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When the Iroquois Club of Chicago celebrated Jackson day on the 16th, with Edward M. Shepard, of New York, as its principal guest and speaker, it would have exhibited a better conception of the fitness of things political had it refrained from inviting supplementary speakers whose presence was calculated to give to the occasion the air of a "reorganization" banquet.

It may be that a politico-social club, composed of conservatives and radicals, of gold Democrats and free silver Democrats, of protection Democrats and free trade Democrats, of pro-trust Democrats and anti-trust Democrats, and of imperialist Democrats and anti-imperialist Democrats, as Judge Tuley in the opening speech at the banquet described the Iroquois Club to be—it is possible, we say, that a social club so constituted may flourish. But similarly constituted, the Democratic party cannot flourish and ought not to flourish. While these diverse elements may live in peace and harmony within the precincts of the Iroquois club, they cannot unite within a political party to direct the legislation of the country. Republicans in sentiment belong with the Republican party, not with the Democratic, no matter what social club they may choose to join.

But it would be unfair to hold Mr. Shepard and his friends of the Iroquois club responsible for the incomprehensible management of this banquet, which has created an opportunity for Republican and pluto-

Democratic papers to gloat over the affair as a step toward the "reorganization" of the Democratic party and identify him and them with the "reorganizers." Mr. Shepard is not a "reorganizer," nor is he in sympathy with the "reorganizing" movement. While he believes, with all democratic-Democrats from Mr. Bryan down, that no one should be ruled out of the party because he has at any time in the past, whether once or twice or always, voted against Democratic candidates, he also believes and declares that only those who are willing to unite upon democratic principles and policies have any proper place in the counsels of the Democratic party. This is quite the reverse of the "reorganizing" programme. Pleading the importance of party success regardless of political principle, the "reorganizers" seek to reestablish in control of the Democratic organization the same malign leadership and influences that dominated it prior to the revolution of 1896. They propose to make of it once more a supplementary Republican party, devoted to corporate interests in particular and monopoly privileges in general.

That our characterization of the Democratic "reorganizers" is not overdrawn may be seen by reference to the Brooklyn Eagle of March 2. The Eagle is an old established Democratic paper, its Democracy being of the traditional or so-called "historical" brand, which fought with the Whigs for Negro slavery as long as that crime lasted and now fights with the Republicans for a species of slavery that turns upon no distinctions of race. In 1896 and 1900 the Eagle helped the Republican party—all the while, however, pretending to be a Democratic paper; and now it represents the "reorganizing"

policy of Hill, Cleveland, Whitney, Gorman and the rest. In its issue of March 2, it outlined the "reorganizing" programme. Here is its description of the general purpose and the initial move:

Those Democrats who oppose Bryan and who advocate the reconstruction of Democracy with Bryanism expunged, are about to carry that issue into the South and West. One of the principal battlegrounds will be the State of Nebraska, where Mr. Bryan still retains, nominally at least, the control of the machinery of his party. It is proposed to crush Mr. Bryan's influence in his own State and to prevent at all costs his control of the Nebraska delegation to the next Democratic national convention.

As to the leading spirits in this "harmony" campaign, the Eagle has the following to say:

Mr. Hill's is the executive mind in the scheme of reorganization. For more than a year that skillful politician has been building up an anti-Bryan, conservative, sound money machine in the Democratic party of the East to be used as the nucleus of the general reorganization movement planned for next year. Mr. Cleveland gave countenance to the project in June, 1902, by appearing on the same platform with Mr. Hill at the Tilden club in this city. Mr. Gorman met Mr. Hill at Saratoga in September, and Mr. Olney met him in New York in January, both acquiescing in his plans. New England, New York, New Jersey and Maryland, having together ninety-three votes in the electoral college, were thus in alliance against Bryan at the moment he arrived in New York with his defiance of the Hill-Cleveland faction. In all of the combinations by which Democratic victories have been figured in the past, Maryland has been allotted safe, and New York, New Jersey and Connecticut fighting ground. Next in importance is Indiana. That state has been promised to Hill by ex-Mayor Taggart, of Indianapolis. Powerful as this combination undoubtedly is, it lacks much of control in the Democratic national convention. It is Mr. Hill's hope, if not his expectation, that most of the delegates from the South will desert Bryan's cause. To pave the way for a South-

ern alliance Mr. Hill has been in communication with prominent gold Democrats of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri and Texas. The results are definitely known to nobody but Mr. Hill. It is asserted, however, on authority close to Mr. Hill, that every one of the States named has been pledged to support his policy of reorganization, Texas leading. To make this substantial inroad into the solid South it has been necessary to concede the vice presidential nomination to the South, assuming, to begin with, that the nominee for President will be chosen from New York.

This disclosure by the Eagle is nothing more than a semi-authoritative publication of what has for months been an open secret. So is its revelation of what the "reorganizers" platform will be if they get back into control of the party:

With the disappearance of Bryan, the question of reaffirmation of the national platforms of 1896 and 1900 will also disappear, and the Democracy will be free to proceed with reconstruction on lines acceptable to Eastern leaders and to the commercial and financial interests of the country.

By "commercial and financial interests of the country" is meant, of course, those interests that have been classified as "Morganization" interests.

That Mr. Shepard harbors no thought in common with this reactionary programme of the "reorganizers" does not depend upon his personal assurances alone. Besides his well known respect for Bryan as a Democratic leader, his speech at the Iroquois Club was in itself equivalent to a denunciation of the "reorganization" scheme. It was at the same time an unequivocal declaration of democratic principles; and it presented as extended a programme for beginning to put them into operation, as could be expected from any man of the cautious instincts, education and habits of Mr. Shepard. With an unmistakable allusion to the "reorganizers," he condemned all programmes of "adroit management" based upon the idea "that it is of little moment

what the end desired by the voter is, so long as he votes with us; or upon the idea that, lest we shall alienate some part of our support, our opinions had best be secreted until after we are in power."

And Mr. Shepard reiterated as the fundamental principle of Democracy, the doctrine of "complete equality of privileges to all men;" or, as he phrased it more exactly elsewhere in his speech—

The establishment of equal rights, the abolition of special privileges, the maintenance of democratic self-government.

These may be said to be mere common place expressions in politics. So they were, only a few years ago. But they are not so now. Men have been brought to judgment recently. They have been obliged to measure the full significance of those common-places by the test of concrete issues; and since doing that the phrases fall no longer trippingly from the tongues of men who have discovered them to be vital with a present meaning which they do not accept. David B. Hill, for instance, could not utter those words in a public speech to-day without choking. If his friend Judge Parker has ever uttered them there is no report of the fact. President Roosevelt abstains from their use; and we doubt if ex-President Cleveland would relish a necessity for repeating them. The man who emphasizes those words at this period in our history is either a hypocrite or a democratic Democrat. He declares either a conviction which he knows he does not possess, or one which distinctly differentiates him from the Democratic "reorganizers"; and he does it with intention. We do not believe that Mr. Shepard is a hypocrite. He has shown no lack of candor in disagreeing either with friend or foe, when he has been in disagreement. We do believe that in using these old common places of politics he was moved by the democratic impulse that originally framed them and has recently renewed their vitality.

In suggesting a specific policy Mr. Shepard was true to the principle he had enunciated; and, with reference to the tariff question, wise in his proposal. Said he:

I should rejoice to hear the Democratic party propose—not a general revision of the tariff with all of its difficulties and complications and with all of the widespread popular belief, faulty as I believe it to be, of great masses of American business and laboring men in the protective tariff; but in the first instance a removal or reduction to a revenue basis of the duties on goods the production of which is to-day practically monopolized. Instead of dealing with the whole problem of free trade and protection, instead of introducing doubt into almost every business, the Democratic party may well deal with the few schedules in which through such practical monopoly vast fortunes have been made by taxation upon the masses of the people.

An attack upon a few items in the tariff law may seem like a small affair. But it is in the right direction; as far as it goes it is in furtherance of the fundamental principle; and, as Mr. Shepard well said, for such a campaign—

public sentiment is ready. In that campaign every argument in favor of economic freedom can be readily made clear to the American people. Its essential conservatism will readily appeal to the average American citizen, whatever he may scientifically think of free trade. Such a particular assault upon the fortress of monopoly would succeed, and promptly. And in its beneficent result the American people would find, as the English people found in the days of Sir Robert Peel, an all-sufficient reason later to support a campaign for demolition of the entire fortress. In such a campaign we should, doubtless, with a few honorable exceptions, have the hostility of every citizen who supposes his fortune to depend upon the protection of the few great schedules to be first dealt with. But after he is deprived of his own special privilege he is more than likely to join the army of equal rights in its attack upon special privileges in which he has not thus far shared. It will be said that the Democratic party ought to deal with the whole scheme of protection. It will be said that all of it is bad, and that I shall not dispute. What I affirm is that we can best deal with the phases of the question for which public sentiment is made ready by their plainly monopolistic features, and that when we shall have demonstrated the beneficence of so much tariff reform we

can then go on, and with vastly increased popular support, to deal with the remaining abuses of the system.

Some other of the concrete issues which Mr. Shepard offered are not yet well enough defined for consideration. One of these relates to trusts in so far as they arise from other causes than tariff protection. Another relates to the tendency of big trusts and big labor unions to make common cause against the liberties of the whole people. This tendency was indicated and approved by labor leaders at the Trusts conference at Chicago in 1899, and it is becoming more and more evident. Still another relates to the question of bank currency. Here Mr. Shepard is at odds both with those who would altogether divest the government of control over the currency and those who would have the government itself issue currency instead of farming out the power to regulated banks. On the question of final redemption and standards he invites a still wider opposition, for he declares for gold. In still another matter he takes issue, thoughtlessly however, as it seems to us, with those who believe in sound principles of taxation. For he seems to adopt the piratical doctrine of apportioning taxes according to the financial ability of the citizen to pay, instead of the just doctrine of apportionment according to the financial benefits the individual receives from society. But on one of the additional concrete issues which Mr. Shepard proposes, he is clearly right and sufficiently definite. We refer to the issue of imperialism, of which he says:

No wise man can fail to see that the Republican establishment of a new system of colonies held for the American republic by force of arms and at enormous cost, is but another phase of the centralization of power and disparagement of equal rights. It is for our own sake that we should not bring under the American flag any domain except as we propose to make its government genuinely American and extend to it the essential features of our Constitution—except as we shall establish there

the self-government which we claim for ourselves. . . . Our destruction of the Philippine government and our elaborate assumption of all local administrative powers will no doubt make it more difficult and tedious to solve the problem on the American basis of the consent of the governed. But to that solution I believe the Democratic party to be irrevocably committed.

Even if Shepard's Iroquois speech and his respect for Bryan's leadership were not a sufficient guarantee of his hostility to the plutocratic "reorganizers," his confirmed attitude toward David B. Hill, the chief engineer of that movement, should make the guarantee complete. Shepard is the natural adversary of Hillism in the Democratic party of New York. He, and probably only he, can defeat, or at least cripple, Hill's efforts to capture the national organization, so far as New York and some other Eastern States are concerned. Other men might be preferred because they are more aggressive in their democracy than Shepard, but any one who is too radical to rally the support of men of Shepard's type, democrats in principle but conservative in applying the principle, cannot at this time and in that place, make headway. He is the most pronounced democrat, both in principle and policy, who is capable of coping with Hill in the East. There is no alternative for democratic Democrats, therefore, but to thrust Shepard forward as the Democratic leader in the East, or suffer judgment there in favor of Hill and the rest of the "reorganizers" by default.

This does not mean that Shepard should be or would be taken up as the Democratic candidate for President. That candidate is not likely to come from the East. Yet, of all the men so far mentioned from the East, Shepard is doubtless the only one other than George Fred Williams, of Massachusetts, and Gov. Garvin, of Rhode Island, who would be tolerable to the radical democrats whose influence is necessary to Democratic success. But the ques-

tion of a nominee is not the principal one. So long as he is a democratic Democratic nothing more is required. If a radical and aggressive one, so much the better; but aggressive or not, the democracy of his Democracy is the sine qua non. It is democratic principles, not the ambitions of persons, that are at stake; and in the promotion of those principles the best Democratic leader east of the Alleghenies, at the present time, under all the confusing circumstances, is Edward M. Shepard; for he represents the farthest advance in democracy to which the majority of the Democratic party in that region has yet attained. With him as leader in the East (or even as the powerful but not wholly successful antagonist of Hill); with Tom L. Johnson as the leader in the middle West; with James G. Maguire and Franklin K. Lane as the leaders on the Pacific slope; and with William J. Bryan holding the South together in spite of its Whig tendencies, and exercising a crystallizing influence upon the democratic Democrats of the whole country, the end of plutocratic devilry within the Democratic party would be at hand. Though victory over the allied forces of imperialism and privilege entrenched in the Republican party might not immediately come, the democratic sun would begin to rise again and ultimate victory would not be far off. And such a victory would be worth having. It would not be a conquest of spoils; it would be a triumph of democratic principles.

Another of the labor "fakirs" of Cleveland who reported to the local Allied Trades and Labor Council against 3-cent street car fares (pp. 675, 721, 736) and in favor of the same settlement of the Cleveland traction question that the street car ring has virtually offered, has received his reward. Mr. Hanna has nominated him for vice-mayor. Whether the reward will materialize in his election remains to be seen; and sympathizers with the labor movement everywhere may well hold

their breath while they wait to see whether or not this sort of thing is what allied trades and labor councils are organized for.

The ticket Senator Hanna has constructed with which to beat Tom L. Johnson and save what he has called his "savings bank"—the street car franchises he owns—is what a street urchin would call "a beauty;" though the street urchin, would probably abbreviate the word, being favorable to silent syllables as well as silent letters. Besides the trades and labor candidate, who reported to his labor organization in favor of Hanna's scheme for extending street car franchises and is nominated for vice-mayor in consequence, Mr. Hanna, has called out one of his array of local legal advisers to take the place of candidate for mayor. Mr. Goulder, the candidate in question, came to the aid of the street car ring in connection with the movement to "riper" the city by overturning all the municipal charters of Ohio. In addition to these two street car nominations, Mr. Hanna has secured a street car platform. As Republican "boss" he has put into the Republican platform a demand—a "demand" mind you—for the very compromise on franchises that as boss of the street car ring he has offered the city, namely an extension of franchises in which cash fares are to remain at 5 cents. If the people of Cleveland do not snow under this combination of street car ring and Republican machine, they will deserve all the reactionary local government that they will certainly get.

By an oversight an objectionable advertisement appeared in part of last week's edition of *The Public*, though it was excluded from the rest. We refer to an announcement by a New York publishing house of Patrick Edward Dove's book, "The Theory of Human Progression." To the publication in *The Public* of any proper advertisement of that very able work, there could be no objec-

tion; but the advertisement in question, quite gratuitously and altogether falsely, insinuated against Henry George a charge of plagiarism, of which there is no evidence and which he during his lifetime specifically and circumstantially denied. The impropriety of such a publication in *The Public* is obvious. We might add, even at the risk of appearing to meddle, that it is a poor tribute to the abilities of Dove to recommend his great book to a thoughtful public upon no better ground than that a better known writer has been charged with plagiarizing it.

Since the question of George's alleged plagiarism, at rest these dozen years, has been thus revived, a statement of the facts will not be out of place. The charge originated in 1889 with J. W. Sullivan, a member of George's editorial staff on the *Standard*. Sullivan occupied George's house in New York while George was abroad on a long journey. During this occupancy he found in George's library a copy of Dove's book. It had been given to George by Dove's son, several years after the publication of "Progress and Poverty," as a token of respect; but George had never yet read it. Observing a similarity of thought on fundamentals between this book and "Progress and Poverty," and subsequently having a disagreement with George, resulting in his discharge from George's employment, Sullivan published in a rival paper, writes George's son in his "Life of Henry George"—

a long article entitled "A Collapse of Henry George's Pretensions," which began with abuse and ended with a charge that "Progress and Poverty" was based upon Patrick Edward Dove's "The Theory of Human Progression." Mr. George would have ignored the article as unworthy of attention had not the charge of plagiarism been extensively noticed in the press and elsewhere. He therefore reprinted the Sullivan article in the *Standard* (October 19, 1889), passed over the abuse, and answered the remainder by showing the absurdity of the charge on its face, and by pointing out that if similarity of thought and priority of authorship on Dove's

part had proved George a plagiarist, then the same reasoning would prove Dove to have copied from Herbert Spencer, who wrote similarly and earlier; it would likewise prove that Spencer stole from William Ogilvie, professor of humanities in King's college, Aberdeen, from 1763 to 1819; that Ogilvie took from Thomas Spence, of Newcastle on Tyne, who wrote an essay on the subject in 1775; and so on.

George's denial of plagiarism in the *Standard* article of October 19, 1899, referred to by his biographer is as follows:

When I first came to see what is the root of our social difficulties and how this fundamental wrong might be cured in the easiest way by concentrating taxes on land values, I had worked out the whole thing for myself without conscious aid that I can remember, unless it might have been the light I got from Bissell's "Strength of Nations" as to the economic character of the feudal system. When I published "Our Land and Land Policy" (1871) I had not even heard of the Physiocrats and the impot unique. But I knew that if it was really a star I had seen, others must have seen it, too. And so with "Progress and Poverty." I said in that book that it would come to many to whom it would seem like the echo of their own thoughts. And beyond what I then knew, I was certain that there must have been others before me who saw the same essential truths. And as I have heard of such men one after the other, I have felt that they gave but additional evidences that we were indeed on the true track, and still more clearly showed that though against us were ignorance and power, yet behind us were hope and faith and the wisdom of the ages—the deepest and clearest preceptions of man.

This explanation is really not necessary except for the benefit of persons who are unfamiliar with Dove's book. Those who have intelligently compared it with George's "Land and Land Policy" and his "Progress and Poverty" readily recognize that George was no more indebted to Dove for his ideas than for his diction. Both undoubtedly saw the same truth, even as both had learned the same language, and Dove saw it first; but in its treatment and development, George is as different from Dove as was Dove from those who had preceded him along the

same lines. Precisely what useful purpose is served, whether of business or something else, by coupling Dove's philosophic work with a malicious and baseless slander upon George, which he has refuted, is not quite apparent.

A "strictly non-partisan" demonstration at Chicago in honor of President Roosevelt, is the strictly ingenious announcement of those Republican papers of Chicago that "Boss" Lorimer controls. And Mr. Roosevelt himself protests that he wouldn't come to Chicago at all at this time, not by any manner of means, except for a "strictly non-partisan" visitation. It is a stunning peculiarity of President Roosevelt's, this habit he has of making his "strictly non-partisan" Presidential visits to strategical political points just on the eve of strictly partisan elections. Did he not nicely arrange his Presidential pilgrimage last year so as to make his non-partisan appearance at about the right moment to throw the Presidential prestige into the scales at pending elections—through New England just before the voting in Maine, and through the West during the campaigns for November? And now he is to exhibit in Chicago less than a week before a municipal election of great partisan importance. It is well that his party newspapers volunteer the assurance, which he personally confirms, that this Presidential exhibition is to be "strictly non-partisan." Otherwise the unsophisticated might think it a transparently partisan affair.

And the unsophisticated would be strictly right. For the sole object of President Roosevelt's visit to Chicago at this time is to further the election of Mr. Stewart as mayor. Worse than that, it is to place "Billy" Lorimer securely upon the throne as Republican "boss" of Illinois; for this would be the effect of Stewart's election. Stewart is Lorimer's man, just as some very good Republicans of Pennsylvania are Quay's men.

And that suggests another of Mr. Roosevelt's peculiarities. He has a marked tendency to be attracted by malodorous "bosses." "Boss" Quay is his favorite in the East (Addicks being only an incident), and now he comes West to help give his party a "Boss" Quay for Illinois in the person of the delectable Lorimer.

Apropos of the Chicago municipal campaign, with especial reference to its bearing on the question of municipal ownership of the street car system, it should be observed that the Republican candidate, while he professes to advocate municipal ownership, proposes to make an adjustment with the franchise grabbers before getting an enabling act. This is a policy of surrender to the monopolists. It gives them the whip hand. They would have the franchises, and the people would have the enabling act—some time, if they could get it. Mayor Harrison's policy of refusing any adjustment with the franchise grabbers until a municipal ownership act has been passed, is the better one. Republicans, at least, have no reason to object to it, if they really believe in municipal ownership; for the legislature is theirs and they could pass an enabling act in a week if they wanted to.

At a recent discussion before the Ministers' Association of Cleveland, the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, a member of Mayor Johnson's cabinet as director of charities, phrased a sentiment which all those good men and women who are impatient to get rid of vice and crime might well take to heart. It would make them more practical, and it might make them better—more religiously thoughtful of their brethren whose lives are cast in less pleasant places. Said Mr. Cooley to his fellow clergymen, "You talk of vice and crime as if it were dirt and mud you are talking about. You forget that it is men and women."

She—Why, of course our church has a Bible class!

He—Yes? And is the class for or against the Bible?—Puck.

### THE CHILD LABOR QUESTION.

There is one phase of the child labor question which should interest all who have the cause of justice at heart. This is the tendency of the well-meaning but unthinking average man and woman, when finally aroused by the urgency of the abuse, to attribute it to the greed of parents.

Wrongs done to little children touch every heart. The many men who have nothing but an uncomprehending antagonism towards other evidences of labor trouble, and the women who draw their political knowledge and opinions from these men, are both good loving parents of their own children. As such they can feel what it means that little children should be defrauded of childhood's blessed right to play and develop mentally and physically under sane and wholesome conditions. But they have absolutely no comprehension of the fact that modern industrial child slavery is but one, (even if one of the worst) manifestations of wrong and injustice in economic conditions. This lack of knowledge gives them naturally no foundation upon which to base an intelligent opinion, and they therefore overlook fundamental causation and grasp at any hasty conclusion in their semi-conscious endeavor to find a reason for the abuse.

The reason is easily found in their minds in the "greed of parents who send their children into the mills and the mines that they may have the more money to squander in drink." It is an explanation that fits in eminently well with the attitude of mind of the average upper-class man and woman towards the poor, and it releases such men and women from the necessity of any further, perhaps uncomfortable, investigation into social problems.

In most cases it is only justice to say that this explanation is not adopted from any malice. It springs merely from ignorance and a false angle of vision in the minds of more favored fathers and mothers, who would without doubt come forward generously with financial aid for any philanthropic scheme towards releasing a few of these child slaves from their bondage. But an opinion

based on ignorance is unfortunately none the less powerful for evil than the malicious falsehood, and those who spread malicious falsehood always have seized and always will seize upon just such ignorance as favorable working ground.

So in this case. Our large dailies bring isolated exceptions of cases of parental greed and cite them as typical. The refutation of some of these examples, as in the cases cited before the Coal Strike Commission, is passed over in silence, or dismissed with a short paragraph. An example: W. A. Rogers, cartoonist to the New York Herald, whose pictures give many a clever straight-out blow to enthroned wrong, recently offered a picture of a group of ragged, starved-looking children dragging a platform upon which sat a stout carousing couple, presumably the parents. Pictures appeal more strongly to the mass of readers than do words, and this picture from the pencil of one who has often given his talent to the cause of justice can do incalculable harm.

The forces of reform are busy perhaps with more practical sides of the question, and have long given up the struggle to refute every foolish, ignorant opinion behind which well-fed conservatism entrenches itself. And yet contempt is not sufficiently strong a weapon to fight this particular opinion. Or rather it would be letting a most useful weapon in the cause of justice slip from the hands of those who fight for justice. The child labor question is something which every man or woman with a heart can and must feel and understand; it is most important that this question be thoroughly probed and that no phase of it, no opportunity to present it in the true light, should be left unutilized. Agitation in the child labor question is a far stronger weapon towards achieving a universal interest in economic wrongs than are strikes or boycotts or commissions. These latter are men-to-men fights, but the helplessness of the little child appeals to all; abuse of it shocks all.

It must be emphasized again and again that "greed of parents" has nothing whatever to do with this ter-

rible problem of child labor, a burning problem even in a country which like ours has so much to say publicly about its freedom. The parent instinct of love and protection towards children is as strong in the heart of the father and mother of poverty as in parents of the more favored class. Where the feeling, in isolated cases, appears to be lacking, it is due to individual depravity (which could be paired by similar examples from the other class) or to the stunting of every faculty, every good instinct, by generations of grinding toil which has brought neither the means nor the leisure for the satisfaction of any but the most necessary animal needs.

Even if it were found to be true—as it is not—that in every case of child-slavery the parents are at fault, this would still be of itself the most terrible accusation, not against these parents, but against social conditions. For it would prove how debasing indeed were conditions that could crush out in the hearts of human beings instincts which are the possession of almost every form of brute creature down to the very lowest.

No one who has ever lived among the workers, even the most unfortunate, can have failed to see the constant impotent protest against this cruelest blow of fate, this sacrificing to the Moloch of toil of the little children. Instances are unnecessary for they could be cited indefinitely. The main fact remains that however many instances the adherents of the "parental greed" theory can show, each one of these but proves the social injustice; for it proves how hard conditions must have been to have steeled the hearts of parents against the needs of their children.

Let the fighters for justice therefore take up this phase of the question, and fight not only the problem itself but this miscomprehension of it, which is a most powerful weapon in the hands of those who profit by existing conditions and are therefore concerned in their maintenance.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

Schoolmaster—Now, let us have "Little Drops of Water" again, and do, please, put a little spirit into it.—Glasgow Evening Times.

## NEWS

Of all the municipal elections to come off next month, that at Cleveland is the most interesting. For this there are several reasons. It is partly because of the issues, which, although local in application are of national importance in character, centering as they do about the traction problem. It is partly because of the recent legislative reconstruction of the city government, which divides the responsibility of administration by making all the principal offices elective, the only important administrative officer that was elective under the previous system having been the mayor. And it is doubtless due in no minor degree to the fact that the contest is between Senator Hanna, representing the local street car interests and as Republican leader in both the city of Cleveland and the State of Ohio, and Tom L. Johnson, representing the movement for 3-cent fares with municipal ownership as soon as an enabling act can be secured, and as Democratic leader in both the city and the State.

The Republican primaries for Cleveland were held on the 12th, and the convention on the 14th. At both, Mr. Hanna's faction was successful. It nominated Harvey D. Goulder, an admiralty lawyer, for mayor, and Sol Sontheimer, president of the Allied Trades and Labor Council, for president of the city council and vice mayor, together with the eight other important municipal officers which the new municipal code of the State makes elective. The platform, as summarized on the 15th by the Cleveland Leader, the leading Republican organ of that city, makes the following declarations:

Declaration against unsound policies and extravagance which have prevailed under the present city administration.

Declaration for the abolishment of politics in the conduct of the fire and police departments, and for an honest system in these departments.

Declaration in favor of honest and economical guardianship of the city's funds and finances, and against illegal expenditures.

Declaration in favor of reduction in the burdens of taxpayers by means of an economical conduct of city affairs.

Declaration for fair, honest, and sensible treatment of the street railroad question, and an adjustment of the franchises on the basis of at least seven

tickets for a quarter, with universal transfers.

The Democratic primaries were held on the 16th, and the convention on the 17th. Some anti-Johnson contests were made at the primaries, but in no instance were they successful, though it is reported that in some of the wards councilmanic candidates favored by him and endorsed by the non-partisan Municipal Association, were defeated. At the convention, Mayor Johnson was renominated by acclamation. Most notable among the other nominees was the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, who has become widely known from his administration, as a member of Mayor Johnson's cabinet, of the department of charities and correction. He was named for a member of the board of public service. One other Democratic candidate for membership on this board is W. J. Springborn, a Republican, who has served in the present city council for two years and was defeated for renomination by his own party because as councilman he has supported the mayor in his equal taxation and 3-cent fare fight. Springborn is reported by the Cleveland Plain Dealer to have been nominated for the board of public service by the Democrats at the public request of Mayor Johnson, who pointed out Mr. Springborn's qualifications for the office and urged upon his objecting co-partisans that it would be good politics to place a man of his experience and ability on the ticket regardless of his being a Republican.

For their platform the Democrats adopted the following statement, which has much more than local interest:

The Democratic party of the city of Cleveland, in convention assembled, asks the suffrages of the voters on the record of the present administration. It has been characterized by a marked awakening of interest in city affairs. Never before has there been so full an appreciation of the evils of private ownership of public utilities; never before have the people so keenly appreciated the inequalities of the present system of taxation; never before have the people shown so much interest in the development of the city and in making it one of the model municipalities of the world. These effects of the policies of the administration are evidenced by the universal demand for the nomination of men of known honesty and ability for public office, by the breaking up of party lines in local elec-

tions and the manifestation of independence in thought and action by electors at the polls.

In spite of judicial destruction and legislative reconstruction, the administration has: Demonstrated that capitalists are willing to build three-cent-fare street railroads in Cleveland; beautified the public parks and opened them to all the people; improved the waterworks system and increased its revenues while decreasing the cost to consumers; paved more streets and built more sewers than was ever before done in a like period; given us cleaner and better-lighted streets, increasing both the number and the efficiency of the lights used and this at reduced cost; procured a cheap and convenient fuel in natural gas; improved the management and discipline of the city's hospitals and public institutions; established free public bathhouses on the lake and in the city; completed long-delayed public improvements, including the water tunnel, the intercepting sewer, the diversion of Giddings brook, the Edgewater shore protection, and the straightening of the Cuyahoga river; exposed and defeated the paving brick combine; added 60 men to the police force.

By demonstrating the inequalities of taxation and securing a system of street railroads at three cent fare the administration fulfilled its pledges to the people. The equalization of taxes and the building of the three-cent-fare road were prevented by those who are now our adversaries and to do this they were obliged to appeal to the legislature and the courts, which overturned in the one instance, the city board of equalization, and in the other, tore down the entire fabric of municipal government in the State.

The new form of government will restore to the people the control of their streets, and our pledge to the people is: (1) That we will establish competing three-cent-fare street railroads; (2) that we will prevent any extension of existing franchises which does not provide for straight three-cent fare, universal transfers and possible municipal ownership; (3) that we will build and operate a municipal lighting plant; (4) that we will continue our efforts to equalize taxes and to make the public service corporations pay their full share; (5) that we will endeavor to secure small parks and playgrounds in the heart of the residence districts; (6) that we will preserve the policy of the past in the matter of economy in expenditure and the prosecution of public improvement.

The issue in this campaign is the street railroad question. Competition brought forth capitalists willing to build and operate street railroads at three-cent fare. The cunning proposition to extend existing franchises at a five-cent cash fare with any number

of tickets for a quarter is a device to elect an administration which will extend these franchises for 25 years at five-cent fare. This is the meaning of the "generous proposition" which the president of one of the street railroad companies promised to the people of Cleveland. This is the "generous proposition" which he proposes, as the leader of the Republican party, to force upon the people of Cleveland by using the machinery of that party for his own private interests. In the April election the voter must choose between two parties: the one already pledged in its platform to a complete surrender to the street railroads on their own terms; the other, that party which has already forced some concessions from the street railroads, and which, if returned to power, will secure a complete victory for the people.

Another important municipal election of the Spring is to take place at Chicago. The nomination of Daniel L. Cruice (p. 775) as the mayoralty candidate of the Independent Labor party, has already been reported. He has since been endorsed by the local Single Tax party, which makes no distinctive nominations for this election. The next nomination was made by the Republicans (p. 774) and has also been already reported in these columns. On the 16th Carter H. Harrison was nominated for a fourth term by the Democratic convention, after a contest at the primaries in which the Harrison faction was victorious.

The platform adopted at this convention recites at length, in describing the record of Mr. Harrison as mayor, the bad condition of city affairs upon his taking office in 1897, and then proceeds:

To correct abuses of such long standing has necessarily been no light task. All candid persons, however, who have even a slight knowledge of the facts must confess that progress amounting almost to a revolution has been made. Under the present administration steam railroad companies have been compelled to repair and maintain the viaducts spanning their tracks, while the city and the sanitary district, at the instance of Mayor Harrison, are rapidly replacing the old-style swing bridges with modern bascule bridges adapted to the growing needs of the river. The use of the antiquated cedar block pavement and the wooden sidewalk has been discontinued and a great mileage of asphalt, brick and macadam pavement and cement sidewalk has been laid, at once improving the appearance, health and comfort of the city, and making maintenance and street cleaning easier and cheaper.

The contract system of street cleaning has been abandoned, the city doing its own work by civil service day laborers and individual teamsters, working union hours at union wages under the supervision of a civil service ward superintendent, and all are required to be residents of the district where their work is done. Police magistrates are now paid fair salaries for honest service, the vicious fee system has been abolished, and raids of unfortunates of both sexes are a thing of the past.

Other improvements in administration are mentioned in the platform, and thereupon the traction question is discussed in the following terms:

The platform clamor of the recent Republican city convention for an immediate settlement of the traction question comes burdened with suspicion, when citizens reflect that this clamor is raised by the same political machine which less than six years ago was urging upon the State legislature the infamous Humphrey and Allen bills. We insist that it is more important that the traction question be settled right than that it be settled speedily. In his message to the city council in 1899 Mayor Harrison closed the discussion of the street railway question with the following words: "One hears occasional criticism of the failure of the present city administration to pass constructive street railway legislation. Whenever the traction companies are ready to take up a settlement of the question upon the foregoing lines constructive legislation may readily be had. Until they express a willingness to approach the question with due regard for the rights of the citizens no honest-minded critic can find fault with the city administration for its neglect to pass constructive legislation." The terms then proposed by Mayor Harrison, and of which we now approve as necessary to a proper settlement of the traction question, are as follows: The passage by the legislature of a municipal ownership enabling act, this to be an absolute prerequisite to any consideration of the traction question. The reference of all proposed extension ordinances to a vote of the people for their sanction and indorsement. An improvement of accommodations which will do away with the present uncomfortable, unwholesome and indecent overcrowding of cars. Adequate compensation in the form either of a percentage of gross receipts paid into the treasury as a trust fund, to be expended solely on the public streets, a reduction of fares or a combination of both forms. An express waiver of all alleged rights under the 99-year act. Provision for municipal ownership at the earliest possible date. The simultaneous expiration of all franchises on or before 20 years from date of grant, and the express prohibition of the transfer of

a franchise to a foreign corporation. The use of the underground trolley within certain boundaries; the re-alignment of terminals that transportation may be rapid and street congestion avoided; the use of modern grooved rails in all paved streets, and the paving of rights of way by the traction companies with asphalt or dressed granite block. A universal system of transfers. Full publicity of accounts. A system of arbitration for the settlement of disputes arising between traction companies and their employes. A single car service instead of the present train service.

The other demands of this platform are for municipal ownership and operation of gas and electric lighting plants, telephone systems, and other public utilities; a municipal initiative and referendum; preservation of the water power of the drainage canal for municipal purposes; extension and enforcement of the civil service law; legislation allowing employment of day labor for construction; immediate lowering of tunnels, but not as compensation for franchise extensions; removal of center pier bridges; a deep water way to the Mississippi; abolition of grade crossings; completion of intersecting sewers; consolidation of taxing bodies; bond issues for permanent improvements; home rule, and guarantees of "the largest personal liberty for all citizens which may be compatible with peace and order."

One object of the special session of the United States Senate (p. 774) has been accomplished, namely, the ratification of the treaty with Colombia (p. 680) for the construction of the Panama canal. The Senate had come to a vote in executive session on the 16th upon an amendment proposed and supported by the Democrats. It was a substitute for the provision of the treaty placing the defense of the canal primarily in the hands of the government of Colombia. The substitute would have given the initiative under all circumstances to the United States, and it was defeated by a party vote—24 to 46. Other amendments were also voted down. Without amendment, therefore, the treaty was ratified on the 17th by 73 to 5, the senators voting in the negative being Daniel and Martin of Virginia, Morgan and Pettus of Alabama, and Teller of Colorado.

The other principal object of the special session, the ratification of the

Cuban reciprocity treaty, has made some progress. A report was authorized on the 12th by the committee on foreign relations recommending ratification with an amendment providing that the treaty shall not take effect until approved by the lower House as well as the Senate. The amendment had been offered by Senator Bacon, who intended thereby to recognize the constitutional right of the lower House to control all revenue legislation, even when regulated by treaty. It was unanimously agreed on the 18th that the question of ratification should come to vote at 3 o'clock on the 19th.

Sensational reports dated at St. Petersburg have, during the past week, made it appear that revolutionary reforms (religious freedom and local self-government), have been decreed by the Czar of Russia. But the reported text of the Czar's decree hardly justifies all the good things that are said of it. It appears to have been issued in commemoration of the birthday of Alexander III., and in language far from lucid it declares, as to religious tolerance, that—

we are irrevocably decided to satisfy the needs for which the state has become ripe, and have deemed it expedient to strengthen and decree the undeviating observance of the principles of tolerance laid down by the fundamental laws of the Russian empire, while recognizing the orthodox church as the ruling one, to grant to all of our subjects of other religions and to all foreign persuasions freedom of creed and worship in accordance with other rites; and we are further resolved to continue the active carrying out of measures for the improvement of the material position of the orthodox clergy while enabling them to take a larger share in intellectual and public life.

On the subject of local self-government, all that the Czar is reported as saying is this:

In accordance with impending measures for the consolidation of the national economy the efforts of the state credit institutions and especially the nobles' and peasants' banks should be directed to strengthening and developing the welfare and fundamental pillars of Russian village life, and that of the local nobility and peasantry. These principles marked out by us for the revision of the laws of the rural population are, when formulated, to be referred to the provincial government councils, so that with the assistance of persons enjoying the public's confidences they may be further developed and adapted to the special con-

ditions of individual localities. In this work the fundamental principle of the inviolability of communal property is to be maintained, while at the same time means are to be found to render it easier for the individual to sever connections with the community to which he belongs, if he so desires.

The decree further ordains:

Without delay measures must be taken to release the peasants from the present burdensome liability of forced labor.

Also:

Thorough reform is to be effected in the provincial governments and district administrations by the local representatives, while attention will be devoted to securing closer cooperation between the communal authorities and parochial trustees of the orthodox churches wherever possible.

The Czar's decree closes as follows:

Calling upon all our subjects to cooperate in strengthening the moral foundations of a family, school and public life, under which alone the wellbeing of the people and the confidence of everyone in the stability of his rights can develop, we command our ministers and chief officials concerned in this matter to submit to us their views regarding the execution of our intentions.

When the Russian consul at Chicago was told of the Czar's decree of religious tolerance, he indicated his surprise and explained that the Russian government always has tolerated all religions, and that the devotees of various faiths have their churches the same as in the United States. "There are minor regulations regarding the citizenship of an heir born of parents one of whom is not of the Greek orthodox religion," he added. "but, aside from such lesser details, the main idea of a religious freedom order is puzzling."

This suggestion that the decree does not grant religious freedom beyond what already exists is confirmed by a revolutionary manifesto emanating from Moscow and reported from London on the 17th which declares:

The promised religious toleration gives no right to the orthodox Russian to adopt any other Christian creed. Hereafter, as formerly, apostates will be liable to deprivation of civil rights and deportation to Siberia.

Relative to local self-government the same manifesto observes that—the Czar does not even reestablish the independence of the active provincial councils and town councils founded by Alexander II. in 1864 and 1870 and sub-

sequently curtailed and partly abolished by Alexander III. and Nicholas II. Indeed, strict critics might pronounce the manifesto a masterpiece of Von Plehwe's policy of reaction.

Von Plehwe is the conservative leader in the Russian ministry.

NEWS NOTES.

—The parliament of the Dominion of Canada was opened at Ottawa on the 12th by Lord Minto, the governor general.

—The coal strike arbitrators (p. 760) made their formal report to President Roosevelt on the 18th. It will not be published before the 21st.

—Joseph Chamberlain, colonial secretary in the British cabinet, who made an official visit to South Africa last Fall (p. 617), returned on the 14th.

—The members of the Chicago "coal combine" who were indicted for conspiracy earlier in the Winter (pp. 663, 692) have been tried before Judge Chetlain, of Chicago, who instructed the jury to find a verdict of "not guilty" on the ground that the acts charged were transactions in inter-State commerce and therefore cognizable criminally only by the Federal courts.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the eight months ending February 28, 1903, as given by the February treasury sheet, are as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

M...	\$982,019,569	\$650,725,759	\$301,293,810	exp.
G...	17,346,675	24,788,582	17,441,907	imp.
S...	34,189,316	17,343,762	16,845,553	exp.
	\$1,033,555,569	\$732,858,103	\$300,697,456	exp.

—A movement among non-union mechanics is reported from Indianapolis, the purpose of which is to organize unorganized labor in opposition to organized labor. The new organization declares in its constitution against the strike as a means of settling questions between employers and employes, denounces the boycott as un-American, and opposes the "unfair list" and all kindred means of inducing obedience to labor unions. A national organization is contemplated and local organizations elsewhere in Indiana and also in New York are already reported.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE CLEVELAND ELECTION.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind. dem.), Mar. 18.—The Republican platform proposes a compromise with the public service companies on a basis which it is understood they approve. The Democratic platform reaffirms the policy on which the present administration started out, but which it has been prevented carrying into effect by interferences through the courts and legislature. Mr. Harvey Goulder fairly represents

the one. Mayor Johnson is the embodiment of the other.

Cleveland Leader (Rep.), Mar. 15.—The man was found and the man was nominated. Harvey D. Goulder can beat Tom Johnson. . . . If the Republican party elects its ticket in April, there will be no more deceit in respect to the street railway issue. If that question is taken up it will be discussed and settled on business principles, and in the interest of all concerned. Universal transfers, that is, one system of street railways throughout the city, and a continuous ride from the eastern limits to the southern limits for one fare, and seven tickets for twenty-five cents, is the best bargain that the railway corporation can get.

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Mar. 16.—The Republicans have put up a Hanna ticket from end to end. . . . The one thing which is significant in this whole business is the fact that the Republicans have placed in their platform exactly what the street railroad people want. They have come out squarely and fairly for the very offer which the street railroad men have been making to the people for the past six months. . . . It is a clear-cut issue. The democrats will stand for three-cent fare just as they have been doing. Who has brought the railroads to the point where they are willing to accept an ordinance calling for seven tickets for a quarter? Who will bring them the rest of the way if he is given a chance? Why, Tom L. Johnson, of course. They have fought the thing at all stages and have resorted to the courts to prevent the people of Cleveland from getting what they ought to have. They are now in their last ditch. The fight ought to be short and decisive. Why should the three-cent fare men surrender?

GORMAN'S LEADERSHIP.

Springfield Republican (ind.), Mar. 13 (weekly ed.)—There is a very untruthful phase of the current laudation of Senator Gorman as an astute or great party leader. His record, during his 18 years of senatorial service down to 1899, reached a fitting culmination in the party wreck that came in 1896. Always a straddler and balancer, if nothing worse, he had an open quarrel with President Cleveland on the tariff issue, which alone was enough to demoralize the Democratic party; while in the whole history of the free silver movement he steadily coquetted with the silver men, and helped prepare for the party cataclysm that finally came when men of strong convictions, like Cleveland and Bryan, came into collision. Mr. Gorman can doubtless manage a bill and rig a Senate, but as a leader he never could rise above the multiplication table of politics.

THE DEMOCRATIC "FACE FRONT."

Milwaukee News (Dem.), March 17.—The attitude of the rank and file of the Democratic party offers little consolation to those that would Republicanize the party or that would have it stand still, but it gives promise of the future, meeting new issues and new problems in the spirit of the present and holding fast to that which is good.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Woman's Journal (Boston), Mar. 14.—The vote on the woman suffrage amendment in New Hampshire is most encouraging to the friends of equal rights for women. It is the largest proportional vote ever given for this reform in a New England State. In Rhode Island the woman suffrage amendment received only about one vote in five. In Massachusetts, on the so-called referendum eight years ago, less than one male voter in three favored giving women even the municipal ballot. In New Hampshire more than one voter in three favored giving them full suffrage. These figures speak for themselves. They show clearly the growth of public opinion

on this question, even in conservative New England. . . . An admirable campaign was made, and those who took part in it have every reason to be encouraged. In the words of James Russell Lowell:

There are who triumph in a losing cause,  
Who can put on defeat as 'twere a wreath,  
Unwithering in the adverse popular breath,  
Safe from the blasting demagogue's applause;

'Tis they who stand for freedom and God's laws.

"Truth sometimes loses a battle, but never a war." The time will yet come when all over New Hampshire the women will vote; and this campaign has helped to hasten the day.

#### EVOLUTION.

New Church Messenger (rel.).—Evolution is an outside view of what is in its essence an involution. Spiritual forces are pouring into the natural and causing them to develop, and unfold, as if of themselves; and the onlooker, viewing it from the outside, sees only this appearance of self-evolution, and he accordingly declares, as from the outside he could do no otherwise, that nature evolves itself by the force of its own inherent disposition. But the interior man sees that it could not evolve itself, and that what from the outside appears as evolution is the manifestation of what in its interior essence is an involution.

#### 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. 35 of that publication.

Washington, Mar. 10-14, 1903.

#### Senate.

(Special Session, 58th Congress.)

The Senate was in executive session all the week, but upon some of its business relating to the Isthmian canal treaty the injunction of secrecy was on the 12th (p. 19) and on the 14th (p. 23) removed.

### MISCELLANY

#### THE BLACK MAN'S BURDEN.

Take up the black man's burden! child of an alien blood,

Drawer of Abu's water and hewer of Abu's wood,

From the shores of the blue Zambesi to the foam of the further end

They need the sweat of the black man's brow for the white man's dividend.

By the dread of the Yellow Peril, by the siang of the Seventh Sea,

By the godly cant and the royal rant of the race that set you free,

Wherever the red gold glitters, wherever the diamond shines,

Go forth, upon compulsion, and labour in the mines.

The winds of the West have heard it, the stars of the South replied,

When the Lords of the Outer Marches went forth on a fruitless ride,

That the son of the swarthy Kaffir must wake from an idle sleep

When the lone grey Mother calls for toll, and the Lord has made it cheap.

Foster-sons of the Empire, wards of the baked Karoo,

This is the law the Mother makes and her sword shall prove it true:

"Wherever the red gold glitters, wherever the diamond shines,

Take up the black man's burden and labour in the mines."

—The London Speaker.

#### WALL STREET AND PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

There are signs, by the way, that the race issue is being magnified just now with the idea that it isn't good for Roosevelt. By his action in the coal strike and his interest in anti-trust legislation, the president has hurt the feelings of the corporations. Wall street has got through with him, and wants a safer man for his successor. Wall street has nerves, and the president has jarred them; it has money and will spend it to beat him—for nomination if possible, for election if necessary—provided the Democrats put up a sane and trustworthy citizen. But the cat doesn't jump until next year, and much is going to happen before then.—Life.

#### A FRENCH VIEW OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT.

Translated for The Public.

A portion of an article by Jean Izoulet, published in the Paris Figaro of September 20, 1902.

I was chatting recently with a young Frenchman who had been living for six years in the United States.

I said to him all at once:

"And President Roosevelt—outside of parties and cliques, what does the great public think and say of him?"

"Oh! Roosevelt!" said my interlocutor, with sudden vivacity, as well as gravity—"Roosevelt—high esteem, lively affection!"

"And for what reasons?" I asked.

"Because he is very courageous, very honest, very thoughtful, and very modest."

"Now, there are four cardinal qualities," said I; "and enumerated in an order that pleases me. But what else?"

"What else? Ah, well, it has struck their imaginations and stirred their hearts that he—a man of the better class, of Dutch origin and old New York family, rich and cultivated, married and father of six children, and invested with high administrative functions in the navy department—that he did not hesitate in the last war to leave everything to go to the front with his 'rough riders,' and to risk his life with one being obliged to do so. This has much impressed and touched the public."

"Is there likelihood that his attitude toward the Negroes and his disposition toward the trusts will compromise his reelection?"

"In my opinion, not at all. He is respected and loved."

I remained silent, and I envied nations, monarchical like England and Germany, or republican, like Switzer-

land and the United States, which love and respect themselves in loving and respecting their rulers, hereditary or elected.

The United States form a prodigious empire. We know this, but we do not know it sufficiently. Here are two figures which must be grasped, if one would catch the spirit of the facts.

The United States are little less than six times as large as France, and some day will be able to support a thousand millions of inhabitants.

At the present moment they are content with marching rapidly toward the first hundred millions.

Their subsoil is as rich as their soil. Their formidable quadrilateral is seated against the Atlantic and the Pacific. And they are on the way to appropriate the isthmian canal, gateway of two oceans, key to the immense future transit from Europe and from Asia.

Upon this immense territory, powerfully seated between the two oceans, imagine a population of nearly eighty millions of men, distributed in 48 States, pliantly and strongly federated into a single empire under the folds of the starry flag! And imagine this vast people impelled by an imperus which proceeds from five sources, the energy of soul of the first occupiers, who exiled themselves to preserve their liberty of conscience; the temperamental energy of the later immigrants, who were seekers of fortune; the relative facility with which great successes can be achieved in a country of inexhaustible resources; the joy of an unlimited liberty under the most elastic and the strongest of constitutions; and, above all, the intoxicating vision of a political supremacy over the whole planet reserved, it would seem, for the North Americans!

And, finally, at the head of this great people, swept along by so vast an imperus, imagine a man of 44 years (on the 27th of October, 1902), at once sportsman and student, soldier and statesman, possessing in equal degree ideality and practicability, justice and force, and animated by the highest sentiment of his mission and the mission of his people.

This is the position of the United States in the world, and this is the position of President Roosevelt in the United States.

"Another historical novel, eh? But I suppose it's about like the rest."

"Oh, well, history repeats itself, and you can hardly expect historical novels to do otherwise."—Puck.

**NON-REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA.**

A portion of an address delivered by Mrs. Eliza Stowe Twitchell at a reception tendered to her at the Lotus Club, New York, February 23, 1903, by the Woman's Henry George Club.

Probably no man ever lived who better understood how to carry out an unpopular reform, than did Richard Cobden; and single tax men and women can find no better book to study than John Morley's "Life of Cobden."

With the whole landed aristocracy arrayed against him, as well as those people who always take sides with the upper class, even against their own interests so as to be in respectable company—those people whom a witty single tax man has termed, "the pennyless plutocrats"—with all of these arrayed against him, Richard Cobden, in eight years, carried the repeal of the Corn Laws.

Probably no man of his time better understood the importance of a reform in the land tenure of England than did Richard Cobden. He often said that the English peasant was landless, and that that was the cause of his wretched poverty; and in his old age he declared that were he only young again he would take Adam Smith in hand, and go before the people in favor of a land reform. But he distinctly stated that he would never raise the cry: "Away with landlordism;" for, said he, "that cry is revolutionary, and can never succeed."

He realized that the present system of land tenure was interwoven in the fiber of every Englishman, be he rich or poor.

It is the same in America. Tell an American farmer that private property in land is unjust, and he thinks you would dispossess him of his land.

Tell him you seek to put all taxes upon land values, and the term, "land values" is so new to him, and he is so ignorant regarding the enormous "values" wrapt up in city lots, mines and franchises, that he is alarmed, lest you are one of those cunning bondholders who is trying to escape all taxation by putting more burdens upon him.

But tell him that ground rent is a social product, and that you seek to socialize it, and so give him his share; tell him that it is ground rent, upon which monopoly is to-day feeding, and growing great and powerful upon, by taking the share that belongs to the people; tell him that whoever receives ground rent, receives a social privilege, and that you seek to equalize privileges and so re-

move every tax burden. Then give him time to think about it, and ten to one he will work his own way to the moral side of the subject, and understand at last that this simple change of only a few lines in our tax laws will break up the vast landed estates, and "make room at the Father's table for all His children."

**THE INVISIBLE BALANCE OF TRADE.**

Statistics of the Brooklyn bridge show that an average of about 20,000 more people cross into New York each day than cross back to Brooklyn. These statistics indicate that Brooklyn is losing and New York gaining in population at the rate of 7,000,000,000 a year. Sensible men know that there is no such daily balance of population in favor of or against New York—according to whichever political theory you accept. Somehow and in some way about as many people return to Brooklyn daily as leave it.

Similarly, Republicans are prating about the great "balance of trade" in our favor, amounting to from \$400,000,000 to \$600,000,000 a year for six years, and are attempting to make the people believe that it is a good thing to be sending out of the country each year, this much more than is being brought in. Sensible men shake their heads and refuse to swallow these figures. The trade and commercial papers, like the Iron Age and the New York Commercial, are now discussing the "Invisible Balance of Trade," which punctures both the facts and theories of the politicians.

The following table is from the Iron Age of February 26:

Invisible (Adverse) Balance of Trade.	
Interest balance.....	\$90,000,000
Ocean freight balance.....	85,000,000
Tourists' expenditures.....	55,000,000
Expatriation .....	30,000,000
Rent balance.....	25,000,000
Money sent by resident foreigners	10,000,000

Total ..... \$295,000,000

As the Iron Age says, this table "shows that the invisible balance of trade must run along annually at not much less than \$300,000,000 to enable this country to discharge its foreign liabilities." The return last year of \$100,000,000 of American securities held abroad wiped out all of the remaining visible balance of trade in 1902, says the Iron Age, which concludes that "the United States is still a debtor nation."

At least two very important factors have been omitted by the Iron Age. Our imports of dutiable goods amount to \$500,000,000 a year. These

are undervalued to about ten per cent., or \$50,000,000. We export manufactured goods valued at more than \$400,000,000 a year. As these goods are sold to foreigners at an average of about 20 per cent. below domestic prices the manufacturers quote fictitious valuations to government officials. It is safe to say that our exports of manufactures are overvalued ten or fifteen per cent., or an average of \$50,000,000 a year. Adding these two amounts to our invisible and adverse balance we have wiped out nearly all of the invisible balance in our favor even during the last six years. Undoubtedly the return of securities during these years has wiped out any remaining balance. This reaches the sensible conclusion that we have not outstanding accounts with foreign countries amounting to \$2,000,000,000 or \$3,000,000,000, but that in some way each year's apparent balance is about squared. While we may be slowly paying our foreign debts, yet it takes more than \$100,000,000 a year to pay interest and rents to foreigners. Thus, if the visible balance of trade is not \$100,000,000 in our favor we are losing ground and getting deeper in debt.

BYRON W. HOLT.

**MAYOR SAMUEL M. JONES'S WAY.**  
Portions of the sixth annual address of the Hon. S. M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, Ohio, read before the Toledo City Council, March 2, 1903, as reported in The Toledo Bee.

**MUNICIPAL FRANCHISES.**

Ever since I have been in public life I have been steadfastly for public ownership and operation of all natural monopolies. In the various messages and communications to the council I have advocated municipal ownership of street railways, electric lighting, gas plant, garbage plant, city directory, playgrounds, and in this message the municipal ownership of a musical organization, a band. I have also advocated the abolition of the contract system of doing the improvement work of the city and the adoption, in its stead, of the day labor plan in all departments.

Experience has confirmed every conviction and strengthened every argument I have made for this principle. I am more firmly convinced than ever that we cannot have a truly patriotic government, municipal, state or national, until it is organized and carried out with the good of all the people as the first, last and only object to be desired, and this can never be so long as

we continue the practice of granting franchises to private corporations and of farming out various privileges to contractors for the purposes of private profit-getting, and both of these evils draw their life blood from party politics; for the contractor or corporation that will not contribute directly or indirectly to the campaign expenses of "the party in power" gets no business, is simply sidetracked in favor of those who will.

#### POLICE DEPARTMENT.

Toledo has doubled its population in the last ten years. It is twice as big as it was; if that bigness represents real improvement, then Toledo is twice as good. There is no real growth unless it includes the whole. Greater Toledo means better Toledo or it means worse Toledo. Neither the city nor the individual can stand still; we are going ahead or we are falling back. I believe our course is onward and upward.

To the better, to the brighter, on! on!

Five years ago our patrolmen laid aside the brutal club and have since carried canes instead. This was a splendid move in the right direction. The day is not far distant when the patrolmen of our cities will disarm, and the murderous "gun" or revolver that they now carry concealed, because we are ashamed of it, will be relegated to the rear along with the rack, thumbscrew and other relics of a less happy past, and our patrolmen will walk the streets in the conscious peace and security of the "just man armed;" for the just man has no need of gun or sword or weapon. The very fact that he is JUST literally surrounds him with an impregnable wall of safety; he has nothing to fear.

No harm from Him can come to me  
On ocean or on shore.

Much praise is due to the loving heart of our deceased chief, Ben Raitz, for the humanizing work in this department during the ten years that he was at its head. He was a genuine lover and many an erring one was helped toward a better life by the loving words of this brave man whose highest ambition was to do his duty and be kind.

What is the lesson of the statistics of arrests in Toledo? During the year 1882, 20 years ago, there were 4,493 persons arrested in the city; the population was then about 50,000. During 1902 there were 3,861 persons arrested, or 632 less than 20 years before when the city was one-third its present size. Had the arrests increased in proportion to the population, there would

have been 13,479 persons arrested last year, or about 10,000 more than there were.

I make no attempt to draw a conclusion from these striking figures; it is joy enough for me to know that in them I see a certain promise that jails, prisons and penitentiaries will one day be things of the past and love will rule the wide world over.

#### MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY. THE SUPREME COURT UPHOLDS THE MAYOR.

The municipal administration was treated to a genuine surprise yesterday in the action of the supreme court dissolving the injunction in the paving contract case. So accustomed has the administration become to supreme court injunctions every time it attempts to do anything, that the action of yesterday was quite unexpected.

But why should the court have taken any other course? Mayor Johnson was clearly acting in the interest of the taxpayers. He had become convinced that a paving combine existed by which contractors parceled out paving jobs among themselves in such a manner that high prices were obtained by all of them. To break the combine he bunched a large number of paving jobs and advertised for bids on all of them at once, thus making it an object for paving firms outside of the combine to compete. The device was successful, and a good many thousand dollars were in this way saved to the city and the lot owners. The surprised and disgusted contractors went to the supreme court as usual to "knock out the mayor," and with the usual success so far as a preliminary injunction was concerned, but when the case was heard on its merits, the court recognized that the administration had acted for the public welfare and the protests were dictated by selfish interests.

The administration and the taxpayers are both to be congratulated on the result.—Editorial in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of March 11.

#### THE MAYOR POINTS TO HIS RECORD.

There was an enthusiastic meeting of Ninth ward Democrats at No. 43 Public square last night. The hall was crowded, and the speakers, including Mayor Johnson, presented the issues of the campaign. Mayor Johnson said:

"Reference to the condition of the city morally in a certain newspaper leads me to say that Cleveland has been freer from vice during the 18 months of the present administration than ever before. This is because we have dealt with vice, not as fanatics, but with a hand that is loving and considerate.

"We have been treating unfortunate people as men and women, as human beings. We have also tried to put them under better conditions so they can more easily make a living and thereby have a chance to become better.

"We further hold, as we did two years ago, that taxes should be levied equally, that three-cent fare should be inaugurated and that the granting of special privileges should be prevented so as to give people more money, more savings, happier homes, and so as to place men on a higher plane. We are not preachers," said Mr. Johnson, referring to a recent meeting of city ministers, "but as common, sober and fair-minded practical men have done more for Christianity and humanity than all the ministers of the city."

Speaking of Director Cooley in this connection, and his speech before the city ministers this week, the mayor said: "I am proud of Mr. Cooley. I wish there were more preachers like him in politics. He told his brother ministers that he had different ideas as a result of experience in real life, which real life is not that in homes that have fine windows, but in homes that are moderate, with not too much nor too little in them.

"People talk about the administration protecting dives and the 'red-light district,' why, they forget, as Director Cooley has said, that vice is not like mud in the streets, but men and women going wrong. The work done by the administration by means of uniformed officers clearing out any such districts is welcomed by many of the people that are thought to be so bad.

"We, like the Republicans, are a minority party in this city. As such we have an unparalleled record of having won four consecutive elections. You ask why we have done this, and I tell you that it is not because we have converted men to our cause, but because we have commanded the confidence and support of the great mass of independent voters in Cleveland. If we are to get this same vote again, we must not only have a good platform to stand on, but fair-minded candidates, men who have even been such good Democrats in the Republican party that Mr. Hanna has kicked them out."—The Plain Dealer of March 13.

#### THE MORAL SIDE OF MUNICIPAL WORK.

From speech of the Rev. Harris R. Cooley in accepting the nomination for Director of Public Service tendered him by the Democratic Municipal Convention at Cleveland, Mar. 17, as reported in the Plain Dealer of Mar. 18.

There is one side of the question which appeals to me particularly, and

that is the moral side. I believe that the man who is at the head of the Democratic party in this city could be of greater use to his people in no other office in the nation than in the position of mayor of Cleveland. Perhaps for the past two years I have had a better opportunity than many others to see and study the poverty and suffering of the people of this great city. It has made me particularly desirous of securing to one and all equally the advantages which should belong equally to every American citizen. The door may be opened and should be opened so that every child who is born in this country may have the opportunity to develop to the very best there is in him. How many a Raphael, a Shakespeare, an Edison has been buried in our potter's field because the commonest opportunities of life have been denied. One Shakespeare, one Edison is worth ten millionaires. It is now a struggle between manhood and mammon.

THE MAKING OF A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

A tragic farce in several acts, beginning here and ending where it stops.

Act. I.

Scene.—Library in the Push mansion. J. Head Push seated at table R. 1 E., cutting coupons. Enter head butler C. D. in flat.

Butler—Your son, sir.

Mr. Push—Show him in.

Exit Butler. Enter Frank Push C. D. in flat.

You may sit down, sir—I mean—take a chair, Frank.

Frank (seating himself)—You sent for me.

Mr. Push—Never waste speech on the self-evident. "Speech is silver, silence is golden." Don't squander your specie. By listening to a conversation between the head butler and the second gardener this morning I learned two things I did not know before. First, that you have just graduated from college; and second, that to-day is your twenty-first birthday. I have sent for you because I have something to say to you, and can do it to-day while I clip coupons, without any waste of time.

Frank—Father, don't you think it would be better for you if you did waste a little time once in awhile?

Mr. Push—Never! It's the crime of crimes to waste anything. This touches the matter of which I would speak. You are now of age, and well educated. It is time you turned your attention to making your fortune. For this I have educated you. You must

become rich, respected, powerful—a captain of industry, even as I am.

Frank—But, father—

Mr. Push—There are no buts! You can do it. I have called you here now to plan your course for you. If you follow my lead you will acquire a king's power.

Frank—But suppose I do not care to be rich? The great Agassiz, you know, said he "could not afford" to be wealthy. It seems to me a golden sentiment.

Mr. Push—But his greater descendants cannot afford to be poor. Perhaps you'll tell me what kind of a sentiment that is.

Frank—Copper, I should say.

Mr. Push—Don't be frivolous, Frank. My affair with you is serious. You are about to enter business. Think of it, boy! Ponder the word, and you will not ask me to waste time. Business—the state of being busy—to do, and do and do.

Frank—"And like a rat without a tail, I'll do, I'll do, and I'll do."

Mr. Push—Stop that frivolity, sir!

Frank—Father, Shakespeare is never frivolous.

Mr. Push—Bosh! I'd much rather hear you quote Mr. Morgan or Mr. Rockefeller. These men are the poets of finance. They are modern—they are living—

Frank—And will be after everyone else is dead.

Mr. Push—No dreamers they, and their like. Their stage is the world, and although the common herd don't know it, no one gets in to see the show without paying a good, round admission fee. Their names on a check could pass title to the toil of an army—a veritable army, boy! Think of the power! Shakespeare, indeed! Why, he couldn't write his name so any bank teller would accept it. Shakespeare, compared with Morgan! Let me tell you one thing, son, right now; when you want to know the size of a man, don't you go to Rolfe, or Knight, or Hudson, or any of those commentator fellows, but you just slip into my back office and look in Dun and Bradstreet. They are the—

Frank—"Abstract and brief chroniclers—"

Mr. Push—Stop it! On second thought you may let it stand. Dun and Bradstreet are indeed the "Abstract and brief chroniclers," and—what's the rest of it.

Frank—"After your death you had better have a bad epitaph than their ill report while you live."

Mr. Push—Good! Upon my soul, that's true! I've a dime with a hole in it that a villain of a conductor worked off on me—bless me if I wouldn't be willing to give it to have Morgan or Rockefeller say a thing like that, it's so pat.

Frank—Yes, whatever the time, the age, the circumstance, Shakespeare always stands pat—like Uncle Mark. But seriously, father, I would rather have written Hamlet than have squeezed the widow and orphan.

Mr. Push—Frank Push—

Frank—Go slow, governor, I use the term generically—I don't refer to any particular widow, you know—

Mr. Push—To think that you have so little sense of proportion! What is "Hamlet" compared with the work of a Rockefeller? It is nothing but a loaf of bread translated into gray matter, while an industrial captain says when, how much, how often and at what price, millions shall eat their bread. Will you never learn the glory of power? There is nothing else in the world, my son. Even money would be nothing, were power not its surname.

Frank—Father, I cannot believe it. Is there not love, justice, mercy?

Mr. Push—Mere sentiment, my boy; and even as such, they are only reflexes of power. All is power—love, human or divine, morality, everything. The Ten Commandments are expressible in foot-pounds. God himself (Divine love) is but the apotheosis of the thermal unit. The stock, fixtures and capital of the universe is M. V.<sup>2</sup>.

Frank—Father, such is not the God of my idolatry. To me—pardon me for saying it—these captains of industry—present company excepted—being part of the great predatory carnivora, are ethically way down toward the protoplasmic bulb of the social thermometer.

Mr. Push—Protoplasmic! What's protoplasm, pray? Does it amount to anything till it becomes bioplasm? And what's the difference between protoplasm and bioplasm? I will tell you. Power. Bioplasm is protoplasm gone into business.

Frank—Father, the current of your thought has the force of a deeply-worn channel, but it seems to me the counting house is not all.

Mr. Push—No, but it's all that counts—

Frank—Father!

Mr. Push—What! A pun? Never. I've not grown frivolous. I'd have

every pun a punishable offense, I would, 'pon my word!

Frank (laughing)—Oh, that's too bad!

Mr. Push—Now what do you see fun in?

Frank—Final prepositions, dad.

Mr. Push—Never, I never said it. Don't you think I know better than to use a preposition to end a sentence with? I'd have you know I went to college to masters who made it their business to know just what we boys were giving our time to. If we played football when we should be doing our English, we were mighty soon come up with. But what was I speaking about? Oh yes, the grandeur of power.

Frank—And I was remarking that I thought there were other things quite as important in life—

Mr. Push—Rubbish, boy, rubbish! Don't you believe it without you're paid to. It is always power that tells. Do you think the masses would worship God if they did not believe Him all-powerful? Not a bit of it. We captains of industry are all but worshiped now, and as soon as we get everything hard and fast we shall be practically deified. Have you not noticed how careful your ordinary business man is with his political remarks? Does he criticise Mr. Roosevelt? Not a bit of it. Is he afraid of him because he is president? By no means. He simply knows that he is our man, and that we are liable to make him pay for his temerity, and, whatever he thinks, he keeps quiet.

Frank—But, pa, the coal barons talked to him like "Dutch uncles."

Mr. Push—And why not, pray? They, that is, we, have his political life in our hands, and need not be slow to tell him under what conditions we will permit him to live. Now, that's what I mean by power. Think of these grand captains—a mere cupful of them—dictating the policy of seventy odd million people in flat defiance both to their interests and their desires! History furnishes no parallel. Nero at the destruction of Rome—

Frank—Fiddle-dee-dee!

Mr. Push—I mean it! Nero was not a circumstance. What was the president in their hands? Let this be a lesson to you. Better be the power behind the throne than the puppet on it. We captains are the Warwicks; we are the kingmakers. Morgan's psychological name is Richard Neville. That scene at the white house was one of the most stupendous exhibitions of power—a veritable Niagara!

Why, if Caligula had had his wish and gotten the heads of all the Romans in his empire upon a single neck, he would not, as he severed its jugular, have been a type of more august power!

Frank—But Odell—

Mr. Push—Stop! Don't you mention his name. He's an anachronism. He spoke superficially, and before his surface had been properly undermined. I told the boys so. I said just how it would be. I knew—

Frank—"The old cow'd eat the grindstone."

Mr. Push—It would be just so. But you notice now, perhaps, that he's as dumb as "silence cut in alabaster." Having completed my thought I would ask you, young man, if you consider such remarks as your last exactly respectful?

Frank—That depends upon how you look at it. When you invite me to revere your power you seem to me no more august than a can of giant powder, and I feel as frivolous as a yard of kinky, sputtering fuse. As for the coal barons, these captains of Roosevelt—I mean of industry—it seems to me, of course I may be wrong, but it seems to me if they had not had a man of megaphone words and microphone deeds the farce would have had another ending. Had I been in his place—

Mr. Push—Bless me! Hear the boy talk! What would you have done? Let's hear how the stream would have risen higher than its source; how the thing would have emptied itself of what it did not contain; how—

Frank—Are not all men created free and equal?

Mr. Push—I could laugh if you were not my own flesh. To think that I have sent you to college all these years, and you still believe in that triune sophism, the most monstrous absurdity ever perpetrated upon the human race. There's not one atom of truth in it. Men are not created; they are not free; they are not equal. A galley-slave might as well claim peerage with the wielder of the lash or gavel, as for a laborer to arrogate co-importance with me. Multiplication means something, I fancy, and in me, boy, you see the tintured attar of the best part, the fruitful part, of the lives of 10,000 men. They are as bees whose honey I remove as fast as gathered, returning as much molasses as will enable them to continue the work.

Frank—And even the flowers are not yours.

Mr. Push—Will you permit me to

make a remark once in awhile? Of course I give back a great deal in charity. I build churches—that is, I help—and I endow colleges—

Frank—Honor bright, pater, would you, though, if they didn't teach your favorite political economy?

Mr. Push—My favorite political economy! As if there could be more than one. This from you, and I was so careful to send you to a college whose views were orthodox, I might almost say profitably orthodox. Boy, political economy is the science of social selfishness—

Frank—And hellishness is the science of personal selfishness. Pa, if there's a patentable distinction, I think your science is merely a subdivision of mine.

Mr. Push—Frank, you must change your views. You must get over your queer notions of life. Look around you. Your ideas are old, worn out, those of the Republican party in ante-bellum days. We've moved on since then.

Frank—Yes, you killed chattel slavery to bear and nourish economic slavery.

Mr. Push—What you say is true, but your terms are ill chosen, and your feeling unwarranted. Were you not taught that chattel slavery always ceases when free land ceases? I thought so. Well, that's just where economic slavery begins. In short, it is the competition of the economic slave that drives out the chattel slave. We own the economic slave without buying him, and when he's sick we don't have to spend money to doctor him; when he dies we simply get another.

Frank—"The Lord giveth, the Lord taketh away, pass us the next," as the colored parson said at the baptism when a convert slipped from him and was drowned.

Mr. Push—Slavery is inevitable. There must be kings and subjects. Every leaf can't become a petal. We are the flowers.

Frank—I think people will find a way to grow cryptogams pretty soon, and if I read the times aright there's going to be some tall disbud-ding done ere long.

Mr. Push—I see you haven't your nine-days' sight yet. I must dismiss you now, however. We'll discuss this further when time serves. In the meantime ease your mind. Remember, the blossom contains the seed and sows after its own kind. We captains are not fools. We control almost every maker of public opinion.

and are willing to control the rest—the daily papers, the spell-binders, the census and the magazines—that's why you see so many "captains of industry" articles—in short, we feed the public just what we want it to devour. These flowers we speak of won't be quickly modified. There's not been a new cereal evolved since the building of the pyramid of Cheops. Ponder on that, boy, and shut the door as you go out.

Exit Frank.

(Calling after him) I say! and don't forget, my son, whenever any crisis becomes unbearable, we can always bury the issue in an investigation.

End of Act I.

MELVIN L. SEVERY.

DEBT-COLLECTING IN THE 20TH CENTURY.

SUGGESTED BY SOME RECENT EVENTS IN VENEZUELA.

There were some gallant creditors,  
 Within topgallant ships;  
 They bucked against a little fort,  
 Constructed out of chips;  
 And, keeping bravely out of range,  
 To get that debt or die,  
 With cheeks that knew no pallid change,  
 Did dauntlessly let fly.  
 They banged away with shrapnel, and  
 They banged away with shell,  
 With solid shot, to beat the band,  
 They gave that fortress—well!  
 They also freely gave the same  
 To everything in sight,  
 And, firing with impartial aim,  
 Set all the towns alight;  
 And thus, until the set of sun,  
 Before that fort they lay,  
 And, volleying from every gun,  
 Bombarded through the day.  
 At sunrise on the morrow morn,  
 They started once again,  
 Directly with the dimmest dawn,  
 To rain the iron rain;  
 And, shooting high, and low, and wide,  
 Before the day was spent,  
 The deaths upon that country side  
 Were forty-nine per cent.  
 The third day came; the boats were  
 manned;  
 With cutlass, pike, and gun,  
 The swift marines were landed, and—  
 Retired—upon the run;  
 But, still unfrighted, dauntless still,  
 Beneath the tropic skies,  
 Did debt-collecting cannons fill  
 The welkin with surprise.  
 And still unfrighted, dauntless still,  
 Most ruthlessly did roar,  
 Bombarding like a crater, till  
 The darkness came once more.  
 I'm really very sorry—but,  
 About the fourth day's fight,  
 This history's mouth continues shut  
 Astonishingly tight.  
 Perhaps the fort was blown in air?  
 Perhaps they sallied away;  
 Perhaps they'll go bombarding there,  
 Until the judgment day.  
 —Bertrand Shadwell, in The New Age, of  
 London.

BOOKS

ROMAN HISTORY ONCE MORE.

Granrud's Roman Constitutional History (Allyn and Bacon, Boston) is primarily intended, as the preface tells us, to provide collateral reading, and to supplement the ordinary school histories of Rome. As a convenient hand-book it will doubtless be found serviceable to the general reader who may wish to get a brief connected view of the constitutional history of the so-called Roman Republic.

As to the quality of the book, it must be said that it is a fair representative of many text-books which are being published on historical subjects. The authors may be learned, but they lack one or both of two requisites for producing works of real literary value. First, they have little or no individuality of style, without which no book can be interesting. They write correctly; they offend no rule of grammar or rhetoric; but there is no idiom, no freeness, no life. The inoffensive sentences sound almost as if they were set for exercises in a "Prose Composition." It really seems that the moment a man starts out to write a book that may be used by young students, he is under bonds to be formal to the danger point of dullness.

Secondly, there are many learned authors, possessing great knowledge of detail, who show a lack of any firm grasp of the larger principles back of policies and events. This lack of a consistent view of the whole sometimes leads to incongruity of statement. In this book, for example, on p. 255 the author says, "Caesar's policy was to avoid civil war, if possible, and to obtain the consulship for 48"; whereas a few paragraphs farther, p. 257, he says, "Caesar, who desired war, privately offered to surrender the Gallic provinces on March 1, '49, provided he might retain at least Illyricum with one legion until he should enter on, or perhaps merely be elected to, the consulship of 48."

The author does not seem to us to have got at the heart of the political movements near the end of the republic. He does not seem to see the inevitableness of Caesar's course, by which alone could any liberty be preserved for the masses of the Roman people. Caesar did at least love justice; and he earnestly desired to carry out measures that would make life better for a people who were becoming more and more degraded by poverty and corruption. The miserable oligarchy which he supplanted, certainly a large majority of them, desired nothing but to reinforce their own greed and luxury. When we consider this preceding century of

constant degradation, wherein Rome reaped the rotten harvest of her long wars and of her system of land monopoly, it is quite absurd to talk about "liberty dying with the republic."

The author makes one very true remark about Caesar, that he "showed the greatest weakness in selecting his subordinates." The great statesman's mistake came from his big heart, from his disposition to think well of people, and from his honest desire for the reconciliation of "a house divided against itself."

J. H. DILLARD.

JOHN SWINTON.

The story of this picturesque man, journalist and labor agitator, is told with friendly appreciation but judicially by Robert Waters in a little paper covered volume which is published by Kerr, of Chicago.

Mr. Waters thinks Swinton made a mistake as a labor agitator in addressing himself exclusively to the working class, saying that if he could have touched the hearts of the well-to-do and "awakened their sense of duty, he might have accomplished much." The criticism is probably just. Mazzini discovered long ago that appeals to individuals and classes to defend their own rights have little of the force and none of the permanent influence of appeals to duty with reference to the rights of others. The man who fights for his own rights may be pacified with a new pair of boots, as was Mazzini's revolutionist; but the man who from a sense of duty fights for the rights of others is not cheaply beguiled. Swinton himself was a man of the latter kind.

But it must be confessed that, like many others of his kind, his influence was less than it might have been, because he depended for support ex-

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**"LOOK HERE UPON THIS PICTURE—AND ON THIS."**  
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U. S.—There must be some fundamental wrong back of all this to account for it. What the devil can it be?

clusively upon the classes he fought for. Yet those who knew John Swinton realized that he couldn't help it. He was John Swinton, and not somebody else. What John Swinton prompted him to do he did. This is the characteristic that distinguished him.

John Swinton's life, as Mr. Waters tells it, is a story to be thought of as well as enjoyed. It is the record of an English boy who came to the United States in the '30's, and as printer, journalist, publisher and orator participated in that irrepressible American conflict of ideas which began with the anti-slavery agitation and extended over into the labor struggle. With personal color it presents some aspects of an historic epoch.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

—"Toward the Light; Elementary Studies in Ethics and Economics" (London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., Lim., Paternoster Square) by Lewis H. Behrens, co-author of "Some Unrecognized Laws of Nature," "The Story of My Dictatorship," "Government by the People," etc. To be reviewed.

**LITERARY NOTES.**

A. S. B. in the Woman's Journal of Boston (Feb. 14) replies very cleverly, but withal a little testily, to Mr. Finck's attack upon coeducation, which appeared in the Independent several weeks ago. The article in the Journal calls attention incidentally to President Eliot's statement that 28 per cent. of Harvard graduates never marry, and that the married graduates have on an average only two children.—J. H. D.

In the Nineteenth Century for February Hon. Maud Pauncefoot has a readable article on "Washington, D. C." "The scale of life in Washington has increased," she writes, "during the last decade and almost doubled. . . . Parties are no longer simple affairs. Nowadays, dinners are superb,

French chefs, good wines, etc., are no longer the exception." She writes in a pleasant vein throughout, and has evidently taken away agreeable impressions of her life in Washington.—J. H. D.

The leading editorial in the Independent of March 5 asks the question, Are we a shallow people? The writer makes the surprising statement that "There is practically no sale in America for really serious books by American authors, however important the subject matter and however well written they may be. The best informed publishers in this city assure us that, instead of increasing, the demand for such works is noticeably less than it was ten years ago and very much less than it was twenty-five years ago." Of one fact, in keeping with the editor's thought, we believe there can be little doubt, that in American colleges there is a very decided decline in the tone of earnestness. Sport, clubs, and associations of numberless variety, have increased amazingly, bringing whatever of good may be attached to such activities; but we believe the percentage of really earnest students has become smaller within the past ten years. If the actual number of such students is not less, they certainly count for less in giving tone to college life.—J. H. D.

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