that men have looked kindly upon the idea of government assuming the direction of the citizen? If it does, then wisdom would dictate the extension of that idea by adopting socialism.

In answer to all this let us remember that "before man made us citizens, great nature made us men."

The real socialistic party to-day is the Republican party. Socialists are consistent when they say that they prefer the success of that party, because it will soonest bring about what they aim at—the concentration under one head of all industrial enterprises. Socialism is but protectionism, is but the Fowler currency scheme, is but the ship subsidy idea, is but the colonial system, carried to their logical conclusions. The Republican policy has been that American genius could not stand alone, therefore government must put it into a hot house and wall it in with a protective tar-

iff; that our bankers could not maintain themselves alone, therefore government must help them with the gold standard and the Fowler bill; that the shipping trust was helpless, therefore government must put its hands into the pockets of the people and transfer some of their earnings to the trust; that weaker peoples cannot develop themselves in their own way, but need the guiding hand of a stronger government.

If the policies of the Republican party are correct, then socialism is true; with this additional virtue in favor of socialism—that while the Republican party bestows its privileges upon a select few, socialism would seek to extend them to all. I assert this upon the theory that any proposition if true at all is true altogether; that if the premise is true, the conclusion must follow; that any argument that is good a little way is still correct followed to its final analysis.

But I deny that either the premise or the conclusion is correct. I deny that the Republican party is right in the beginning. I deny that socialism is right in the end. I deny these because I have faith in man. I do not believe that by nature he is a hyena.

The legitimate purpose of government is not to direct the citizen. Its true scope is not paternalistic, but to act as an agency to effect an equitable distribution of the bounties of nature in order that man may most completely enjoy his natural rights. If it subserves this end, it is fulfilling its highest obligation. If it does more than this it is despotic, whether administered by a tyrant or by a majority of the people.

There is a wide difference between wealth produced by human toil, and the source of all wealth—the land—produced by the Creator. Men are entitled by natural right to the first; Social man is entitled by natural right to the second.

And what are men's natural rights? Their first economic right is a fair field in the bounties of nature. The land, which includes every natural source of wealth, is theirs. One man's title to this is as good in the sight of God as any other man's. Man's first political right is to enjoy the opportunity to apply his labor to these bounties of nature without let or hindrance, either from man or from government; to apply that labor in his own way and enjoy the full reward of his toil. His first religious right is to search after God

in his own way, by the light of his own conscience, and report his findings to the world untrammelled by human obstructions.

Now, in order to afford to each individual his just share in the bounties of nature, government, as the agent of all the people, has a right to equalize them. As it is not possible for all to enjoy the actual possession of these bounties, it follows that government has a right to collect a fee according to the value of the privilege from those in possession in order to compensate those out of possession. If government secured this revenue, instead of allowing private parties to collect it as they do to-day in rents for the occupancy of land without counting improvements, it would be ample to pay all public expenses and make all forms of taxation unnecessary. And with this revenue all public services could be furnished to the people without other cost.

By thus removing taxes from all forms of improvements and from the products of human toil, all forms of industry and enterprise would take on accelerated activity. Idle land, held out of use for speculative purposes, would be forced into use. An unlimited demand for a limited supply of labor would thereby follow. Wages would rise as a consequence, and where now we see starving men competing for work, all forms of enterprise would be competing for men. Economic emancipation would be realized. Liberty would be secure. Injustice could not exist, at least in an economic sense. The so-called "wage-slavery" problem would solve itself.

A franchise, though an artificial thing, in its economic sense bears much the same relation to society that nature's bounties do. When a government grants a franchise to a private party it thereby surrenders a part of its sovereignty; for all franchises carry with them the right of eminent domain—a distinctively sovereign attribute. It therefore follows that government, as the agent of the people, should never grant a franchise (at any rate, for a long time), but should operate for the commonwealth all industries that require a franchise. These industries, on account of their requiring franchises, are public utilities, and it is an absurdity to allude to any other industry as a public utility. It requires no franchise to operate a coal mine, a packing house or shoe fac-

tory, and therefore government can not properly engage in these industries. If private parties desire to cooperate in these lines under just economic conditions, well and good, but the government cannot cooperate in anything. Cooperation must be voluntary.

It requires a franchise to operate a railroad, telegraph, telephone, water works, lighting plants and the like, for the reason that such industries use the public highway, which necessitates condemning lands that might be occupied by private parties, and to condemn which requires the authority of eminent domain—a prerogative of government alone. Therefore private parties should not engage in these, save in exceptional cases as a matter of expediency, which the people have a right to consider.

I have attempted here briefly to draw a distinct line between true democracy and socialism—two terms absolutely antagonistic. Under such a system no one would think of "putting men into leading strings to that senseless abstraction called the state," for economic freedom and political liberty would be realized blessings as certainly as the rising sun dispels the gloom of night. No one could oppress. Every individual would have an opportunity to develop in his own way with his eye fixed upon the goal of universal brotherhood, peace and good will.—L. J. Quinby, in Omaha World-Herald.

#### IN PRAISE OF PROSPERITY.

They raised his salary two years ago last May,

The said increase amounting to thirty cents a day,

Since then they've raised the prices

Of carrots and of beets,

Of flour and of meats,

Of corn and coal and fruits,

Of babies' little boots,

Of potatoes, milk and cheese,

Of the product of the bees,

Of hats and socks and coats,

Of all that sinks or floats.

He's paying out the money that he saved before his raise,

But prosperity's upon us, and his heart's full of praise.

—Chicago Post.

Now it came to pass that the reformers succeeded at last in having a portion of the earth set apart for them, where they could reorganize society on a basis that suited them.

They had been running their beautiful little Utopia two or three years, when a stranger in search of information happened along.

"I presume," said the stranger, "you are all perfectly happy here, with

your single tax, your initiative and referendum, your compulsory arbitration, your municipal ownership and all the rest of it."

"No, not exactly," replied a tired-looking citizen, with some reluctance. "We're organized on the right basis, and our plan of society is perfect, but somehow or other the people that live here are the darndest, contrariest cranks you ever heard of!"—Chicago Tribune.

"I, for one," remarked the stranger, "utterly fail to see how the trade of the United States has been increased by the acquisition of the Philippines. It is certain that the natives are buying no more goods."

His hearers looked knowingly at one another. They knew, intuitively, that a person who would speak so bitterly and pessimistically of his country's colonial policy must, of necessity, be in the clothing business. G. T. E.

Oliver Wendell Holmes was one day seated near the refreshment table at an entertainment and observed a little girl looking with longing eyes at the good things. He said kindly: "Are you hungry, little girl?"

"Yes, sir," was the reply.

"Then why don't you take a sandwich?"

"Because I haven't any fork."

"Fingers were made before forks," said the doctor, smilingly.

The little girl looked up at him and replied, to his delight: "Not my fingers."—Chicago Chronicle.

Once upon a time there lived a kitten with a tail so long that he could catch it any time he liked.

The other kittens envied him.

"What the rest of us tire ourselves out in the pursuit of, you have at once!" exclaimed they.

"And yet I am not happy!" protested the kitten.

Now, this was a great mystery among the cats, for they were devoid of human discernment.—Life.

Sing ho, the Weather-Prophet! is hardly worth his salt;

This would not be if his predictions always were at fault

And one could turn 'em endwise, and bring the truth to light;—

The Prophet's so contrary that he sometimes gets 'em right.

—Puck.

Teacher—No, Johnnie, the names of the British generals were not Butchener and Killer, but Kitchener and Buller.—The Whim.

BOOKS

THE SPIRITUAL OUTLOOK.

Account for it as we may, and whether there be ground for it or not, most of the earnest books that have touched on the subject during the past quarter of a century have insisted that we are in a period of moral decline. Books of most divergent views as to the causes and the remedies agree upon the alleged fact. Such books are not necessarily to be considered pessimistic, nor do most of them fail to see good points in modern development; but there is very common agreement that the general moral tone is not so high as it was. Some find fault with the churches; some find fault with the schools.

The book before us, "The Spiritual Outlook, A Survey of the Religious Life of Our Time as Related to Progress" (Little, Brown & Co.), is one of the many that are urging the need of an ethical revival. It is well worth reading as a contribution to the subject; but the author seems to fall to analyze the forces that are at work in opposition to any true spiritual revival.

One influence at least, and that perhaps the most potent, can not be omitted in any serious attempt to discuss the spiritual outlook. This is, to put it briefly, the transfer of supreme interest from the other world to this world. This transfer of supreme interest is a reaction from an excessive insistence that this present life amounted to nothing. The emphasis of preaching was that this world was a "barren wilderness." We needed to give our hearts and thoughts only to the questions of the future life. This half-view of life led naturally to reaction, so that now our insistence has come to be that this present life is all that we need attend to. Look out for the present, and let the future take care of itself.

We are now in this extreme reaction. Indeed, most of the preaching in the churches has adopted this tone; certainly it has ceased to emphasize as it once did the opinion that the main importance of the life here is as a preparation for the life hereafter. In their methods of work also, the churches have tended to "worldliness." The so-called institutional church and much of the work of the Y. M. C. A., which decidedly lays stress upon "getting on in the world," are indications of this same tendency. Two addresses which I have recently heard delivered to audiences of the Y. M. C. A., dwelt exclusively upon the virtues that are supposed to foster prosperity, their emphasis being laid upon thrift and worldly success. An announcement of the night school of one of these associations, which I recently happened to see, had a cut on the back representing a hand reaching for a bag of money, with the words, "get there."

In the universities, colleges, and schools, we hear the same emphasis. In the commencement addresses of the past twenty-five years, it has been evident that the predominant note is that which keys young men to efforts for the success which belongs to personal ambition. We do not at all maintain that much good moral advice has not been given; but the influence counts where the stress is laid. Unquestionably in modern addresses to young men the stress is laid upon "getting on in the world;" and the advice is readily translated into personal ambition and materialistic ideals.

The result of this preaching and teaching would naturally be a weakening of the spiritual and moral fibers. The partial divorce of the churches from religion—taking religion to pertain to the bond that links man to an enduring life—and the almost total separation of education from such religion, have tended to withdraw from men the stimulus to the highest ideals, by which alone they can see the true significance of this life, as not apart

from but a part of, the enduring life. "We can not," says Phillips Brooks, "live for the future life except by living this life aright, nor can we live this life aright except by living for the future life." "He who has no vision of eternity," says Carlyle, "can never get a true hold of time or its affairs."

It is from this "vision of eternity" that men's eyes have been turned too far. And so, for the spiritual revival that would seem to be needed, our preaching and teaching must once more readjust themselves, and look to ideals of life viewed in its fullness and unity. Looking thus at life, we should of course lay chief emphasis upon those ideals that pertain to the enduring qualities of character. All moral decline is simply a falling away from such ideals, and the substitution of ideals that pertain to the life limited and not to the life enduring.

J. H. DILLARD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Ox and the Fox. Omaha; The Ox and the Fox Co. Price, 10 cents. Pamphlet.

—"Resist Not Evil," By Clarence S. Darrow. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. Price, 75 cents. To be reviewed.

—"A King of France Unnamed in History," By Charles Edward Cheney. Club papers of the Chicago Literary Club.

—"Walt Whitman, the Poet of the Wider Selfhood," by Milla Tupper Maynard. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co. Price, \$1.

—"The School Lands of Oklahoma; or, What Are You Going to Do About It?" By Prof. Frederick S. Elder, of the University of Oklahoma. Pamphlet. Norman, Okla. F. S. Elder. Price, 15 cents.

LITERARY NOTES.

In the Ethical Record for January (48 E. 58th St., N. Y. city) Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, of Cornell University, contributes a paper on "Zola's Claim to Remembrance," which is a summary and vindication of Zola's work of extraordinary merit. Wm. M. Salter is represented by a paper on a phase of the eight-hour question and Charles C. Burlingham by one on the socialization of the school.

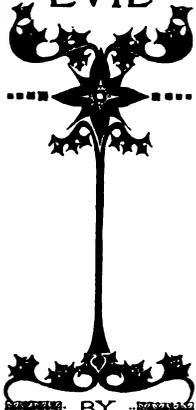
William Marion Reedy's prosperous weekly, The Mirror, of St. Louis, presents a Christmas number (price, 10 cents) that looks extra prosperous and extra-readable. A Christmas editorial and editorial reflections are furnished by Mr. Reedy, while the list of contributors includes Joseph Dana Miller, Ernest McGaffey, Elbert Hubbard, Louis F. Post, John H. Raftery and Richard Le Gallienne. Besides his editorial contributions Mr. Reedy is also represented by a story, "Mrs. Doolan's Christmas."

The leading article in the last quarterly International Journal of Ethics brings out very clearly the double standard of honor which many condone in public men. A good illustration is given in Chamberlain's statement that Cecil Rhodes had done nothing "inconsistent with his personal honor." He was speaking to the fact that Rhodes had fomented the Jameson raid and had betrayed the confidence of a commissioner of the government. "Mr. Chamberlain," says the writer, "was not joking. He judged Mr. Rhodes's act as a statesman by a standard entirely different from that by which his acts as a mere citizen would be measured." That this theory "has its present-day supporters even in the universities is clear from such articles as have lately been written by the Scotch scholar, Prof. Ritchie, and from the remarkable essay on "The Ethics of Expansion," which a Cornell professor produced not long ago. The point made by the professor was simple enough—there is no ethics in expansion, and it appeared that he was glad of it." The conclusion of the writer of the article is that the honest criticism of public men is a healthy force "making for righteousness in government." In the same number of this quarterly there is an appreciative notice of Mr. Rountree's book, "Poverty: a Study of Town Life," which was reviewed in the current volume of The Public, at page 207. The reviewer seems to us to be speaking within the truth when he says "it is a model book."—J. H. D.



DRUNK.—An Idyl of the Holy Christmas Season.

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NOT  
EVIL



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