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Gen. Miles's report of American atrocities in the Philippines is calculated to do more for the honor of the army than all the suppressions by Secretary Root's war department and all the whitewashing by Senator Lodge's star chamber committee.

Gen. Miles does the army the service of exposing the villainies of its unworthy officers, with a view to having their villainy distinguished from its honor; whereas Lodge and Root, having identified the atrocious conduct of some army officers with the army's honor, as if those two things were one, have weakly tried to shield the former from exposure on pretense of saving the latter from disgrace.

The only disgrace that attaches either to the American army or to the American people, in connection with atrocities the previous reports of which Gen. Miles so plainly confirms, is in consequence not of the shameful acts but of their official and popular condonation. No one is responsible for the crimes of another, though his own agent, except as he makes them his own by approval or concealment, and to this sensible rule neither governments nor peoples are exceptions. Unhappily, however, that is what the War Department and Lodge's senatorial committee have done. They have approved or concealed. It might be said, also, that a majority of the American people also have done this, were it not for the fact that they have acted without knowledge, hav-

ing been misguided by our trusted public servants at Washington.

The Chicago Record-Herald (a leading independent Republican paper) truly says, in an editorial of its issue of the 28th on the subject of American outrages in the Philippines:

From first to last the government has not dealt frankly with the people on this subject. It began with censored dispatches; it purposely withheld reports that were finally forced from it; there are other reports that it has never published; there is continual complaint about the impossibility of getting at things in the War Department. What the baffled investigators and the people actually do get is the self-puffery of officials and a jingo commendation of the country and the army all in overwrought superlatives. . . . On the subject of the press dispatches we speak with absolute certainty when we say that the policy of the War Department was to suppress news, and it was in no position to affect a superior virtue when the subsequent charges of suppression were made. On the contrary, it was distinctly under suspicion, and the unwilling way in which it dribbled out documents to the Senate had a bad look. Manifestly such facts cannot be overthrown by the superlatives which sound like cheap rodomontade. The whole policy of suppression has been wrong in principle; it has resulted in wrong to this people and to the Filipinos; it is likely to prove wrong in the long run as a matter of political expediency. . . .

The report by Gen. Miles was itself suppressed for more than two months. Though it went to the war department February 19, it was not given out until April 27; and then it was forced out. The official explanation of this suppression is ridiculous. Because army inspection reports are usually withheld from publication lest the inspecting officer might fear the effects upon himself of being too candid, therefore—behold the "therefore"—therefore Gen. Miles's report was withheld. Think of it! One can conceive of a

timidity on the part of inspecting officers in reporting conditions for which officers of higher grade might be accountable, and to that extent there is good reason for the rule; but what has the military head of the army to fear? Who could punish him—the Secretary of War always excepted—for making over-candid reports? Bosh! The report was evidently withheld for no such reason. It was withheld for the same reason that other reports exposing the wickedness of our Philippine invasion have been withheld; namely, to conceal the shameful facts.

When the Miles report is at last forced into the light, by repeated demands from all quarters, some of Miles's subordinates do not show the least fear of making candid, not to say disrespectful, utterances regarding Gen. Miles, their military superior. The whole thing shows how unwelcome Miles's report was at the War Department, and foreshadows the strenuous inattention its horrible revelations are to receive at the hands of the Administration.

One of the excuses thrust forward now, in premature explanation of the manifest intention of the War Department to take no steps to save the honor of the army from the disgrace which must attach to it if Gen. Miles's revelations are ignored and the cruel wretches who wear American shoulder straps go unpunished, is that all the events Gen. Miles describes have been investigated and disposed of by court-martials. So much the worse. These court-martials, taking their cue from Lodge's committee, have simply turned themselves into whitewashing commis-

sions. Compare the crimes now exposed, with the court-martial verdicts, and say, if you can, that the honor of the army has been vindicated by the verdicts. Is it not rather that the villainy of some of its unworthy officers has been concealed and condoned? Take, for instance, one of these court-martial cases that came under Gen. Miles's attention and which he mentions in his report. A lieutenant with a squad of cavalry had tortured three priests. For this the lieutenant was court-martialed. He pleaded guilty, thus keeping the facts out of the record, and was sentenced to a fine of \$150 and suspension from command for three months. Other instances are abundant without reference to Gen. Miles's report. What officer of the American army has been punished by court-martial with any severity, for cruelty to Filipinos? None. Yet the fact of cruelty on an extensive scale is now at last conceded. The plea is no longer "the general issue;" it is "confession and avoidance" now.

The determination of the War Department to shield favorites from punishment is illustrated by the decision of the Secretary of War in the Funston case. Gen. Funston is circumstantially charged with participating in the atrocious barbarities which are now conceded to have marked the progress of the American invasion of the Philippines. The names of witnesses have been given, and the War Department has been appealed to to make an investigation. But not only has the Secretary been deaf to these appeals, but when Gen. Funston himself requested a court of inquiry the Secretary denied the request. Funston had been directly asked to make this request, for his own vindication if the charges are untrue. In view of the damning character of the testimony, together with the action of the Department, there is fair room for suspicion that when Funston requested the inquiry he knew his request would be refused.

Be that as it may, the refusal distinctly shows that the Department does not intend to allow the facts to come out. The Secretary's specific reason, that court-martial inquiry has already been made in the Philippines, appears flimsy enough in the face of the now notorious fact that Philippine court-martials are little if anything better than whitewashing affairs.

In connection with the Funston matter, Herbert Welsh, of Philadelphia, has challenged the Secretary of War to summon a court at which any witnesses that Gen. Funston desires shall be produced, but before which also certain other witnesses shall be summoned to appear, namely: Col. Edward C. Little, of Abilene, Kan., who organized the Twentieth Kansas; Lieut. John F. Hall, of the Twentieth Kansas, and William Moore, of Aliceville, Kan., who was ordered by Col. Metcalf, says Mr. Welsh, "to shoot a prisoner at Calocan, on his knees, begging piteously for mercy, and who refused." Though such a court, if not packed, or if held in the open, would vindicate Gen. Funston, if he really is innocent of participation in the army crimes in the Philippines, it is not at all likely that it will be summoned. Regarding Philippine atrocities, the Administration is as ill-naturedly fearful as the old country justice, of being confused by hearing both sides.

The utter worthlessness of the court-martial investigations which the Secretary of War makes his excuse for refusing further inquiry into the Funston case is shown by Col. Crowder's well-known report in the Putnam case. In the course of a military investigation a private soldier of the name of Putnam had admitted that he assisted in murdering Filipino prisoners of war. Upon learning of this admission Gen. Otis instructed Col. Crowder, the judge advocate, to institute court-martial proceedings against Putnam, and this was Crowder's official response:

The offense of Private Putnam, if

he has committed one, is manslaughter. His only defense would be a lawful order of his superior officer. If put on trial, it is probable that acts would develop implicating many others. I doubt the propriety of his trial and am of the opinion that considerations of public policy, sufficiently grave to silence every other demand, require that no further action be taken in this case.

That reply, accepted as it was by Gen. Otis and acquiesced in by the Secretary of War himself, casts grave suspicion upon all the Philippine court-martial proceedings. If fears of "implicating many others" could be regarded as justifying the authorities in refraining from prosecuting a private soldier who had solemnly confessed to murdering prisoners of war, the same fears may well have induced the suppression of evidence in other cases in which also "many others" might have been implicated.

The wholesome riot in the lower House of the Illinois legislature has resulted in no little illumination upon the ups and downs among Republican ring politicians in the legislature. The chairman of the House committee on municipal corporations has confessed before the investigating committee that a plan was on foot to defeat all traction legislation. Had Stewart been elected mayor of Chicago last month the plan would undoubtedly have carried. But Harrison's election so emboldened the Democratic members and so aggravated the anti-Lorimer Republicans, that a combination between them has produced a gratifying miscarriage of the plan. Pursuant to this plan, the Mueller bill was passed by the Senate, and the Lindly bill was thrust upon the House. But for the riot the latter would have been recorded in the house as passed, and, neither house receding, there would have been no legislation on the subject at all. But the ring could not muster a clear majority in the lower House, so the Speaker defied the constitution by ignoring constitutional demands for roll calls, and attempted to gavel the Lindly bill through. This produced the ca-

tastrophe with its promising possibilities of good results.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the contest was between a "bad Lindly bill" and a "good Mueller bill." Neither of these bills was originally introduced for anything but a see-saw to prevent all legislation. The way is now cleared, probably, for the Mueller bill; but, better though it is than the Lindly bill, especially with its amendments, it is even yet hardly an ideal measure. The Mueller bill authorizes public ownership with operation or with leasing, in the discretion of the cities respectively that avail themselves of its provisions. Leases can run no longer than 20 years, nor can they be made for more than five years without an opportunity for an initiative and referendum. But they can be made for five years, by mere ordinance. Five year leases might therefore be repeated without limit and without being referred to the people; but this is an improbable outcome. The people would be safer, however, if two years were substituted for five, so that each new council and mayor could be held to public responsibility on the subject. A more objectionable feature of the Mueller bill is its lack of provision for a popular initiative on the question of municipal operation. Not until a council submits the proposition can the people vote upon it. Even then they lose unless 60 per cent. vote in the affirmative. In other words, nearly 40 per cent. of the voters would count for more in the negative than over 59 per cent. would in the affirmative. Upon no consideration whatever is there an excuse for this that does not smell of aristocracy. It is noticeable, in this view of the matter, that ordinances to lease to private corporations for more than 5 years may be carried by majority referendum—not 60 per cent., but a majority. Thus a policy of corporate operation would be easier to adopt than one for municipal operation. It would be easier

for another reason. A policy of municipal operation could not be adopted by the council without permitting the people to vote upon it, nor then unless the favorable vote were 6 to 4; but a policy of corporate operation could be adopted by the council without popular consent, unless ten per cent. of the voters (some 40,000 in Chicago) should within 60 days file petitions for a referendum, each separate one being sworn to in personal verification of every signature upon it. Is there no dubious motive in these discriminations? Some parts of this bill, notably that which exempts municipal ownership in cities from the necessity of acquiring landlords' consents for establishing street railway lines along streets in which street railway tracks are already located, are good. But we have sufficiently shown that notwithstanding all its good points the Mueller bill is afflicted with bad ones which ought to be cured by further amendment.

Among the Republican occupants of the judicial bench in Chicago whom the Republican machine, under the management of "Boss" Lorimer, has renominated, is Judge Neely. This incumbent may be worthy of reelection, but certainly not if the following described incident is correctly reported. The report appeared on the 19th of April in the Chicago Evening Post, a Republican paper of unquestioned orthodoxy. We quote it in full:

Judge Neely does not regard the occupation of driving a laundry wagon as respectable. He so said to-day in passing upon the case of George W. Dickman, who had been arrested and after much persuasion had entered a plea of guilty of having stolen a suit of clothes and placed himself at the mercy of the Court.

"What is your business?" asked the judge of the prisoner.

"I drive a laundry wagon, your Honor," meekly answered the defendant.

"No wonder you steal," said the Court sharply. "Any man who would go around and gather up the soiled garments of other persons would be liable to steal a suit of clothing; it would come natural to him. Why don't you

get a respectable position? If you will change your work I will release you." Whether or not Judge Neely expressed that snobbish sentiment is for him and his party friends to settle with their party paper, the Evening Post; but if he did, he is unfit to sit upon the bench, and now is the time to get rid of him.

One of the present Republican incumbents of the bench in Chicago the Lorimer machine has got rid of without ceremony. This is Judge Waterman. The machine rubbed his name off the slate, and there was not independence enough in the convention to put it back again. Judge Waterman is one of the best lawyers and the fairest and most industrious judges in the Republican group now on the bench. That will be generally conceded. But the Republican bosses don't want that kind of judge. They refused to allow him to be renominated because he had recoiled from joining in making of the judicial offices of the county a center for the distribution of political spoils.

The Supreme Court of the United States has decided against giving relief to Negro citizens of the United States, domiciled in and citizens of Alabama, against the oppressive provisions of the new constitution of that State (vol. iii., p. 7; vol. iv., p. 821), which are transparently designed and unblushingly used to disfranchise Negroes because and only because they are Negroes. When it is considered that the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution, which were intended to protect the Negro, have served only to protect unthought-of corporations, one cannot but feel after all that the real deficiency of the Negro is not that he isn't a man with a soul but that he isn't a corporation without a soul.

The war upon Negroes in Missouri (p. 25) has its counterpart in southern Illinois. A Negro boy charged with crime was being taken to jail when a mob of white men seized him and hanged him off hand. They re-

port that he confessed his crime. That may be true or not, but this makes no difference. Confessions under such terrifying circumstances are valueless. Even if the confession were true and the black boy a criminal, that does not exonerate the white men. Nevertheless, in imitation of their Missouri exemplars, this Illinois mob followed up their murder of one Negro victim by making a murderous attack upon all the Negroes of the region, none of whom were parties to the boy's crime, if he committed a crime. It remains now to be seen whether the Republican governor of Illinois will be any more efficient in bringing white men to justice for murdering "niggers" than the Democratic governor of Missouri is likely to be.

The "nigger" of Russia is the Jew. All the vicious race animosity, prejudice and injustice which in this country brutal white men feel at liberty to indulge in their relations with Negroes as a race, the Russian barbarian cultivates towards Jews. At Kishineff, the capital of Bessarabia, the Jewish inhabitants were attacked on the 20th by a Russian mob, and 25 of these harmless people were murdered while 275 were wounded. Doubtless the Russians could give reasons as absurd and cruel for their war upon the Jew as Americans give for theirs upon the Negro, and doubtless their reasons seem to them as logical and humane. What makes the whole thing topsy-turvy is that the murderous brute in each case imagines himself superior to his unresisting victim.

Whether the Supreme Court of Illinois was right in holding invalid the entire statute establishing free employment agencies because of the unconstitutional provisions of one section, it was certainly right in holding that section itself invalid. The act in question provides for State bureaus through which persons seeking employment and employers seeking help may be accommodated

without expense. This in itself may be open to criticism as paternalistic, though it can be excused on poor-house principles; but for the section to which the court has objected and held to be fatal there is no excuse either in law or in the principles of democratic government. It declares that any employer whose employes are on strike or have been locked out, shall be allowed none of the facilities of the employment bureaus. The evident object of the section was to make the law palatable to labor unions. But it was clearly invalid. When the State sets up establishments of any kind for the benefit of the public, it has no right to make arbitrary discriminations. If workmen are discriminated against in some respects that is no reason for discriminating in their favor in others. The proper remedy for existing discriminations is to abolish them, not to make more.

We were not wrong in guessing that the Republican and brevet-Republican papers would foam at the mouth indignantly at Mr. Bryan's Kansas City speech on Grover Cleveland. The echoes are numerous, but the Boston Herald and the Providence Journal are especially rabid. Their evident anxiety to have both political parties nominate Republican candidates next year, and their anger at Bryan for being "mischievously determined to destroy" that possibility, afford gratifying evidence that Mr. Bryan's speech has hit the mark in the center.

An impressive commentary upon our "abounding prosperity" was unconsciously made last week by the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation of Massachusetts. After investigating the textile strike in Lowell, the Board reported to the Governor that only one corporation could afford to pay the ten per cent. increase in wages demanded by the strikers. To soften this conclusion the Board presented figures to show that the operatives were not so badly off after all. They had already shared in

"prosperity" to the extent of 16 per cent. rise in wages since 1897, and been mulcted for it to the extent of only 15.37 per cent. A weekly wage, therefore, of \$10 in 1897 would now be \$11.60; and if the family had then been spending nine dollars for living expenses and saving one dollar, they would now spend \$10.38 and save \$1.22. Who says that this is not a clear gain of 22 cents a week on a \$10 operative's income? And isn't that prosperity—for those "inferior" people?

At last the city of Detroit is anxious to secure municipal ownership of the street car system. She had an excellent opportunity to do this less than five years ago, when Tom L. Johnson and Gov. Pingree worked together for it. Had their plans not been balked, partly by men who are now favoring municipal ownership, all the street car systems of Detroit would long since have been municipal property and on far better terms as to purchase price than is possible now.

EQUALITY.

I.

In "The Virginian," by Owen Wister (pp. 143-144) occurs the following passage. The cowboy from Virginia and the Vermont school mistress are taking a horseback ride.

"All men are born equal," he now remarked, slowly.

"Yes," she answered, with a combative flash. "Well?"

"Maybe that don't include women?" he suggested.

"I think it does."

"Do you tell the kids so?"

"Of course I teach them what I believe."

He pondered. "I used to have to learn about the Declaration of Independence. I hated books and struck when I was a kid."

"But you don't any more?"

"No. I certainly don't. But I used to get kep' in at recess for bein' so dumb. I was most always at the tail end of the class. My brother, he'd be head sometimes."

"Little George Taylor is my prize scholar," said Molly.

"Knows his task, does he?"

"Always. And Henry Dow comes next."

"Who's last?"

"Poor Bob Carmody. I spend more time on him than on all the rest put together."

"My!" said the Virginian. "Ain't that strange!"

She looked at him, puzzled by his tone. "It is not strange when you know Bob," she said.

"It's very strange," drawled the Virginian. "Knowin' Bob don't help it any."

"I don't think I understand you," said Molly, stiffly.

"Well, it is mighty confusin'. George Taylor, he's your best scholar, and poor Bob, he's your worst, and there's a lot in the middle—and you tell me we're all born equal."

Molly could only sit giggling in this trap he had so ingeniously laid for her.

"I'll tell you what," pursued the cow puncher, with slow and growing intensity, "equality is a great big bluff. It's easy called. . . ."

"I know a man that mostly wins at cards. I know a man that mostly loses. He says it's his luck. All right. I know a man that works hard and is gettin' rich, and I know another that works hard and is gettin' poor. He says it's his luck. All right. Call it luck. I look around and see folks movin' up or movin' down, winners or losers everywhere. All luck, of course, but since folks can be born so different in their luck, where is your equality? No, seh! Call your failure luck, or call it laziness, wander around the words, prospect all yu' mind to, and yu'll come out the same old trail of inequality."

Thus, in the lighter literature, under the guise of a sparkling banter between a young man and a maiden, are we taught the deepest truths of political science.

The touch of nature is one of the truest in that excellent book, and one wonders if the sentiment is really that of the author, or if it is only his puppet who makes this assault upon the Declaration of Independence. The same argument is so often made and is so effective that it may be considered the standby of a certain political school. The specious assumptions of the premises, the garish cheapness of the reasoning, and the adroit non sequitur of the conclusions are of the kind to bring conviction to minds which are unable to distinguish between counterfeit and genuine logic. In pretty much the same way the theory of the Declaration of Independence has been exploded so often, everywhere, in morning lead-

ers, in the ponderous essays of the quarterlies, and in attractive dialogues like the above, that many people, educated and uneducated, are convinced by it. The logical faculty does not seem to be always strengthened by education as we have it.

Some men are possessed of keener penetration and sounder judgment than others, therefore all men are not created equal. Some men achieve fortune and distinction where other men, under the same conditions, remain in obscurity and poverty; therefore, in the pursuit of happiness there is no equality. Some men are more worthy of trust, more capable of shouldering responsibility, and therefore better fitted to hold office than others; therefore the Declaration of Independence was a mistake.

This argument is usually made with extreme circumspection—to avoid wounding the sensibilities of those who still fondly cling to the old notion of equality, of course, and not to save the argument itself from becoming absurd. Yet, it is capable, with a little indulgence, of running itself into the ground. It might, for instance, be thus stated: Some men are taller than others, some have blue eyes and some have brown, some have good digestion and some are hopelessly dyspeptic, therefore the revolt of the American colonies against the British government on the theory of equality in the matter of taxation and representation was uncalled for and a stupid blunder at best.

II.

What could those brave and earnest signers have meant by such nonsense? Imagine Benjamin Franklin, that embodiment of practical sagacity, subscribing to the sentiment that all men have equal capacity to earn a living! Think of John Adams, the ceremonious stickler for forms, setting his name to the statement that all men are equal in courtesy! Think of Robert Morris, Edward Rutledge, and the rest, agreeing to the whole mess of absurdities which we are told are properly deducible from the famous Declaration.

They could not have done it with sincerity, and Mr. Jerome, of New

York, becomes so impatient with them that he does not hesitate to call them "those old fakirs," while Mr. Lodge, of Massachusetts, more than hints that some of them were demagogues. Mr. Jerome passes for a Democrat, and Mr. Lodge is a Republican in good standing, so that the enlightenment and progress of our day is not confined by party lines.

The iconoclasts might be persuaded to take the more charitable view that the whole thing was a joke, since Franklin, Jefferson and some of the others are known to have possessed a sense of humor. If it was a joke, it was a most successful one, and it was perpetrated not only upon the British whom they were seeking to outwit, but also upon their fellow rebels and upon the generations of their posterity which have followed. How they must have poked each other in the ribs and chuckled their delight in the intervals between their deliberations! What a rich joke, to be sure! Everybody at the time swallowed it, and 85 years later, Abraham Lincoln, himself a joker, took it down without suspicion, quoting freely and with approval from the Declaration and from Jefferson's expositions of the doctrine of equality.

III.

There is a possible explanation of arguments like that quoted from "The Virginian," an explanation not often advanced, and suggested here with extreme hesitation and yet with some confidence. It is that people who argue thus, Mr. Jerome, for instance, never read the Declaration of Independence. The document is printed in a good many places, but I will venture to insert here again the passage which gives rise to all this discussion:

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments were instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organiz-

ing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Could those iconoclasts have read that, really?

If the Declaration had stopped with the first two lines quoted, it would be evident enough that the words "created equal," taking into consideration the times and the conditions under which the instrument was penned, were intended merely as a denial of the divine right of kings. It is an assertion that the distinctions which make some men kings, lords and masters, and other men subjects, vassals and slaves are not natural but artificial distinctions. Men were not created that way, but were made so by institutions of men.

But, instead of stopping there, if one takes the context—not only the rest of the passage quoted, but the entire instrument—the meaning is so clear, so impossible to misunderstand, that the theory that Jerome and people like the Virginian never read it, seems the only possible explanation of their attitude.

Men have certain inalienable rights. That is to say, there are certain principles of natural justice which affect all men equally. So far as the government affects men, it should preserve this equality. What is law for one man should be law for another. No restrictions should be placed upon the pursuit of happiness for one man from which another is exempt. It cannot properly be made a crime for one man to steal and a virtue for another man to embezzle. What one man earns should not be taxed into another man's pocket. Opportunities, so far as the government and the laws affect them, should be made equal, so that the natural abilities of men may have an equal chance to achieve their best.

That is the argument. Then, as if to leave no room for doubt or quibble as to what the Declaration meant, there follows a long list of grievances showing how the particular government against which they were rebelling had operated unequally, so that another government which would preserve that equality became necessary.

Yet we have arguments like that by the Virginian in fiction and similar ones by those like him in real life, starting with the premise that the signers of the Declaration were "fakers" and "demagogues," who intended to say that all men are created equal in ability and deserts and therefore should be equal in condition, equal in honors and in creature comforts. Could they have read it, really?

IV.

Of course, since that day, the social structure has become a much more complex thing than it was then. The preservation of the equal opportunities seems much more difficult. The problem has been to a degree transferred, it is said, from the province of politics proper to that of politico-economic questions have thrust themselves into politics and demand the consideration of the government. Nevertheless it cannot be presumed that that is a reason for waiving aside the principles of the Declaration. Such questions should first be tried by those principles. It can be easily shown, though there is not space for it here, that the true solution of the vexing questions of the hour turns upon the solution of the fundamental problem, how to secure and maintain, politically and economically, equal opportunities, how equally to "give every man a chance."

V.

Whether or not some, who use arguments like that in the quotation with which this article begins, have failed to read the Declaration of Independence, there are those with whom it would make no sort of difference to understand perfectly the scope and intent of that document, those who resent the notion of equality in any sense as a sort of personal affront. They make the argument in the utmost good faith. Complacent in their secure and comfortable positions in life they calmly assume an inferiority in the less fortunately placed, forgetting that their own superiority is one of position merely and not of personal excellence.

There is really very little reasoning in it, but when there is it assumes

about this form: Men, they discover, are not equal in ability, nor in deserts. At the same time it is seen that some men have easy access to fortune, while others are born under conditions from which nothing can lift them even to ease and comfort. It becomes easy, then, to mix the two and make the able identical with the fortunate. Starting with the premise that some by reason of ability and character, are more worthy of political power and economic advantage than others, they reason that therefore they should be invested with them. Opportunities, instead of being equal, should be granted the worthy and withheld from the unworthy. Then it is but a step to the conclusion that some are in the enjoyment of superior privileges because of their superior worthiness. They have achieved advantages by reason of their ability. The same reasoning applies to nations as well as individuals.

In those two conclusions, first, that the more worthy should have greater privileges, and, second, that those who now enjoy superior advantages have achieved them by superior merit, is enough to prove all that such people require. The first justifies government aids to prosperity in the way of subsidies, protection, monopolies and special privileges of all sorts whereby some men may reap where other men have sown. In the second is embraced the argument by which all the oppression, tyranny, conquest and exploitation of all the ages has been justified. It is the argument which protects franchise grabbers, railroad wreckers and corrupters of legislatures in the fruits of their crimes.

It is usually those interested in maintaining the status quo, who thus divide the world into the worthy and unworthy, and they never classify themselves with the unworthy. They never assign to themselves the inferior opportunities, nor to their nation the role of the have-to-be-governed-by-a-superior-people. It is always the other fellow who is the inferior, unworthy, heretic, barbarian, foreign devil, etc.

The term "demagogue" is often used without justification in applica-

tion to men who make, honest arguments and appeal to reason and justice, but it has a definite significance, meaning one who appeals to the passion and prejudice of the so-called "lower classes." But what opprobrious word fits the case of the pettefogger, sometimes in a professor's gown, who appeals to the pride and the cupidity of the rich and powerful class by telling them that they are enjoying the rewards of superior virtues? This sort of appeal is on a moral level with the virtuous solicitude of the protected baron who, securely entrenched in his law-created privileges, exhorts the common people to be self-reliant, independent, and to scorn government aids to prosperity.

VI.

It is charged, as an objection to the Declaration, that it was an echo of Rousseau, that its defenders were doctrinaires, and their expositions were imitations of the "cheap pseudo classicisms of the French revolution."

It is true that Rousseau did say some things very like those afterwards taught by the Revolutionary fathers. It is also true that the "social compact" theory, upon which Rousseau built his system, has long ago been exploded by political philosophers. Yet Rousseau perceived and expressed some truths in which the French revolutionists and the American revolutionists alike found their inspiration. None of those, however, was the first to give them voice. They all got them second hand from the greatest of all teachers of equality, the Author of the Sermon on the Mount. Before that expounder of natural equality, how flimsy and contemptible become all the conventional artifices by which men claim superiority to each other! How unsubstantial the superior "rights" and higher "obligations" and "duties", under cover of which they plunder and oppress each other!

The ideal of human relations which He set before mankind was taken up by our fathers and translated—imperfectly, it may be—into the language of politics, and thus aroused our people to power and achievement as none on earth was ever aroused before. The ideal, even as apprehended by the fathers, has never been re-

alized, nor anything near it. It has only been at a long distance approached. But the ideal has done the work, and it will be a sad day for us when we return to the old and outgrown notions of inequality and dependence which it displaced.

However, every generation has its quibblers, its pseudo thinkers, who formulate their little objections to the laws of God, their points of agreement in their vacuous principles, and call their conclusions "the trend of thought."

JOHN TURNER WHITE.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

New Orleans, April 25.—Striking as the contrast was in many respects, there was one point of likeness between the two large national conventions that have recently met in New Orleans. However much subsidiary talk there may have been in each, each was dominated by one thought. The convention of women was not more distinctly concerned with the one question of suffrage than was the convention of manufacturers with the one question of union labor. Mr. Parry set the keynote in his vigorous presidential address, and the convention could not get away from it. It was in the air.

President Parry's address had been printed and circulated among the members some time before the convention met, and this fact had the effect of concentrating the attention of delegates upon the question. It is evident that he intended that it should do so. Any reader of his address can see that he is one who faces issues and leaves compromises to others. Nor was there much spirit of compromise in the convention. It is true that the resolutions were directed against what was termed the vicious elements in unionism, but it was not hard to read between the lines that pretty near anything was vicious except an innocuous organization for mutual improvement and education. Emphasis was laid on the part of Mr. Carroll D. Wright's address in which he said that some of the methods of unionism were "damnable," and great interest was shown in the reported formation of a union of non-unionists to protect themselves from the "damnable" oppression of union labor.

If there was much opposition to the prevailing spirit of the convention, it did not make itself manifest. It is not unlikely that there was more than

appeared, and there were doubtless some who would have advised more conciliatory measures, if they had not felt that their opposition would be useless. The only notable effort was that of Mayor Jones, and this had no effect upon the convention. In fact the convention refused to listen to him. He was so constantly interrupted by motions and calls of question, that he said but little, and soon good-humoredly took his seat. As one looks back upon the episode, it seems that perhaps Mayor Jones began unfortunately. Had he started by speaking directly of the unwisdom of the proposed resolution as a declaration of war between capital and labor, and of the probable injury of such a resolution to the association itself, perhaps he might at the last have got a hearing for the noble words of peace, good-will and the golden rule with which he sought to begin. It is true that from his point of view these thoughts were pertinent, and to an interrupter who demanded that he speak to the question, he quickly retorted that the question was one of humanity, yet it was evident that the convention would not listen.

Tense as the situation was, with President Parry on his feet, Mayor Jones attempting to speak, and two or three members making motions, I could not keep from being amused at a man who sat near me on the outskirts of the seats. He was laughing to split his sides, not aloud of course, but to himself, and in the midst of his laughter he kept slapping his knee and saying: "Jones wants to tell 'em the golden rule, and they don't want to hear anything about the golden rule. They—don't—want—to—hear—the golden—rule." He could hardly get the words out for laughing. A veritable modern Democritus, he seemed to be talking to no one in particular, and was enjoying the fun all to himself.

But this laughing philosopher could not banish thoughts of awful seriousness. During an hour or two of that morning session there must have been more than one who felt, perhaps more intensely than ever before, the presence of an irrepressible conflict—a conflict having its origin in injustice and leading to evils on both sides.

Irrepressible as it seems at times, may not the conflict yet be averted? Has not civilization, through its turmoils and past conflicts, advanced far enough to make a peaceful forward movement in the evolution of social conditions? Can we not look deep enough below the surface to see that the spirit of special privilege and mo-

nopoly, which maintains the unjust advantage of some over others, and the appropriation by some of what belongs to all—is both the evil genius of capital and the destruction of labor? Will not the voters of America rise up and destroy this undemocratic inequality which is the arch-enemy of industrial peace? These were the solemn questions that came to my mind as I left the convention hall that morning.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Apr. 30.

When Gen. Miles returned on the 16th of February from a five months' trip around the world (vol. v., p. 730), he brought with him a report of his inspection of the American army in the Philippines. This report was formally made on the 19th of February, but its publication was withheld (p. 34) by the War Department until the 27th of April, when it was for the first time given to the public. It is of special interest and value because of its candid disclosure of cruelties committed upon Filipinos by Americans in authority in the Philippines. Accompanying the report is an unofficial statement of the Department to the effect that the Secretary of War has held such reports to be confidential, in order that the officer making them might be free to comment as he desired, but as it was learned that Gen. Miles had no objection this report is made public.

Gen. Miles says that in going from Colamba to Batangas in November last he noticed that the country appeared devastated and that the people were much depressed. At Lipa a party of citizens, headed by the acting president, met him and stated that they desired to make complaint of harsh treatment of the people of that community, saying that they had been concentrated in towns and had suffered great indignities; that 15 of their people had been tortured by what is known as the water torture; and that one man, a highly respected citizen, aged 65 years, named Vincente Luna, while suffering from the effects of the torture and unconsciousness, was dragged from his house, which had been set on fire, and was burned to death. They stated that these atrocities were commit-

ted by a company of scouts under command of Lieut. Hennessey, and that their people had been crowded into towns, 600 being confined in one building. A doctor of the party said he was ready to testify that some of the 600 died from suffocation. Gen. Miles says he looked at the building, which was one story in height, 18 or 20 feet wide, and possibly, 60 or 70 feet long. Referring then to other cases, Gen. Miles says that on the island of Cebu it was reported and published in November, 1902, that two officers—Capt. Samuels, Forty-fourth infantry, United States volunteers, and Lieut. Feeter, Nineteenth infantry—had committed similar atrocities upon the people of that island. He also states that it was reported to him that at Laoag, on the island of Luzon, two natives were whipped to death. At Tacloban, Leyte, it was reported that Maj. Glenn ordered Lieut. Caulfield, Philippine scouts, to take eight prisoners out into the country, and that if they did not guide him to the camp of the insurgent Quison he was not to bring them back. It was stated that the men were taken out and that they either did not or could not do as directed. One of the men who had a son among the scouts was spared; but the others were separated into two parties numbering three or four, and while tied together were all murdered by being shot or bayoneted, some being in a kneeling position at that time. The pretense was made that they were killed while attempting to escape, but so far as Gen. Miles could learn no official report was ever made of the circumstance. These facts had been reported to Gen. Miles by Maj. Watts, who investigated the case. Besides Lieut. Caulfield, Civilian Scouts Ramos, Preston, Corn and McKeen were participants in the crime. At Calbayog, Samar, it was reported to the general that several men in that district had undergone the water torture. He saw three who had been subjected to this treatment. One was the president of the town, Mr. Rozales, who showed him long, deep scars on his arm, which he said were caused by the cords with which he was bound. The second man was Jose Borja. The third was Padre Jose Diaznes, who stated that he was one of three priests who had been subjected to torture by troops under the command of Lieut. Gaujot. Tenth cavalry; that his front teeth had been knocked out, and that he was otherwise maltreated. It was fur-

ther stated that these priests were taken out to be killed, and were saved only by the prompt action of Maj. Carrington, First infantry, who sent for them. Lieut. Gaujot was tried, pleaded guilty, and was given the trivial sentence of three months' suspension from command, forfeiting \$50 per month for the same period. His pleading guilty kept all the facts and circumstances from being developed. It appears furthermore that Maj. Glenn, Lieut. Conger and a party of assistants and native scouts were moved from place to place for the purpose of extorting statements by means of torture. This party became notorious as "Glenn's brigade." Commenting upon these reports, Gen. Miles intimates that it was hardly possible for subordinate officers to be engaged in such acts without the personal knowledge of the general upon whose staff they were serving at the time—namely: Brig. Gen. Hughes. He (Gen. Miles) was informed that it was common talk, at the places where officers congregated, that such transactions had been carried on, either with the connivance or approval of certain commanding officers; though he acquits several of responsibility, including, Gens. Lawton, Wade, Sumner, Lee and Baldwin. With certain officers he found the impression to prevail that such acts were justifiable, and to correct that impression and prevent the possibility of such acts being committed in the future he addressed to the division commander a letter of instructions in which he called attention to the reports of atrocities and directed that all orders or circulars of personal instruction which might inspire or encourage any act of cruelty be annulled, observing therein that "the excuse that the unusual conditions justify the measures herein condemned is without foundation." Gen. Miles directs attention, too, to the acts of reconcentration by Gen. Bell and condemns them as being in direct violation of law. He says that the law was violated also in the handling of rice, which the people who were in the concentration camps as prisoners of war were compelled to buy at a large profit. He characterizes this as unprecedented, and speaks of the magnitude of the transactions, which involved 21,000,000 pounds of rice and other supplies at a cost of \$306,320. This thriftiness was disapproved by a division commander, who turned the matter over to the civil

authorities, and thereafter it was carried on under an act of the Philippine commission.

Gen. Miles's other observations are the following:

As the result of my observations it is my judgment that the discontinuance of the liquor feature of the canteen has been beneficial to the army. Now that the temptation has been removed from the immediate presence of the young men of the army, they are less likely to indulge in the use of liquor. . . . While it is claimed that the people are pacified, evidences of hostility toward American sovereignty are apparent. The newspapers published, in both Spanish and English, contain almost daily accounts of hostilities, depredations or disturbances of the peace. . . .

I found a large proportion of the troops occupying church property, monasteries, colleges and convents. This I believe to be entirely wrong, and it should be discontinued without delay. It is a serious detriment to the property, and, while it may prevent destruction by fire to some extent, yet the damage done to the buildings will be extensive, and it simply will result in claims for millions of dollars being brought against the United States, which undoubtedly will have to be paid. . . .

While the supplies, as a rule, have been abundant and of good quality, there is, in my opinion, too much cold storage-meat used for the good of the troops. Its constant use becomes distasteful, and, in the opinion of many eminent physicians, it is not the most healthful. In my opinion it would be advisable to send government steamers to Australia and have them loaded with live stock, which can be distributed in small quantities near the different garrisons, so that they could at any time have fresh beef and mutton as a part of the ration. . . . In my journeys through the archipelago I was frequently appealed to to aid in assisting the people to obtain a food supply, of which they will be in great need in the near future. I do not think there is to-day a people so sorely afflicted as the 8,000,000 of inhabitants of this archipelago.

Accompanying Gen. Miles's report are comments upon it by his subordinates, whom it affects. Regarding the cruelties, Gen. Davis, judge advocate, writes, as reported by the daily press, that they—

have been made the subject of special investigations; in some instances these have been conducted by courts martial and their findings and sentences have been duly promulgated in orders; in others the inquiries have been intrusted to inspectors or to officers designated for that purpose by the

commanding general in the Philippines. Where administrative action has been called for, as a result of such investigations, it has been taken by the proper military commander, if the parties continued within his jurisdiction; in other cases the matter has been submitted to the Department with a view to a resort to such punitive remedial orders as were deemed appropriate, and these representations have resulted in a number of court-martial trials. As to some phases of these inquiries the investigations are not yet complete, and a reference of the papers to the Philippine islands or officers who are now serving in the United States has been necessary. Whether the necessity for any further administrative action, in addition to that already taken, will be disclosed as a result of such investigation can only be determined when inspection reports are received at the department.

Gen. Davis proceeds to discuss at some length the distribution of rice in concentration camps, explaining that—

in order to restore civil order and to provision the people in the concentration camps, it was determined by Gen. Bell, with the approval of the commanding general, that purchases of rice should be made by the subsistence department, the latter to be reimbursed by the military government.

He continues:

The measures resorted to were dictated by military necessity; they were undertaken with the approval of the local military commander, and were calculated to meet an emergency of impending famine in such a way as to relieve actual distress, without pauperizing the native population and without casting the burden of their support upon the insular treasury when public order had been restored and the provinces relegated to civil control.

Surgeon General O'Reilly says of the canteen that it—

has always been considered to be a means by which the average soldier, not a drunkard but a user of liquor, can get a few glasses of beer at home and every day in the month if he so desires, instead of being attracted to saloons, where he is tempted to spend his month's pay at once for vile liquor and in gambling.

Gen. Weston says that his office has never received any complaint about frozen beef, but, on the contrary, uniform commendations. He adds:

Native beef is out of the question, even if it were possible to procure it, and there would be danger in using it, besides its being poor, stringy and tough. The experiment of bringing

in cattle was tried and was an absolute failure.

Gen. Chaffee comments in a newspaper interview in which he refers to the sales of food to concentration prisoners, saying:

The only part of Gen. Miles' report that interests me is that about the distribution of food in Batangas, and I would like to know whether or not he means to say we stole anything. At any rate, I will say that I was responsible. A serious condition of affairs was existing at the time and we decided on the concentration policy to put down the insurrection.

The progress of Eastern invasion in the Orient, of which Gen. Miles's report and the comments upon it of his subordinates are a phase, is marked by further aggression on the part of Russia. Apparently at least this is so, upon the face of the foreign dispatches; for unless they are grossly misleading Russia has decided upon the appropriation of Manchuria permanently.

Manchuria is part of the extreme northeast of the empire of China and borders upon Russia. Its southern port, Port Arthur, came formally into the possession of Russia in 1898 under circumstances calculated to disturb the relations of Russia, Japan and Great Britain. This danger was temporarily averted by the greater international complications resulting from the Boxer troubles in China, in the forcible and diplomatic adjustment of which Germany, France and the United States participated, along with Russia, Japan and Great Britain. While all these powers were advancing with troops upon Peking, Russia subjugated Manchuria, her pretense being that the southern frontiers of the Russian empire were in danger from Manchurian disturbances; and when the Boxer uprising had been put down and while negotiations for the withdrawal of the European troops were in progress, Russia formally assumed a protectorate over Manchuria. To this proceeding objections were made by Great Britain, Japan and the United States. The objections were met, however, by assurances from Russia that as soon as lasting order had been established in Manchuria and indispensable measures taken by China for the protection of railroad construction there, she would withdraw (vol. iv., p. 711-12). Arrangements

for her withdrawal were accordingly made about a year ago (vol. v., p. 823), it being agreed between China and Russia that Russia should evacuate within a year from the date of the signing of the treaty. A treaty to this effect was signed at Peking, April 8, 1902 (vol. v., p. 10), its terms being as follows (vol. v., p. 40), as summarized by the Washington dispatches of the time:

Russia agrees to restore the civil administration of Manchuria, without reserve, to the Chinese empire; to evacuate Manchuria completely, so far as military or civil control is concerned, within one year from the date of the treaty; to remove her army, except a small force for guarding the Russian railway, within one year, withdrawing a part of the troops in four months, another part in eight months and the final quota in twelve months; and to surrender all claim to exclusive railway and mining privileges in Manchuria, pledging herself and China to the "open door" principle in that province.

There was, however, a reservation attached to the treaty. It declared that if the Chinese government should violate any of the terms stipulated as conditions of the evacuation—

the Russian government would not hold itself bound either by the terms of the Manchurian agreement or by the declarations previously made in connection with the matter.

This treaty had probably been forced by Japan. It was reported, at any rate, that Japan had demanded of China either that Russia be ejected from Manchuria or that the temporary occupation of that territory be made international; and this demand received the moral support of Great Britain and the United States. Great Britain went even farther. She entered into a treaty for five years with Japan (vol. iv., p. 712) for the joint protection of their respective interests in China and Korea. But little more had been heard until the present week regarding Russia's occupation of Manchuria. It now appears, however, that instead of evacuating in accordance with the requirements of the treaty with China, she has been pressing China for Manchurian concessions. Negotiations to this end are said to have been under way since January. They were evidently aggressive on Russia's part, for the Chinese foreign office seems to have taken pains to allow some of her demands to leak out for the

purpose of attracting the attention of the other Powers.

Whether these demands as reported from Peking on the 23d were really made by Russia is not yet certain. The report of their nature appears to have the unofficial sanction of the Chinese foreign office; but, on the other hand, its truth is unofficially denied by the foreign office of Russia. As reported from Peking, the demands are eight in number, as follows:

1. No more Manchurian ports or towns are to be opened.
2. No more foreign consuls are to be admitted into Manchuria.
3. No foreigners, except Russians, are to be employed in the public service of Manchuria.
4. The present status of the administration of Manchuria is to remain unchanged.
5. The customs receipts at the port of New Chwang are to be given to the Russo-Chinese bank.
6. A sanitary commission is to be organized under Russian control.
7. Russia is entitled to attach the telegraph wires and poles of all Chinese lines in Manchuria.
8. No territory in Manchuria is to be alienated to any other power.

Diplomatic circles everywhere were excited over this report from Peking. The demands were regarded as indicating a purpose on the part of Russia to annex Manchuria to the Russian empire and close the "open door" to commerce, and as being consequently in violation of Russia's pledges and a gross breach of international good faith. On the 25th, consequently, the American ambassador to Russia and the American minister to China were instructed from Washington to lay before the governments of those countries a protest from the President against these Russian demands. Similar protests were reported on the 29th from London to have been made by the British and Japanese ministers at Peking. Thus far no response to those notes is reported. But dispatches of the 27th from St. Petersburg state that the Russian foreign office has unofficially put forth a denial, quoting the demands as reported from Peking and appending its comments to each as follows:

1. No more Manchurian ports or towns are to be opened. Comment: "Absolutely false. Not our affair."
2. No more foreign consuls are to be admitted into Manchuria. Com-

ment: "Depends upon China. Not mentioned in our pour parlers."

3. No foreigners except Russians are to be employed in the public service of Manchuria. Comment: "False."

4. The present status of the administration of Manchuria is to remain unchanged. Comment: "Unimportant."

5. The customs receipts at the port of New Chwang are to be given to the Russo-Chinese bank. Comment: "Such is the present arrangement."

6. A sanitary commission is to be organized under Russian control. Comment: "Extremely important, since an English vessel in 1902 introduced the plague."

7. Russia is entitled to attach the telegraph wires and poles of all Chinese lines in Manchuria. Comment: "False."

8. No territory in Manchuria is to be alienated to any other power. Comment: "The integrity of China is already adopted into the Russian programme. No need to discuss that now."

To these categorical comments the Russian foreign office authorized, according to the same dispatches, the following additional remarks:

There is nothing directed in any manner against the interests of the other powers or their commerce; others enjoy the same rights of commerce in the interior as we. Of the towns not opened to trade the railway will carry Russian and foreign goods alike through the country, but we or they cannot sell them in the unopened towns. If the towns are opened all will benefit alike. It is in the railways' interest to demand the widest possible developments of trade. The pourparlers concern multitudinous detailed questions, which were not foreseen when the question was decided upon.

Peking dispatches of the 28th were to the effect that the Chinese foreign office had given Russia a final and definite refusal to allow her Manchurian demands.

In northeastern Africa the British conquest of the back country of British Somaliland proceeds painfully against the resistance of the "Mad Mullah." Last year's reports from this movement told (vol. v., p. 503) of the disastrous rout of Col. Swayne in the early Fall, and his displacement by Gen. Manning, who contemplated a new advance in November. In March the Mullah's force was reported to have been defeated, and on the 16th of April to have been de-

feated again. By this week's news Gen. Manning appears to have suffered one serious defeat and later to have won a substantial victory. The losing engagement was fought on the 17th near Gumburru, 40 miles west of Galadi. Col. Cobbe was at Gumburru, on his way westward to Walwal. He had decided to return to Galadi, owing to bad paths and shortness of water; and when about to leave his fortified camp he heard firing to the west in the direction of a small reconnoitering party under Capt. Olivey. He consequently dispatched Col. Plunkett with a force of 208 to the relief of Olivey. Olivey had not in fact been engaged, and when Plunkett joined him, the latter decided to push on farther west. He never returned. Seven miles beyond Gumburru he was attacked by large numbers at close quarters. Forming a square, when he had exhausted his ammunition, he made a bayonet charge back toward Col. Cobbe's camp. But the square was overwhelmed, and with the exception of 37 men the whole 208, including Plunkett, were killed.

Immediately upon hearing of this disaster to Col. Plunkett's force, and learning that Col. Cobbe was surrounded and being driven into the forests, Gen. Manning went to Cobbe's relief with 460 men. On the 20th he came in sight of Col. Cobbe's forces, which had been driven slowly westward into the Walwal valley. The two forces were joined here and a terrible battle, in which no quarter was given, raged from daybreak till sunset, the natives being at last driven to flight.

Quite in line with the reports of last week (p. 39), the revolution in Santo Domingo, on our own side of the world, has triumphed. Immediately after the government forces were driven back, when they attacked the city of San Domingo on the 18th, a general desertion of government troops took place, and President Vasquez was left with hardly 50 followers. He was consequently forced to flee, abandoning everything, and the success of the revolutionists was complete. A provisional government was formed at San Domingo on the 26th, as follows:

President, A. Wos Gil; Minister of the Interior, Miguel Pebles; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fidelio Despradel; Minister of Justice, Enrique Henri-

quez; Minister of Finance, R. E. Galvan; Minister of Public Works, Jose Brache; Minister of War and Marine, Dionisco Frias; Minister of Coasts, Francesco Detjeen.

But for the approaching judicial election in Chicago (p. 39) there would be little news to report in connection with American politics. Both parties are now represented by a full partisan ticket, the Republicans having made their nominations on the 25th. There was an attempt at the convention to defeat the "slate," said by the "insurgents" to have been dictated by Congressman Lorimer, but it failed. Those of the present Republican judges who were thus nominated are Charles G. Neely, Edmund Burke, Elbridge Haneey, Oliver H. Horton, Richard S. Tutbill and Theodore Brentano. Judge Waterman and Judge Smith were not renominated. The additional candidates are: Jesse Baldwin, A. M. Pence, L. C. Collins, A. J. Pflaum, F. A. Smith, W. S. Elliott, Jr.; A. J. Hirschl, D. J. Schuyler, Sr.; E. B. Escher, H. O. Sprogie, L. D. Condee.

Still another phase has developed in the Chicago traction problem (p. 40), the lower House of the Illinois legislature having been thrown into a riotous assemblage by an attempt on the part of the Speaker, John H. Miller, to ignore the constitutional demands of members for a record vote on amendments to one of the municipal ownership bills. Two of these bills were pending in the legislature. The "Mueller bill" had passed the Senate and the "Lindly bill" (p. 33) had been approved by the House committee. On the 14th, when the "Mueller bill" came into the House, an effort was made by its friends to advance it without reference to Lindly's committee. This was headed off by the Speaker, who refused to recognize the member designated to make the motion to advance. At subsequent stages in the progress of the "Lindly bill" in the House the Speaker ignored demands for roll calls on motions to amend, though more than the constitutionally requisite number of members, five, made these demands. When the House met on the 23d, Mr. Lindly proposed four amendments to his bill. One of them was put to the House by the Speaker, who declared it carried by a viva voce vote, notwithstanding that 100 members were upon their feet demanding a roll call.

Then the riot broke out. All over the House members began to tear their desks and chairs to pieces and to move toward the Speaker. Nearly four-fifths of the House took part in the movement. In the meantime the other amendments were being gavelled through, though pandemonium reigned. By the time the Speaker had put a motion passing the bill to third reading and declared it carried, a majority of the House was upon him and he took refuge in the Speaker's room, having first declared the House adjourned to a later hour in the day.

When Speaker Miller had withdrawn, order was restored and a speaker pro tem. elected. The roll being then called, 97 members, more than half the House, answered to their names. Thereupon the "Lindly bill" was recalled from third to second reading, and amended by striking out all after the enacting clause and substituting therefor all the sections of the "Mueller bill." Further consideration of the bill was then postponed.

Later in the day a conference of representatives of the two factions was held. It was here agreed that the Speaker should hereafter grant roll calls upon constitutional demands therefor. The House then met, with Speaker Miller in the chair. Upon taking the chair, he said:

In justification of my conduct today in refusing a roll call, which might have seemed high handed, but which I am told is not wholly unprecedented, I desire to make a statement—one, I think no one will object to.

This statement was then read for the Speaker by the clerk, as follows:

I have been approached at different times by parties who intimated to me that I could make money by allowing a roll call on what is known as the Mueller traction bill, or permit its passage. I do not know whether the parties making the statements were authorized to make them or not; but the statements having been made to me, and some of them recently, fully convinced me that there was something wrong with this effort on the part of outside parties to push this bill. For this reason I denied the roll call, and have stood firm on this proposition to the limit. A majority of the house having signified their desire to have a roll call on this proposition, I wash

my hands of the entire matter, and will permit a roll call to be had.

Speaker Miller's charge of bribery resulted in a demand for names. The Speaker refused to give them, and a motion to appoint an investigating committee was made and carried. When the Speaker appointed upon this committee men of his own faction in both parties the House added additional members. The investigation proceeded at once. It is now concluded, but no report has been made.

Developments even more sensational than those of the "boodles cases" at St. Louis (vol. 5, p. 617) are reported as resulting from the work of the St. Louis and the Jefferson City grand juries in connection with corruption in the Missouri legislature. The corrupting agencies were trusts. In consequence of these investigations Lieut. Gov. John A. Lee resigned his office on the 26th. He has also made a clean breast of the whole corrupt conspiracy to District Attorney Folk, of St. Louis.

NEWS NOTES.

—President Loubet of France concluded his visit to Algeria (p. 27) on the 26th at a banquet at Bona.

—Stuart Robson, the actor, died on the 29th at New York of heart disease. He was 67 years old and had been on the stage 51 years.

—The mandatory Torrens land registration bill was passed on the 29th by the lower House of the Illinois legislature. It had already passed the Senate.

—President Roosevelt emerged from Yellowstone Park (p. 40) on the 23d, and resumed his tour on the 24th. He spoke at Omaha on the 27th and at the Iowa capitol at Des Moines on the 28th, going to St. Louis on the 29th.

—King Edward VII of England, continuing his continental tour (p. 7), arrived in Rome on the 27th, where he was received by King Victor Emanuel. He had an audience with the Pope on the 29th.

—At the general elections in Spain on the 26th the Republicans made large gains, doubling their representation, but it is estimated that the Government will have a majority of over 100 in the Cortes.

—The Physicians' Club of Chicago voted down on the 27th a proposed amendment to its constitution providing for the admission of women physicians to membership. The adverse majority was large.

—Prussia is reported to have decided to expel Mormon missionaries, of

whom there are ninety in Prussia, on the ground that they are propagating a form of religious belief incompatible with the laws of the state and public morals.

—William Randolph Hearst, editor and proprietor of the New York Journal, the Chicago American and the San Francisco Examiner, and a Congressman from New York city, was married at Grace church in that city, on the 28th to Miss Millicent Willson, a well-known young actress of the East.

—Dispatches of the 28th from Tokio state that Ito's programme for the settlement of the question of party cabinets as against imperial cabinets, as well as for the raising of funds for the increase of the navy (vol. v, 616) has been accepted by the imperial cabinet and the political deadlock has come to an end.

—A mysterious and terrible explosion occurred on the 29th in Turtle Mountain, southwestern Alberta, Canada, which split the mountain asunder and buried part of the little mining town of Frank, at the base of the mountain, beneath millions of tons of rock. About 100 lives are supposed to have been lost. Opinions vary as to whether the explosion was caused by fire damp in the mines or by volcanic eruption, the latter inference being most probable.

—Senator Gillmor, of the parliament of the Dominion of Canada, died in a sleeping car last month while on his way to the Canadian capital. This distinguished member of the Canadian house of lords had represented Charlotte Co., N. B., in the lower House more years, before his appointment to the upper House, than any other representative of that county. He was a leading Liberal, a thorough going free trader, and one of the notable single tax men of Canada.

—A strike against the harvester trust was begun at Chicago on the 27th. Over 2,000 employes of the Deering company and 500 from the McCormick quit work. The object of the strike was to secure recognition of the United Metal Workers' Union and the reinstatement of 100 men recently discharged for belonging to it. Complaints are also made by women employes of unsanitary and immoral surroundings. On the 29th the Deering company locked out the remainder of its working force by closing the works until further notice.

—A decision was made unanimously on the 28th by the New York Court of Appeals, the highest court of that State, on the question of the constitutionality of what is known as the "Ford law" for the ad valorem taxation of the franchises of public service corporations. This bill was introduced in the legislature by Senator Ford, and after passage was signed by Gov. Roosevelt about three years ago. The

corporations have fought it for three years, mainly on the ground that in allowing State officials to make the assessment the constitutional power of local assessors is evaded. About \$18,000,000 is the accumulated amount of taxes now due under the law.

PRESS OPINIONS.

LEGISLATIVE RIOT IN ILLINOIS.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Apr. 24.—There can be no difference of opinion among sane and honest men as to the character of, and responsibility for, yesterday's amazing and riotous scenes in the House. Only the weak-minded or the contemptibly servile can apologize for the lawless and anarchical conduct of the man who has disgraced the Illinois speakership.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Apr. 24.—A speaker of the Illinois House of Representatives, with seventy-seven men behind him, can defy parliamentary law and trample on the rights of the minority. It is not safe for a speaker to resort to gavel rule when he has less than seventy-seven men behind him. Speaker Miller tried the experiment yesterday and had to back down. The ninety-seven men whom he attempted to bulldoze and browbeat would not submit to being kicked and cuffed by their servant. They demonstrated it so effectively that they brought the Speaker to his knees.

The Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Apr. 24.—Riot and physical violence in a deliberative body representing a State of this Union is to be condemned by all thoughtful persons. But in this case let us put the blame squarely where it belongs. There would have been no disorder in the House if the Speaker had not defied the law, trampled upon the dignity of the State and enforced a despotism utterly foreign to the spirit of the American nation and intolerable to any man capable of one righteous sentiment. That is where the blame belongs, let us make no mistake about that.

JUDICIAL ELECTION IN CHICAGO.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Apr. 29.—Judge Waterman's very virtues were an offense to Lorimer, who makes a political machine of the courts as he does of the other departments of government. His judges must be not only active partisans but subservient tools of the organization. . . . From this it will be seen that Judge Waterman's qualifications were irreconcilable with the qualifications which the boss rates Al. . . . We can think of nothing better calculated to discourage high aims, an honorable ambition and fidelity to a public trust. We can think of nothing meaner and more despicable, and of nothing that is so prophetic of evil for the bench, unless the people shall register their effective protest. . . .

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), April 30.—It will be a misfortune to the Republican party and to the citizens of Chicago without regard to party if the judicial ticket nominated at the late Republican convention by Lorimer and his compeers shall, as a whole, be elected. It will be much less of a misfortune if it shall be defeated as a whole than if it shall be completely successful. Manifestly, it is time that a sharp rebuke shall be administered to Mr. Lorimer and his associate bosses. If this can be done in no other way than by defeating all the candidates nominated by them from this time forward, it should be done. It is better to sacrifice a few good judicial candidates than to elect many others whose fitness for places on the bench is doubtful or who have given evidence of unfitness. Among the men who have been nominated by Lorimer are some who are incorrigible idlers; some who are invalids; some who are lacking in legal capacity;

some who are politically facile and subservient, and some others who are mere speaking tubes for the party managers. There are some who consent to have all the places under them, from the position of bailiff to the important office of master in chancery, filled by the "machine." If there is no other way of getting at men who have been or will be, if elected, timorous and unfaithful public servants than by defeating the whole ticket it is the way that should be adopted. Republicans who do not look upon politics as an avocation or a delight are heartily sick of the spectacle presented in Republican conventions, when Lorimer and his assistants take charge and declare who shall and who shall not be candidates of the party for important offices.

MISCELLANY

THE ROAD FROM DUTY TO DESTINY.

An Epigram.
For The Public.

This road leaves duty: leads to destiny.
We tread on bloody corpses as they lie:
With burning villages we light the sky:
To time our steps, our tortured prisoners cry;
And, at the road's end, waits us—Destiny.

BERTRAND SHADWELL.

PATRICK FLYNN HAS HIS SAY.

Hidden away in a press dispatch last week there was a slight allusion to an episode that deserves to be taken out of its obscure setting. How many who happened to read the report of the recent Dublin meeting of the United Irish league stopped to consider the full import of the interruption and protest of Patrick Flynn, of the Cork branch?

Here is the account:

Patrick Flynn, of the Cork branch of the United Irish league, a man of great girth, with a shillalah in one hand and a broad-brimmed hat in the other, then mounted the platform. His appearance created laughter.

"I did not," said Mr. Flynn, "travel 160 miles to be laughed at."

A few seconds later Mr. Flynn held the convention spell-bound by the extraordinary eloquence with which he insisted that the present occupiers of holdings which formerly belonged to peasants should themselves be evicted.

This peasant orator worked up a storm against "grabbers," but Mr. O'Brien's more moderate counsel prevailed.

As students of the Irish problem know, England is at present engaged in applying a fresh poultice to Ireland's sore. Some of the peasants are to be helped to buy some of the land of their native country—the land that has been stolen and fleeced by absent lords. The absentees are, of course, to be paid, and they will, of course, be paid ultimately by the peasants themselves.

But the new measures seem better than nothing, and most of Ireland's leaders are supporting them. Not so

Patrick Flynn, and it is well for the sake of truth and justice that at least one voice has been raised in protest. He, with his great girth, his shillalah, and his broad-brimmed hat, has perhaps somewhere heard the words that "nothing is settled till it is settled right." Here's to you, Mr. Flynn. May you live long and prosper, and come back to the next meeting. There are, perhaps, more than you think, as you journey back to Cork, who are glad that you had your say.

J. H. DILLARD.

JEFFERSONIAN DEVOTION TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

A portion of an address delivered in Seattle, Wash., April 13, by the Hon. George Cotterill.

Literally and politically the democratic principle is summed up in its first dictionary definition, "government by the people." When the superstructure of society and government rises by equal rights squared with this foundation, it is firm as a rock; when it leans to the pressure of special privileges it threatens and totters. To Thomas Jefferson at 33 fell the duty of master-mason at the laying of the cornerstone of the American republic. A patrician son of the old dominion, ripe in the scholarship of his age, schooled in seven years of statecraft under the colonial system, Jefferson knew full well what it meant when he inscribed on that cornerstone the fundamental principle of democracy:

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

And to-day, thanks to that devotion to democratic principle manifested by Thomas Jefferson and his revolutionary colleagues whose names are immortalized with the Declaration of Independence, it is our American right and democratic duty to point to that cornerstone and demand that the standard of the republic, whatever may be its growth, shall square with that foundation.

Through a century and a quarter of history this nation has been realizing the hopes and dispelling the fears of its founders. Material advance has been marvelous. Prosperity, as the term is ordinarily employed, seems unbounded. But there is no thoughtful American so blind as not to see the danger signals of the hour. Neither those who enjoy, nor those who are denied,

the fruits of prosperity, are ready to proclaim or admit its permanent establishment. There is no solid structure of justice, such as will safely stand. It is builded with props of special privilege, monopoly and discriminating taxation—a shaky scaffold of injustice in danger of collapse from every storm that strikes. But, thank God, the foundation of democracy is beneath, and the basis of real revival and just prosperity is at command.

Lincoln, the great Democrat-Republican, always ascribing his inspiration to Jefferson, the great Republican-Democrat, voiced both a tribute and a prophecy when he said in 1857:

The assertion that "all men are created equal" was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain; and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as, thank God, it is proving itself—a stumbling block to all those who in aftertimes might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

We have the prosperity—and we have the tyrants! It is for democracy—a democracy broader than any party significance—to present to tyranny that "hard nut to crack."

What a message for to-day is given us in the words of Jefferson himself:

Men, by their constitutions, are naturally divided into two parties. First, those who fear and distrust the people and wish to draw all powers from them into the higher classes. Second, those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish them and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise, depository of the public interest. In every country these two parties exist, and in every one where they are free to think, speak and write, they will declare themselves. Call them therefore liberals and serviles, Jacobins and ultras, whigs and Tories, republicans and federalists, aristocrats and democrats, or by whatever name you please, they are the same parties still, and pursue the same object—the last appellation of aristocrats and democrats is the true one expressing the essence of all.

What shall be done in 1904? There is but one democratic answer. Make the Jeffersonian alignment and hew to the line! Is "reorganization" necessary? Yes, the reorganization of the government of the United States of America, the state of Washington and the city of Seattle on the democratic basis.

Listen again to the words of Jefferson in his first inaugural. He has pictured the great resources, the wonderful opportunity, the assured advance

which endow the future of the republic:

With all these blessings what more is necessary to make us a happy and a prosperous people? Still one thing more, fellow-citizens, a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread that it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities.

What a text for twentieth century good citizenship!

STEEL-TRUST METHODS.

Shortly after this giant trust was formed in 1901 its officers decided that the corporation laws of New Jersey should be materially changed. The change was made unostentatiously and quickly.

Then the trust wished to dispose of several hundred million dollars' worth of its stock. Soon the bank officials all over the country were quietly advising depositors to buy "Steel preferred" at 100, and "Steel common" at 50. Many newspaper articles, including some in religious journals, were suggesting the excellent opportunity for investment in these steel stocks—the preferred paying 7 and the common earning 15 or 20 per cent. Of course this talk and these articles were mainly inspired. But at least 50,000 of the 58,629 people who purchased stocks did not know this. They had faith in their bank officials and newspaper editors, and did not know that the iron and steel men in the East were not only unloading their steel stocks, but were selling these stocks "short," being fully convinced that, in spite of apparent great earnings, stocks would decline—as they have done to the extent of 15 points, or \$160,000,000.

Again, we find but little unfavorable criticism of this devastating monster in the newspapers. Why? It would not be proper to say that this trust has bribed nearly all of the leading newspapers of the country. It is not at all probable that it has done so; and yet it is likely that it has even more effectually headed off criticism than if it had spent millions in bribes. It simply inserts full-page advertisements in all of the leading newspapers and the trick is done. The following are some of the newspapers in which the writer found the full-page advertisement of the last annual report of the Steel Trust:

Boston Herald, Boston Transcript, Boston Globe, Springfield Republican, Providence Journal, New Haven Regis-

ter, New York Evening Post, New York American, Philadelphia Public Ledger, Pittsburg Dispatch, Pittsburg Post, Baltimore Sun, Baltimore American, Baltimore News, Washington Post, Washington Star, Cincinnati Commercial-Tribune, Detroit Tribune, Indianapolis Journal, Indianapolis Sentinel, Indianapolis News, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Inter Ocean, Chicago Journal Chicago Evening Post, St. Louis Daily Globe, St. Paul Pioneer-Press, New Orleans Times-Democrat, Montreal (Canada) Gazette.

It is almost certain that this advertisement appeared in practically all of the other great newspapers, which the writer did not see. If this advertisement, with the prospect that it will be repeated every year or every quarter, does not entirely prevent criticism, it will, at least, greatly tone down and soften criticism in the great majority of cases. The long-headed officers of this trust never made a better investment than when they put a million, or so, in advertising in a hundred or more of the leading newspapers. Not only will it add millions to the market value of its securities—which is very important, until all of the surplus securities are marketed—but it will keep the people quiet and stave off, perhaps for years, the radical reform of the tariff on trust products, which is sure to come when the people cut their tariff-wisdom teeth.

The methods of the Steel Trust are harsh and cruel to both competitors and customers; yet we see almost nothing about them in the newspapers. In hundreds of ways this trust deserves the severest of criticism, yet it gets but a small portion of its just deserts. Take one instance:

Who has read any comment on the comparative smallness of its taxes? Its report shows that it paid taxes to the amount of \$2,397,465 in 1902. This is less than 2 per cent. of its net earnings and less than 2 mills on the dollar of the value of its property, according to its capital and to the sworn statements of its president. Is there any sound reason why this protected billion-dollar trust should pay in taxes 18 cents on every \$100 when the unprotected common people pay \$2 or \$3 on every \$100 worth of property?

It is probable that this trust pays less than \$1,000,000 of taxes on its iron and steel lands, valued at over \$1,000,000,000. This is less than one mill on the dollar. The taxes on ordinary farm lands worth \$1,000,000,000 are about \$15,000,000. Why are the great and influential newspapers not calling attention to this gross injustice and favoritism?

Farmers and mechanics should study this steel trust report carefully and do

some tall thinking over it. They may get ideas from it about low, as well as about "high finance."

BYRON W. HOLT.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Written by Jos. Dana Miller, and read by Miss Grace Isabel Colbron at the Jefferson Dinner of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, Hotel Vendome, New York City, April 13th.

Clear-eyed he was—seer of our common aim,

To whom the nation, ever more and more,
Shall look for guidance from his wisdom's store,

And grow the freer with his growing fame.

The People were his trust—and his desire
Saw them enfranchised and untrammelled—free;

Free each to will, to fashion and aspire,
And not a slave in bond from sea to sea.

All masters—but the masters of themselves;

All servants—servants of the Commonweal;

Where each man works, or plans, or plows,
or delves,

Where all are crowned, but none as subjects kneel.

In him the spirit of the new land woke,
Not Southland's voice alone—he turned his back

On those who bound the shackles for the Black,

On those who held that color made the yoke.

He knew not Black nor White—he saw men free,

And Freedom's star he followed through the night;

He bore the Dreamer's share of obloquy,
He marched, unflinching, toward the dawning light.

Scorn followed him, but still he lifted higher

The People's standard—how his words ring out

In these our times of gathering cloud and doubt,

Of hesitation, dreams and wild desire.

While only those wise in Oppression's trade

Find unity of purpose—only those;

While here in squalid ranks stand who oppose,

Without a Captain, broken and dismayed.

Yet on the heights, not hopeless, but serene,

Democracy awaits and bides her time,
Star-eyed, with heart that aches above the scene,

For slow the people climb—so slow they climb.

Call now our Freedom's muster—call and call;

Close up the lines; then shall his simple creed

Be inspiration to united deed,

Till dread Oppression's sullen ramparts fall,

Justice, so long dethroned, her seat regain,

And all the rights of man made into law
Make of the land the wondrous land he saw—

The hope of Monticello wakes again!

We must keep Dives well supplied at the table, in order that Lazarus may have some crumbs to gather—such is the Roosevelt renomination logic.—Hon. George Cotterill.

A monarchy is a country which venerates the professional politician and calls him a king. A republic is a country which tolerates the professional politician, and calls him a boss.—Herbert E. Bigelow.

"I don't believe that man ever deceived anybody in his life," said the enthusiastic friend.

"And yet," said Senator Sorghum, "you want me to give him employment. You don't suppose I have time to teach him the rudiments of business, do you?"—The Washington Star.

"What was the fire?" asked the city editor of the sallow journalist.

"Nothing at all," the new reporter answered; "only an old shed burned."

"Many people there?"

"Ten thousand, I should say, mostly children."

"Good! Give it half a page."

The six o'clock extra came out at 1:30 with this scare head:

TEN THOUSAND CHILDREN

See a Shed

DESTROYED BY FIRE.

—San Francisco Star.

BOOKS

AN OLD-TIME NOVEL.

There are still left readers in the byways and hedges who like old-fashioned novels, with poetry at the head of the chapters, and beginning, it was the gloomy twilight of a gloomy November day. To all such, if they have not yet read it, and to others, if they are willing to be taken out of their modern selves, we recommend Rutledge, published now in very good form for a dollar by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. It was first published in 1860, and was a popular novel in the days that knew not the booming of books.

A rereading of it discovers many stilted mannerisms of style; and yet it retains its interest, and will doubtless enjoy occasional new editing for some decades to come. This is more than can be said for most stories that were written forty years ago. There is a charm in the quiet halls at Rutledge, in spite of the tragedy in the background, which is disclosed only enough to give an added aroma of distinction to the place. There is a charm, too, in the dignified indolence of the master.

How the reader longs to return to the place and its master, away from the fashionable house and family in the city, busy doing nothing, whose mistress gives the lesson of the neglected duty lying nearest. There is in the book no particular problem or preaching, and nobody seems to have anything special to do. The main theme is the very foolish misunderstanding between the hero and heroine, due mainly to the fact that the girl is too young and untrained. But they manage to keep up the interest in themselves down to the last line, and the reader who gets thus far will not know till the last page how it is settled.

If one is utterly tired of every modern problem under the sun, actual or imaginary, and just wants to take a dose of mental rest reading something,

perhaps Rutledge will answer the purpose.

J. H. DILLARD.

"LOYAL TRAITORS."

The significant title of this story by Raymond L. Bridgman (Boston: James H. West company), is made all the more suggestive by the subtitle: "A Story of Friendship for the Filipinos." Yet it is not a story of friendship for the Filipinos, except as such friendship is necessarily incidental to the main course of the narrative. It is really a story of loyalty to American ideals.

If the leading characters volunteer for service with the Filipinos, it is not because they love the Filipinos above all other men, but because

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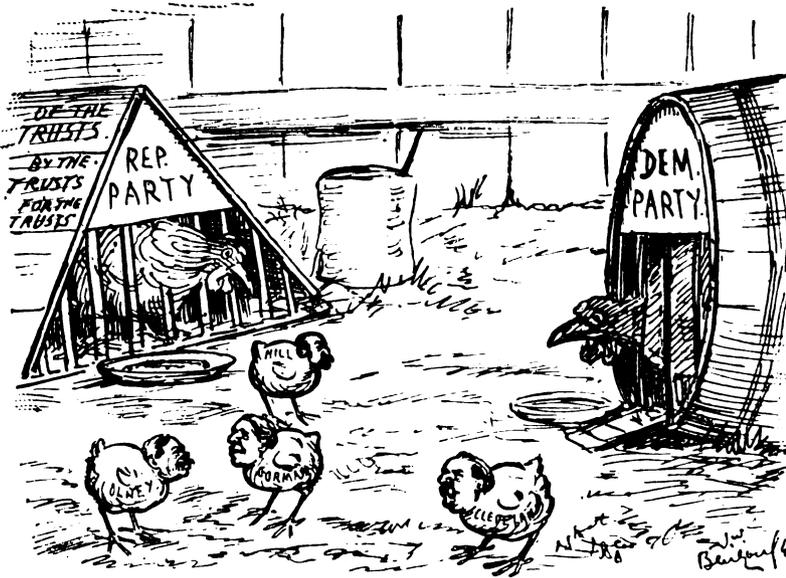
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The Puzzled "Democratic" Chickens — Which coop do we belong to, anyway?

they love the principles of their country better than they love her official betrayers. Though they fight against their country's flag, nominally, it is only as any good American would fight against it if it were flying from the peak of a slaver.

Boston and Manila are the principal scenes of Mr. Bridgman's story, which reminds one of those old American stories of patriotism, wherein American women and children as well as men were outraged by red-coats, Hessians and Indians. The chief difference is that in this story the roles of red-coat, Hessian and Indian are played by American soldiers, while the Filipinos are the outraged patriots.

And this story is true to history.

Mr. Bridgman has invented no outrages. It has not been necessary. He has merely woven into his narrative well authenticated instances of cruelty, and some of these are blood curdling enough.

LITERARY NOTES.

The Monthly Review of the National Civic Federation, published by the National Civic Federation at New York, begins with April and publishes in that number an extended and varied symposium on the question of labor union incorporation.

The Outlook, in its editorial comment upon the recent meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, says nothing in condemnation of President Parry's address. On the contrary, the writer takes occasion to insert an extract from a letter highly commendatory of Parry's administration of the affairs of the association. The Independent calls the address "intemperate," and says that the road he points out "leads either to Plutocracy or Socialism." J. H. D.

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