

# The Public

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The Cleveland boom for the Presidency is sinking fast. It began a few days ago with a startling rattle-debang in the editorial columns of the plutocratic press, but there is little of it now except an occasional echo from some spoils-hungry boiler plate paper of the country side. The literary bureau has about exhausted its energies, and the "popular uprising" for "four years more of Grover" has slumped into a painful downsitting—"away back."

As soon as this picturesque "uprising" showed itself above the political horizon, the power that moved it was easily discernible. With the New York Times (controlled by J. Pierpont Morgan), the Brooklyn Eagle (edited by one of the literary butterflies in Morgan's collection), and some of the "independent" Boston papers (always at the beck and call of Morganized financial interests) furnishing the fanciful facts and the glowing comment for Cleveland, while the New York Sun (also controlled by Morgan) sneered at Roosevelt, there was no mistaking the origin and animus of the movement. Morgan yearns for Cleveland as a "safer" man than Roosevelt.

And this is not left to conjecture. The Chicago Chronicle, whose loyalty to Cleveland no one will question, published the following bit of important news on the subject in its issue of May 6:

Boston, Mass., May 5.—A coterie of big Boston and New York financiers, including J. P. Morgan and J. J. Hill,

but not including Mr. Harriman, are looking around for a candidate to beat Roosevelt because of his anti-trust ideas. A careful canvass has just been completed for them which shows that Bryan may not be able to dictate the next Democratic nomination, and the combination has decided to finance the Cleveland boom.

In the light of this direct information there is something exquisitely ludicrous about the labored editorials of the New York and Boston papers in behalf of Cleveland's candidacy.

One of the Boston papers, evidently conscious of the hopeless flattening out of the remorganization boom for Cleveland, lends strong color of probability to Mr. Bryan's interpretation of it. It has been Mr. Bryan's idea that the boom was not started in good faith, the remorganizers realizing that Cleveland could not possibly be nominated; but that his name was being used as a cover for the booming later on of a man of the same kind, but whose peculiar qualifications for popularity in Wall street are not known to the rank and file of the Democratic party as Cleveland's are. This Boston paper now thinks that the Cleveland movement "means in its essential character that there is a public call for a man as a candidate for the Presidency who possesses the qualities of Mr. Cleveland;" that Cleveland was looked to "because he had demonstrated those qualities"; and that the call for him "proves that the people are hungering and thirsting for their embodiment in a candidate for the Presidency." So the question now is, whom will the remorganizers pitch upon for a Democratic candidate having the qualities which make Cleveland so acceptable to the trust magnates, yet lacking the public record which in the case of Mr. Cleveland exposes his possession of those qualities to the

Democratic voters. In due time, doubtless, we shall see.

Many combinations of candidates are being made in view of the judicial election in Chicago next month. The Bar Association has made one, the Independent Labor party has made another, the Federation of Labor is about to make a third, and so on. These combinations may be well enough for the organizations that make them and the classes and interests for which they are made; and in so far as any voters are governed by any of those narrower considerations, one of these combinations will probably prove satisfactory to him. But there is only one choice for citizens who vote as citizens and not with reference to their class affiliations or interests. It happens to be a partisan choice. Yet it ought not to be made for partisan reasons. Judges ought never to be elected on partisan grounds. But unless they are so elected in Chicago this year the Lorimer machine will be perpetuated.

There is only one way of destroying the Lorimer machine at this election, and that is by defeating all its judicial candidates. To elect a single one is to perpetuate "Boss" Lorimer's power for the next election. Fortunately the Democratic judicial candidates average much higher than Lorimer's candidates. This is manifest from the fact that even the Bar Association, strongly Republican as it is, recommends more of the Democratic candidates than of the Republicans. In those circumstances the Chicago voter of either party, if he would rid the community of Lorimer's "bossism," can properly vote the whole Democratic judicial ticket. And this he ought to do. Let all Lorimer's candidates, good and bad, be defeated, and the Republican party will conclude that they want no

more and will have no more of Lormer.

A tax reform measure so important as to be almost revolutionary became a law in New York city on the 8th. This measure has been before the New York legislature since 1896, under the management of Lawson Purdy, of the New York Tax Reform association. During this time the details of the original bill have been changed beyond recognition, but the original principle has not been weakened; it has been strengthened. The same principle is operative in Massachusetts and California, but under the New York law it is better secured. By this law all assessments of real estate for taxation must be in two classifications, the value of land being classified separately from that of its improvements; and in addition the assessment of each taxed parcel, with its land valuation separated from its improvement valuation, must be published in the City Record, the official paper of the city of New York. Thus not only may everybody scrutinize the aggregates of tax assessment, by city, ward or district, but he may compare each realty tax payer's assessment with any other or all others. It needs no prophet to tell that this reform will not only prevent or expose a good deal of crookedness in assessing for taxation, but that it will aid very materially in discrediting the whole tax system which burdens land improvers while encouraging mere forestallers.

What the New York tax reform mentioned above may lead to is indicated by a novel movement now gaining headway in Toronto. In that Canadian city an issue has arisen which might serve the best of purposes in every city. The proposition there is to exempt all dwellings from taxation to the amount of \$700 of their value.

One of the results of this suggestion was excellent. It excited the opposition of the city assessment commissioner, who reported adverse-

ly, but in doing so gave facts and figures of the utmost importance. He stated that there are 43,560 buildings of all kinds in the city, and of these 13,105 would have the assessment of land and buildings reduced to less than \$400 by the exemption of \$700 of building value. That is to say, about 40 per cent. of the population of Toronto occupy houses that would be practically exempt from taxation. By a table he shows how the increased rate of taxation consequent on this exemption would on the remaining value increase the tax on property worth \$3,800 by ten cents, and on property assessed at \$10,000 the increase would be \$28.31; while all houses of less value would come in for a reduction, and the smaller the value the greater the reduction. In other words the homes of the industrial classes would be relieved of a part of the pressure of taxation, and those of the well to do and the wealthy and all vacant land would have to bear more.

In Toronto, as in all large centers, there is great scarcity of small houses at reasonable rents, although there is plenty of vacant land, the latter according to the same report being in Toronto of the assessed value of \$7,000,000. The consequent exemption of small dwellings and the increased tax rate on vacant land, would encourage the building of just the kind of houses the workers need, viz., houses costing \$900 with the land, and they would rent for from \$7 to \$10 a month. The erection of these houses would not only increase the demand for labor, but their building would, by entering into competition with the 13,105 small houses now built, reduce the rent of all from \$2 to \$8 a month. Averaging them at \$5, this would effect a saving of \$65,000 a month, or \$780,000 a year, to the occupiers of the 13,105 houses, to say nothing of the saving to the occupiers of the new houses. The whole of this would be a virtual increase in wages and would create an effective demand for other laborers' products to that extent. For it must be ever

kept in mind that the market for goods depends not on wages, but what is left of wages after payment of rent. We have here only mentioned the effect the building of small houses would have on the rent of similar houses, but the same effect would result to the occupier of all houses of less value than \$3,800, and the total saving to wage earners would probably be nearly \$2,000,000 a year.

The importance of this proposition lies in the fact that it would bring immediate and permanent relief to the classes that need it most, those occupying the cheaper dwellings. It would increase the demand for labor and add to the purchasing power of wages. It would discourage the holding of land idle, relieve the congested districts, contribute largely to depopulating the slums, and thus decrease the cost of both health and police departments in the cities. In this way also it would introduce the single tax policy as a practical issue and at the same time enlist a majority of the people in its support and compel its discussion throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Not one step appears to have been taken by the Illinois legislature toward the establishment in this State of the initiative and referendum for which the people voted last Fall. As the vote was not mandatory, but only advisory, the legislators had the right to reject it. But this neglect ought not to be forgotten by voters who believe in the initiative and referendum, when any of these neglectful legislators are again up for office.

There is reassurance in the tendency of conservative papers, now becoming quite marked, to condemn government by injunction. Time was when such papers were ready, at the drop of the glove, to defend judges for any usurpation of power, however extreme, so long as their object was the suppression of trade unions. But beginning with the recent St. Louis injunction and expanding with the still more recent

one at Omaha, there is a manifest disposition on the part of the press to rebuke judicial usurpation in this respect. The Chicago Record-Herald, for instance, while properly condemning lawlessness by strikers, does not fail, as the papers of its class formerly did, to condemn lawless judges with at least equal vigor. In its issue of the 8th, in commenting upon the Omaha injunction it said:

. . . judicial usurpation is a menace, not only to labor unions, but to the whole people, and . . . the men who are guilty of it are unfit for their office, either through prejudice or defects of character.

The rebuke is mild enough, to be sure, but the true principle is correctly stated. The flagrant abuse known as "government by injunction" does not raise a question between judges and trade unions. The question it raises is between judges and all the people. It is a usurpation, a crime against all the people, for any judge to assume criminal jurisdiction—without juries, at that—on pretense of administering equity; and Federal judges add to this usurpation when they go the length of using the powers of the Federal courts to preserve the local peace.

#### OF THE LEGAL RIGHTS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN PRINCIPLE.

In considering this subject the conclusions of a previous editorial (p. 36) must not be ignored. We must remember that individual democrats are by no means expected to soar above a hostile and temporarily irresistible public opinion in the midst of which their lot may happen to have been cast, and yet that good conscience and good citizenship demand of them not to allow their democratic principles to be held down to the low levels to which their conduct in public affairs may of necessity be temporarily anchored. This understood we may more profitably than otherwise consider what ought to be the status in America of the American Negro.

Let it be at all points remembered that what we are now considering is not what the Negro's status is, nor

what it can presently be made, but what it ought to be. Practical considerations may come later; questions of abstract principle must be determined first.

For it is only by settling upon principle in the abstract, that anyone can divest his mind of those selfish prejudices of race and caste that tradition or unpleasant personal experiences have generated, and which so readily usurp the judicial function. The same remark is applicable to altruistic prejudices as well as to those that are selfish. Prejudices of either type may be excused in matters of personal conduct, but they are intolerable in the forum of abstract principle.

To what inordinate length of absurdity mere prejudice will carry even well balanced and well intentioned men, is illustrated by an incident in the old abolition agitation.

Before the Civil War had set the American Negro free, there lived in Delaware three loyal Democrats, one of them of the Jeffersonian school. He believed from the bottom of his heart in the eternal verity of Jefferson's declaration that all men are created with equal rights, yet was a pro-slavery man of strong convictions.

One day he fell under the spell of an abolitionist's persuasive oratory. Seeing then the incongruity between chattel slavery and Jeffersonian democracy, he became a pronounced abolitionist; whereupon his brother John, who was the first to discover this revolutionary event in the family, forthwith hurried away to confer with their stalwart brother Jim.

Into Jim's astonished ear John poured his tale of woe, of how a Northern abolitionist had taken advantage of Sam's Jeffersonian democracy to convince him that on democratic principle white men have no right to hold Negroes in slavery. After long and vexatious consultation the alarmed brothers agreed that somehow the erring one must be reconverted. But they agreed also that on the one hand he could not be weaned from his Jeffersonianism, and that on the other his native common sense, now awakened, would never tolerate a suggestion of any distinction as to the legal rights of different races of men, when Jefferson

had so unequivocally attributed equal rights to all. Finally Jim exclaimed:

"John, I'll tell you what we've got to do. We've got to go over to Sam's and prove to him that the nigger ain't a man."

So by filling up Sam with a rude assortment of what in these later days of "scientific" pretense and credulity would be called "facts," his cunning brothers convinced him that "the nigger ain't a man," and left his own logical mind to do the rest. Since "the nigger wasn't a man," why, of course, there was nothing undemocratic in treating him as a chattel, and Sam became a pro-slavery Democrat again.

This wretchedly cruel delusion—more or less definitely conceived, more or less candidly uttered—that "the nigger ain't a man," is the keel and bulwark of all undemocratic discriminations against the Negro. Only men are entitled to equal enjoyment of legal rights, even upon the broadest interpretation of Jefferson, and "the nigger ain't a man."

It is not, however, with this brutal candor, that the delusion is usually expressed. Such revolting publications as "The Black Beast" are scarce. Even "The Leopard's Spots" has shamed thoughtful white men more than it has harmed the Negro. Those books are crude, and American sensibilities in matters of taste have become delicate since the more primitive days of the three Delaware Democrats. We are not now so brutal in speech, but we are intensely "scientific." Whatever the "best thought" may think, it no longer says that "the nigger ain't a man." It only suggests that he has not yet undergone the long and weary process of race development, through a multiplicity of "natural selections" and ages of uplifting environment, which has civilized the white race. But in spirit, method, purpose and effect, this is the same old trick that Delaware Jim played upon Delaware Sam. Though the phrase is different and the thought more involved, though the air of brutal indifference is gone and an air of "scientific" fatalism has been assumed, the plain meaning of it all, now as then, is that "the nigger ain't a man."

With the ethnological "scientists" who stand with reference to their more or less willing dupes in much the same relation that the ingenious Jim stood to his brother Sam when he set out to convert him back to the good old Democratic doctrine of the righteousness of Negro slavery, we may have a word hereafter. At present we shall adopt the more humane as well as more reasonable and demonstrable assumption with reference to the American Negro that he is as truly a man as his American fellow citizen of whiter hue.

As a man, every Negro has certain natural rights; rights that is, which are phenomena of human nature—essentially and distinctively so.

The Negro has thus a right to life. This he may forfeit by his conduct, precisely as white men may; but unless so forfeited, it is irrevocably his sacred prerogative regardless of the color of his skin or the history of his race.

The Negro has also a natural right to personal liberty, limited only by the proviso that his liberty must not infringe upon the equal liberty of others.

The Negro has furthermore a natural right—really a corollary of the other two—to pursue happiness. That is, he has the natural right to live his own life in his own way. The only limitation is that he shall not prevent others from living their own lives in their own ways.

Whoever disputes those propositions regarding the Negro must deny one or both of two more comprehensive ones. He must deny either (1) that the Negro is a man; or, (2) that any men at all have natural rights of any kind with reference to other men, except such whims as they can gratify by force or fraud.

Consideration of the first possible denial we have already deferred. We shall also defer a direct consideration of the second, our present purpose not necessitating the establishment of these fundamental doctrines. We have now in view no broader contention than that the legal rights of the Negro—not his natural rights, if you please, but his legal ones—must be the same in abstract principle as

those that are accorded to other men. We are simply insisting that municipal law can neither fairly nor safely make any distinction between Negroes and white men with reference either to the benefits it offers or the protection it affords.

For the purposes of that contention it is immaterial whether the principle of equality of legal rights is regarded as coming from our religion, from intuitional morality, or from utilitarian ethics. It is enough that it stands the test of all three.

Under the Christian religion in its purity, the life, the liberty, and all opportunities for living one's own life and enjoying his just property are incontestably as sacred in the case of Negroes as in the case of white men. If not, oh, ye white worshipers of the despised and crucified Jew, what becomes of the God who "is no respecter of persons"? or of the Messiah who in teaching you to love your fellow man as yourself, admonishes you to do unto others as you would have them do to you? Christians, at any rate, cannot escape the obligation to regard Negroes as entitled to the same legal rights of life, liberty, pursuits and property that white men have.

Neither can moralists. From the recognized laws of intuitional morality there is the same absence as from Christianity of all indications of distinction between the white man and the Negro. Whatever rights of moral obligation American whites of European descent may claim for themselves, they are bound by every moral consideration to afford to their fellow Americans of African descent. If not, oh moralist, how can you generalize such reasons for the exception as will save your face?

The same rules hold in utilitarian ethics. Although John Stuart Mill declared in his essay "On Liberty" that he regarded utility—"utility in the largest sense, grounded in the permanent interest of a man as a progressive being"—as "the ultimate appeal on all ethical questions," he did not venture to suggest that distinctions as to legal rights between classes or races could be justified by considerations of utility. So far from

regarding such distinctions as valid on the now popular supposition that they are necessary on utilitarian grounds for the preservation of civilization, he scorned the very thought. Writing in his "Liberty" essay of a proposed "civilizade" against the polygamy of Mormonism, he gives utterance to this significant sentiment:

If civilization has got the better of barbarism, when barbarism had the world to itself, it is too much to profess to be afraid lest barbarism, after having been fairly got under, should revive and conquer civilization. A civilization that can thus succumb to its vanquished enemy, must first have become so degenerate that neither its appointed priests and teachers, nor anybody else, has the capacity, or will take the trouble to stand up for it. If this be so, the sooner such a civilization receives notice to quit, the better. It can only go on from bad to worse until destroyed and regenerated (like the Western Empire) by energetic barbarians.

By no utilitarian principle or doctrine can any legal discrimination as to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness among fellow citizens of different races be sustained. Experience has amply demonstrated that such discriminations retard human progress by breeding antagonisms prejudicial to both races and usually destructive of the weaker. Not only are some of the most effective forces that make for progress thus frittered away in race conflicts, but many of the actual gains for civilization are lost. For, let it be carefully noted, the weaker race that succumbs in race struggles is not always the "inferior" race. Regardless, then, of religion or morality, but simply upon the basis of utilitarian ethics, the legal rights of American white men and American Negroes must be the same.

Bare as is this outline of ours it is enough to show that equality of legal rights among men is, in abstract principle, a social law. The more completely the outline is filled in the clearer will that truth appear. No matter what one's philosophy may be, it will lead him on, if he follows it loyally, to the axiom which Thomas Jefferson perceived and adopted as the corner stone of American liberties.

Deep down in the well of all philosophies, lies that precious truth. It is ancient beyond the records of man, but is ever youthful. Elusive of the "scientific" probings of the wise, yet it reveals its splendors to babes. The sport of the powerful and their satellites of every epoch, it has nevertheless been the cherished day star of the unsophisticated in all ages. Torn from its exalted place and crushed to earth (often by its professed friends) with every novel appeal to its standards, yet this truth invariably justifies the faith of the unsophisticated while it confounds the wisdom of the wise and laughs at the "science" of the scientific. It rises again and again, as truth crushed to earth will always rise, and makes of each occasion a new land mark along that pathway of human progress which its fires mark out and its light illumines.

This truth knows no distinction of race or color. All men look alike to it. Equality before the law is a universal principle. With reference to legal rights to life, to legal rights to liberty, to legal rights to pursuits and to the enjoyment of property, it admits, as a principle, of no discrimination. The precepts of religion and the axioms of morality make the recognition of this equality an indisputable obligation upon conscience, while the ethics of experience inculcate it as an unavoidable necessity of civilization. As matter of abstract principle, then, the legal rights of the American Negro in respect of his life, his liberty, his pursuits and his property, ought to be precisely the same as those of the American white man.

**EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.**

Let us swear an oath, and keep it with an equal mind,  
In the hollow Lotos-land to live and lie reclined  
On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind.

—The Lotos Eaters.

Pittsburg, May 10.—In these valleys and upon these clustered hills of Allegheny live the lotos eaters of the Occident. They do not, however, have the nepenthe which comes from "that enchanted branch" of the minstrel's song; but from the swinging censers of the high priests of a ruling party the incense of Protec-

tion has been inhaled so deeply, so constantly, that, like those dwellers of "the purple hills," the average dweller here "lies beside his nectar" and "the bolts are hurl'd against any that would dare to quench the flames from whence it came."

While the nation's Chief Magistrate is "swinging the circle" and here and there delivering an incoherent defense of Protection, a brief glance upon Pittsburg, "the workshop of the world," may not be untimely but truly apropos. For it is here as in no other part of the Union that the blessings of Protection are most manifest; nowhere else could be found the incarnation of the doctrine so exemplified in "giving employment" to the tens of thousands of workers in steel and allied industries and the vast army of men, women and children engaged in other fields of toil. Enthroned, indeed, is the fetich of Protection, and it is to reside in this atmosphere to truly understand how the workingman would battle for this system which "gives him work," gives him bread and meat—even as the work horse is rewarded with its hay and oats.

To the stranger this busy city is one of striking contrasts. No other American city furnishes the same conditions, and probably in no other district in the world is the display of human energy so manifest. "Work, work, for every one wishing it," as the newspapers say. To this city and district, because of such extraordinary industrial activity, there has come a tide of humanity representative of every nation, and, overflowing from the city, it is peopling the hills and valleys for many miles beyond. In the past three years building of dwellings has been carried on upon a scale unprecedented in the history of the city, but it has been the rule that these structures have been rented from the very beginning of erection, and hundreds of houses have been occupied at a stage of two-thirds of completion. The present year promises to maintain if not eclipse the record of building, so great and urgent is the demand. This one feature alone is pointed to by newspaper and magazine writers as the strongest evidence of the marvelous prosperity that now floods our great Republic with a golden glow, and also that these happy conditions could never have obtained but for the maintenance of the sacred schedules of the tariff.

From the beginning of that period of industrial depression in 1893 to the year of Mr. McKinley's first election to the Presidency, this district was among the first to feel and the

last to recover from those stringent times.

Great mills were closed and idle thousands sought in vain for employment at anything and at almost any wage. Temporary relief was afforded by the city authorities in giving work on street and park improvements at a wage of a dollar a day, and among these workers were men who at their legitimate calling could have commanded treble and more of that amount.

Those were dark days for these valleys, and men made desperate by pressing needs were nerved to desperate deeds. And now that for a comparatively brief period employment has been continuous, the wage workers have but renewed their fealty to the fetich which "gives them work," and they read with unconcern that owing to business depression, a result of American competition, 5,000 shoe operatives in a German city have been thrown out of employment, or that thousands of weavers and spinners in New England are idle and fighting again the battle for existence against corporate greed on the same field where their fellows were led by the gallant Howard, nearly 20 years ago. No longer is the legend emblazoned out: "An injury to one is the concern of all," and yet that same great primary cause of every industrial paroxysm will sooner or later cast its baleful shadow over these valleys where the wageworker is nepenthenized by the drug of Protection, and he cares not for his fellow man.

In view of all the manifold blessings of Protection the relations of the tin workers in this district (employees of the American Tin Plate company, a subsidiary company of the United States Steel Corporation) with their employers is at once extraordinary and astonishing. Strangely silent have Republican newspaper editorial comments been regarding a compact entered into by the tin workers with their employers. Early last fall representations were made by the company to the workers that unless a reduction in wages was accepted the tin plate mills in different sections would be shut down for an indefinite period, but if the men consented to a reduction of wages the company could accept a very heavy order from the Standard Oil company and thus keep the men employed. Otherwise Mr. Rockefeller would send his order abroad, and later idle tin workers would pay a higher price for the oil they burned.

What a club to hold over American protected workingmen, does the indignant reader say? No, not a coarse club but an instrument representing the refined diablerie of an

infamous economic system defending Monopoly. Does not Labor here typify Laocoon in the embrace of the serpents?

The tin workers, members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers carried the matter to their leaders, and after discussion in lodge meetings a reduction of wages was voted down, but it was agreed to give the Tin Plate company a rebate on every ton of black plates produced, the rebate representing the duty on imported plates. Thus it is that now these tin workers are each assessed for the privilege of working for Morgan's combine, but they feel assured they are being protected from the pauper labor of Wales. Is this not an illustration in social-economic life of the fable where, fastened upon its prey, lulling it into a dreamless sleep with fanning wings, the vampire draws its victim's life away?

Because of the unusual demand for dwellings the landholder is of course clothed with powers of almost life and death. For the past three years speculative values of land have risen in ratio with individual greed. In the downtown sections of this city fortunes are being made by those disposing of their holdings. It is believed that in some sections frontage is held at as high a figure as any in New York city, and here, where the percentage of the workingman who owns his home is so small as not to be worthy of mention, and as a well-known and prominent real estate broker recently stated that 90 per cent. of all realty in Pittsburg was mortgaged, it can be easily understood why rents are so excessive and the cost of food stuffs so high—at figures suggesting a period of war and not the piping days of protected prosperity and peace.

Spring immigration has now set in, and the daily accounts of arrivals at eastern ports indicate unusual numbers for so early in the year that are coming to our shores. This city and district will receive a large quota, for over the seas has gone the tale of fiction of abundance of work and pay; but would those now on their journey hither not pause and perhaps return to their native land if they could read and understand the conditions surrounding those here who sit in sorrow amidst appalling degradation?

Obligation is acknowledged, for a glimpse of the "other side," to Maj. W. A. Simmons, of this city, whose paper on tenement life in Pittsburg was read last March before the members of the Baptist Union, and was a shocking revelation to those who are always

unwilling to believe that there is no want in this city, more than that which is "natural" in every large city. Speaking of a notorious tenement known throughout the county of Allegheny as "Yellow Row," the major says:

Most of our citizens have seen "Yellow Row," on Second avenue, near Try street. It is dilapidated outside, as well as inside. It looks bad in front, but the rear view is much worse. For years it has been known as the resort of toughs. At one time Yellow Row was considered the worst of all tenements. I have changed my mind on that point. It is bad enough, but I have seen many places that beat it for filth and misery. It consists of eight houses of 56 rooms; 16 of the rooms being dark, with no light or air except that which comes in through an inside door. At least 20 families live there.

In this picture of a remnant of people for which Sobieski fought, how does their condition differ from that under Russian thrall?

The Polish colony is out Penn avenue. There are thousand of Poles; the tenements literally swarm with men, women and children, and the population is growing. Polish row has a record of 26 births in one month. In one tenement in Penn avenue the three stories are divided into 72 rooms, occupied by Poles. There is a family in almost every room, and many of them keep boarders. One family of three persons has four men boarders, all living in one room. Then there are Slavs, Russians, and many other nationalities.

Speaking to a bright Polish boy standing in the door of one of the cellars, Maj. Simmons asked: "And you have only one room?" He replied: "Oh, there is not many of us; just the old man, the old woman, and three children and myself. Why, next door, in one room is 16 boarders." The beds in this tenement do double duty. That is, the men who work at night occupy them in the daytime, and the men who work in the daytime use them at night.

Basin alley is the home of the Syrian colony in Pittsburg, and of this quarter the major said:

Basin alley extends from Washington street to Elm street. The first few houses are of good appearance, then comes a row of disreputable wooden shanties occupied by Syrians and negroes. One house of six rooms shelters four families. One family pays six dollars a month for a room 10 by 13 feet. A basement room rents for four dollars, and is occupied by six people. At the head of Basin alley is a large brick building which was once a church, but is now subdivided and partitioned off into rooms. It is swarming with Syrians. The destitution in the colony is terrible. In one house of four rooms were found 67 people. Most of the homes are entirely destitute of furniture, except beds, and from two to six beds were found in each room, many of them being only a row of boards.

While living amid squalor and destitution, the tenants here are above still worse infernos, for there are human beings glad of the shelter of cellars, as will be seen:

In Etna street, a few doors below, is a brick row of four houses extending back

into the yard, containing five rooms each and cellar, with three families to a house. A family lives in each cellar, and pays \$6.50 for the privilege. One of the cellar tenants informed me that after April 1 the rent will be \$7.50. The families above ground pay \$7.50 per month. One of these cellar tenants, an aged woman, had crawled to the top of the steps to get a breath of fresh air, and was sitting there knitting on a many-colored stocking, unmindful of the rain which was falling fast.

In the rear of 150-152 Pike street, a man, his wife and five boarders occupy one room about 12 by 12. The front room at 158 Pike street, about 16 by 20, contains eight wooden bedsteads, dressed in linen of anthracite hue. Many of these beds do double duty; that is, a gang of occupants for the daylight, and another for night. The room was filled with a frightful odor. I was told it had been aired about a year ago. There were other beds and many families in the rest of the house.

No. 30 Spring alley had 25 rooms, 36 families, and 100 people. Nos. 45, 47 and 49 Spring alley are brick houses of four rooms and cellar each. Six families occupy two rooms each, and the three cellars are occupied by six families. You have heard of a family living in a cellar, but doubtless never heard of two families living in one cellar.

At Second avenue and Greenock street a house of 12 rooms contains five families and 35 people.

No. 66 Water street, a house of 15 rooms, has several women and about 100 boarders. One room has 25 beds in it. This is the house in which Gen. Lafayette slept when he visited Pittsburg.

Graham's row, 70 to 80 Pike street, has ten houses, four rooms, and two cellars each. The 60 rooms contain 20 families, and the rent paid is \$200 per month. The houses cost when new at a fair estimate \$6,000. Deduct two per cent. for taxes, and we find the landlord makes 38 per cent., as no money is ever paid for repairs.

To show that these plague spots are not confined to any particular quarter of the city, Maj. Simmons gave his auditors a glimpse of submerged life in various parts of this modern Babylon:

At High street and Old avenue is a house of eight rooms, a store-room and a kitchen. It is rented by a man for \$40 a month. He sublets the eight rooms to five families. The rent nets him \$40 a month. The entire family of husband, wife and six children sleep in the kitchen.

In Etna street, Ninth ward, the tenements are in a wretched condition. A whole row contains 12 families, averaging eight persons each, to a room. By the side of this is a row of at least six houses which has just been emptied of its tenants. It is actually falling in—roof, doors and walls.

In Zug's alley, in the rear of these tenements, are a half-dozen houses occupied by several families. On the door of one of these were a smallpox sign and a diphtheria sign—a double scourge. In the house were a woman, a man without legs, a man with only one arm, and several small children. In Pike street is a frame row of three houses is built on a spot of ground 20 by 70 feet. The six rooms and three basements are occupied by six families, who pay \$432 a year. These three houses when new cost at least \$300, and could be built to-day, when lumber is selling by the pound, for \$1,000. The only expense on the property is the tax—nothing being expended for repairs. This nets the owner about 43 per cent.

The Eagle's Nest is one of the worst spots in Pittsburg. It is located at Mulberry alley and Twentieth street. Forty families are crowded into what would be room for 15 families. The whole place is reeking with filth. More than 400 people sleep in the Eagle's Nest.

In Spring alley, in the rear of 1107 Penn avenue, there are eight rooms, containing seven families, and all keep boarders. At Spring and Slocum alleys a house of 26 rooms contains 100 Italians. Men rent the floor in spots. Spring alley has three families in one room of a house.

At No. 1330 Penn avenue a German family lives in one room on the second floor. There are five in the family; two children grown.

McKenna's court, Liberty avenue, near Thirteenth street, consists of three rows of seven houses each. At least 100 people live there. Three hydrants furnish all the water the tenants get. They stand in line waiting their turn for water. Some time ago a fire burned off the roof of one of the houses. Mr. Hunfer, the health inspector, said it took three months to get the landlord to repair it. During all this time the house was occupied. Almost every nationality is represented in the tenement; hidden away in dingy, wretched hovels, in narrow alleys, in cellars ten feet below the ground, in dirty courts, on the river banks, high up on rugged cliffs, hanging in the air on the hillsides, where one would think only a goat could climb with safety; within sound of the throbbing industries of the city they are found by scores and hundreds. Thousands of Italians are found in Webster avenue and the cross streets of the Fifth ward. A large colony lives in Oakland. At the Point, once the home of aristocratic Pittsburg, dwell the representatives of the Emerald Isle. There the old women wear ruffled caps and short skirts and smoke pipes as they would across the sea.

In concluding his melancholy recital of conditions as he found them in this, the greatest center of industrial activity in the world, Maj. Simmons says:

The filth, misery and degradation found in some of these places is beyond belief. Men, women and children sleep on the floor like animals, huddled together in foul smelling cellars and garrets, without the sign of a water connection nearer than the yard, and then many persons are compelled to use water from the same hydrant. Indeed, it is almost impossible to get enough water for the people's needs. The women fare the worst in these places, as they are compelled to remain indoors more than the other members of the family. If we allow human beings to live like brutes, we must not be surprised to find them sink to their level—without cleanliness, feeling affection or morality. Where people are herded together vice is bound to thrive.

To one who had looked upon these scenes of monumental misery could the platitudes of the nation's chief and alleged statesmen describing our Republic as a world power and in the vanguard of civilization have any inspiring meaning? As a last word of review the major could only add: "How shall the love of God be understood by those who have been nurtured in sight only of the greed of man?"

Dwelling for a moment longer upon this revolting and soul-sickening social disease, it may be said with truth that in this teeming district nothing is so cheap and regarded so lightly as human life. The mortality among his countrymen alone has been so great, resulting from accidents in mill and factory, that the consul of Austria-Hungary has called upon his country "to protest to the United States against the wholesale deaths of its subjects in Pittsburg, 1,000 deaths occurring each year."

Turning away to the eastward one may walk for miles and pass stately mansions with wide spreading lawns where now bursting bud and bulb promise their perfume and beauty; here and there lordly estates where will soon be heard the fountains' play and the song of birds. No sign here

of the ghastly want a league and less away. Hundreds of unoccupied acres are also seen where "no trespassing allowed" signs tell of the sacredness of private property in land.

As a tree is known by its fruit, it is here that the blighting effects of the protective system affords its greatest object lesson. Reasoning from the sophistries of those politicians and so-called statesmen who have been responsible for the fastening of this ulcerous economic principle upon American industries, throughout this district there would be none of the dark shadows of which we have had but a passing glance. "The impossible specter of Free Trade" was the way Mr. Cleveland put it in one of his messages to the American people, as he was endeavoring to foist emasculated measures in the name of "Tariff Reform." This one reference to what he termed a phantom to be dreaded by a great people demonstrated to all thinking men Mr. Cleveland's equipment for economic investigation and broad statesmanship. Here for years has been the full operation of Protection, and in its wake has followed an enormous increase in cost of every necessary of life. While in many instances wages have been increased, that increase has more than been filched from the wage worker in the enhanced cost of living, and a great mass of unskilled workingmen pressed still further down upon the plane of dependency. The "impossible specter of Free Trade" of Mr. Cleveland's dwarfed discernment is not here, but the gorged vampire of Monopoly squeaks notes of admiration to its guardian of Protection.

Anomalous as it is, Labor, etherized by Protection, and firmly believing that only by its faithful guardianship can it be employed at highest wage, maintains with religious zeal its trade unions in almost every field of toil. As a truth this is Labor's only defense, for without it in a few years a condition of peonage would be its portion.

A hopeless task (to the faint heart) does it seem, then, to break this spell which has stupefied the masses and dulled perception. But it is not so. On every hand there are signs of awakening thought among men who will yet be leaders in the holy crusade against the citadel of Injustice. From the first onward movement there will never be a retreat. The struggle of the people with Land Monopoly will be the conflict of the ages, but under the aegis of Truth and Justice the victorious host will eventually bivouac in the light of the dawn of a nobler civilization.

JAS. A. WARREN.

Though sawdust mush and gravel grit  
For breakfast proves a winner.  
Thank heaven no one has the nerve  
To make a "food" for dinner.

—Puck.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, May 14.

The teamsters' strike at Omaha (p. 71), in which several other classes of workingmen have become involved, some out of sympathy and some on account of quarrels of their own, has given birth to a new departure in the practice of "government by injunction." The familiar Federal injunction, which had been already granted against the labor unions (p. 71), along with similar injunctions by State judges, seems to have suggested the possibility of injunctions against the employers' unions; and on the 12th Judge Dickinson, who is described as a judge of long experience and high reputation, was successfully appealed to to grant one.

Hotel and restaurant proprietors had brought suit in the State courts to enjoin the waiters' union, and preliminary injunctions against the waiters had been allowed, whereupon the waiters filed a cross complaint bringing all local members of the Business Men's Association into court as parties to the suit and asking a sweeping injunction. The reported substance of the cross complaint is as follows:

The Business Men's Association, of Omaha, is a local branch of an organization of national scope, which has for its object the destruction of labor unions; the defendants are members of this association, and they have formed a conspiracy whose object is the destruction of all unions. In carrying out this conspiracy they have by threats of injury to business, by threats of boycotting and of refusing to sell supplies, forced other persons and firms into the organization. After such persons have joined the association they are placed under a heavy fine in case they employ union labor or recognize unions. They have refused to sell building material to contractors who have agreed to employ union labor, and as a result of said conspiracy no contractor having any agreement with union labor has been permitted to purchase material for construction, and more than fifteen contractors who had such agreements have been unable to execute contracts. The members of the Business Men's Association have threatened members of union labor with personal violence and loss of employment and with blacklisting, unless they give up their organization. The defendants and the association have collected a large sum of money for the unlawful purpose of

brining officers and delegates of unions; they have a large sum of money to pay out to members of the association who will lock out their employes who belong to unions, and they are making payments to said members who have done so.

Upon the filing of this cross complaint Judge Dickinson set the 25th for hearing, and meanwhile signed a restraining order prohibiting the Business Men's Association and others named—

1. From in any manner threatening to injure the business or person of any employer or members of the waiters' union or members of any labor union, or any person who may employ or desire to employ such union men, or from refusing to sell commodities and supplies of merchandise to employers of such union labor and from discriminating against such persons in the prices charged for any such commodities.
2. From threatening or intimidating in any manner any person into joining the said Business Men's Association or any organizations to join labor unions.
3. From threatening or intimidating any person who may have become a member of said association or organization, if he employs organized labor or recognizes labor unions, into discontinuing such employment.
4. From imposing any fines upon its members or any person for violating any agreement not to employ organized labor or not to recognize a labor union.
5. From receiving or paying out any money whatever in pursuance of any agreement to break up labor unions, except attorneys in this action.
6. From paying or offering any money to officers or members of unions directly or indirectly as a bribe to do or not to do any act in pursuance of any agreement or any of said defendants against such unions.
7. From importing or engaging agents or servants to import any laborers into the City of Omaha or State of Nebraska in pursuance of any existing plan to destroy labor organizations or under any similar or new arrangement or plan.
8. From bringing any other injunction suits or actions in pursuance of any general plan of prosecutions to break up labor unions or of any new or similar plans connected directly or indirectly with any existing plans.

The laundry strike in Chicago (p. 71) is still in force. Negotiations for settlement had reached the point on the 12th of a formal proposal by the employers to submit the quarrel to the Chicago board of arbitration, of

which Harry G. Selfridge is chairman, but no further progress has been made. The union, while offering to arbitrate all other questions, refused to arbitrate its first demand, which is as follows:

The employer agrees to hire none but members in good standing of the above-named union in each branch or department, when possible to hire them. When union help cannot be procured the employer may hire outside help, with the understanding that such outside help must join the union within two weeks after being hired.

Labor riots are reported in Valparaiso, Chile, of an exceptionally serious character. According to these reports the city was on the 12th in the possession of the striking dock laborers. One policeman had been killed and six wounded, and fifty of the mob were dead or dying. A battle had taken place in the streets that day in which the police were driven to their barracks by a superior force of strikers. After routing the police force the mob set fire to the South American Steamship company's dock and then attacked the fire department when it responded to a call for aid. In consequence much of the company's property was burned. All the shops in the city were closed and transit had been suspended. The strikers were in control and greater bloodshed was anticipated at any moment. The mob was then surrounding the offices of El Mercurio and threatening to sack and burn the establishment, but in this they failed. Thousands of strikers were marching on Admiral Montt's private residence, swearing vengeance on its occupants and destruction to the building. The authorities seemed powerless, and owing to the bitter feeling against the police it had been decided to keep them in barracks rather than further excite the strikers by an ineffectual attempt to quell them. But later in the day the police were sent out again, supported by troops, and the bloodiest rioting yet resulted. Over 200 were killed and wounded. According to New York Herald dispatches, public sympathy is with the strikers notwithstanding their violence. It seems that they were entirely orderly until exasperated by the partisan conduct of the authorities.

A strike of engineers and firemen on the State railroads of Victoria, Australia, began on the 8th. It is a

contest between State railway employes, numbering about 11,000, and the government, over the right of the former to affiliate their organization with the Victoria Trades, which is the general organization of trades unionism in the State of Victoria. The government was willing to allow the men to continue their own organization, but objected to their affiliating with the Victoria Trades, and notified them that unless they withdrew by the 12th they would be discharged. It was in consequence of this notification that the men went upon strike. Over 3,000 miles of railroad are affected. To meet the emergency the government called a special session of the State parliament to meet on the 13th, and issued a proclamation forbidding the people to gather near the parliament house during the session. When parliament met, pursuant to the special call, the premier moved to second reading a bill for the suppression of the strike, which forbids interfering with employes, the collection of strike funds, or encouraging the strike in any manner. The bill further empowers the police to destroy documents encouraging the strike, makes printers thereof offenders against the law, and declares meetings to be unlawful if four strikers are present. The police are empowered by it to forcibly enter meetings.

The dispatches from Australia regarding this strike are confined to the immediate facts, but it is probable that the strike is not unrelated to political problems (vol. v, 626) growing out of the employment of large numbers of men on the State-owned railways. These employes threatened to strike last year, when the State ministry proposed in the Victorian parliament to reduce their wages. Alarmed by that threat, parliament refused to sustain the ministry's proposal, whereupon the ministry dissolved parliament and appealed to the people. General elections were accordingly held last Fall (vol. v, p. 539), one result of which was the elimination of the Labor party as a balance of power party in the parliament. Upon the organization of the new parliament the new ministry, having in mind the cause of the dissolution, introduced a bill, which is still undisposed of, providing that civil servants of the State be deprived of the voting right in their respective districts, and in lieu thereof

be allowed as a body or guild to elect two members of parliament.

An important labor question occupied the attention on the 8th of the British House of Commons. It grew out of the decision in the Taff Vale railway strike case (vol. v, p. 600), wherein the House of Lords held last year that an unincorporated trade union can be sued for damages committed in its behalf the same as if it were incorporated. To abolish one of the causes of action which this decision recognized as valid, a bill had been introduced in Parliament for legalizing peaceable "picketing," and on the 8th the Commons rejected the bill by a vote of 246 to 226. Its passage was opposed by Mr. Balfour, the premier, who, in opposing it, promised that a royal commission would be appointed to inquire into the whole question of trades unionism as affected by court decisions in the Taff Vale and similar cases.

Some talk of a British "Monroe doctrine" in the East has been caused during the week by a speech in the House of Lords on the 5th by Lord Lansdowne, foreign secretary, on the subject of British interests on the Persian gulf. While contending in this speech that so far as the navigation of the Persian gulf is concerned, Great Britain holds a position different from that of the other powers because it is owing to British enterprise and expenditure of life and money that this gulf is open to the commerce of the world and because the protection of the sea route to India necessitates British predominance in the gulf, Lord Lansdowne said:

I may say without hesitation that we should regard the establishment of a naval base or a fortified port in the Persian gulf by any other power as a very grave menace to British interests, and we should certainly resist it with all the means at our disposal.

The industrial enterprise which is supposed to have elicited this warning passage in Lansdowne's speech is the Bagdad railway, originally a German project, but combining also French, German, Austrian and even British interests, for the success of which a terminus on the Persian gulf is indispensable.

Another instance of British expansion was called to the attention of Parliament by Secretary Chamber-

lain on the 12th. He then announced in the House of Commons that as a result of the British military operations in the Sokoto and Kano districts, ending in the capture of the Emir of Kano, 100,000 square miles of territory had been added to northern Nigeria and would be administered by the government of that territory.

Nigeria is a British-African protectorate bordering on the French Soudan at the south. It comprises the whole of the British sphere of occupation and influence within lines of demarcation arranged by Anglo-German agreements made in 1885, 1886 and 1893, and Anglo-French agreements made in 1889, 1890 and 1898. Within an area of about 400,000 square miles it has a population of 25,000,000. Originally under the government of the Royal Niger Co., it is now subject directly to Imperial administration. Much the largest part of this country is known as Northern Algeria, the area of which is 320,000 square miles. It is inhabited partly by Mohammedan tribes, chief among these being the Fulani, and partly by the Hausa, who are pagans, and upon whom the British depend mostly for native troops, these pagans making, it is said, excellent soldiers. Last December Sir Frederick Lugard, the British high commissioner for Northern Nigeria, began, upon his own responsibility, a campaign against the Fulani of the independent Kano and Sokoto States. One ostensible object was the extirpation of slave-raiding, which the Mohammedan Fulani are said to practice on an extensive scale at the expense of their pagan Hausa neighbors. Another, given by a London dispatch of the 13th, is to the effect that the Emir of Kano refused to surrender alleged native murderers of a British agent. This campaign was in reversal of the old commercial policy of the Royal Niger Co., which maintained friendly relations with the Fulani rulers and induced them by diplomatic means and the payment of small subsidies to maintain order and encourage trade. But success has attended Lugard's new departure. He captured Kano on the 3d of February and Sokoto on the 14th of March, with the result, as Mr. Chamberlain now states, of adding 100,000 square miles of territory (namely, the independent Mohammedan states of Kano and Sokoto) to Northern Nigeria to be ad-

ministered by the imperial government of Great Britain.

Details of the capture of Sokoto, the last of these two African cities to fall, have just been published in London. The engagement, which lasted two and a half hours, was between 500 British troops armed with rifles and four quick-firing guns and four Maxims under the command of Col. Morland, and 6,000 Fulani armed with modern rifles and using smokeless powder. The British camped during the night of March 13 one and one-half miles from Sokoto. At day-break March 14 they moved toward the valley in which Sokoto lies. Immediately after the British appeared over the ridge the Fulanis charged with a bravery that was undeterred by a withering Maxim and rifle fire. They had no proper leadership, but the isolated bands continued to advance over heaps of dead and dying, often reaching within a yard of the square, where, refusing quarter, they were shot down while shouting "Allah" with their last breath. Their main body was finally routed, leaving a remnant of about thirty chiefs around the emir's great white flag. These chiefs were war heroes to the last, and their corpses were found hedging the standard when the British entered the city.

Curiously enough an American victory over Mohammedan Filipinos in Mindanao is reported at the same time with the above details of a British victory over Mohammedan Africans in Nigeria. The American victory was achieved by Capt. John J. Pershing, who won a similar victory (p. 24) about a month ago. After that engagement the natives began to reassemble for further defense, and Capt. Pershing went out against them again. According to Manila dispatches of the 7th he encountered a strong force of the Sultan of Amparuganos at Taraca, east of Lake Lanao, and a running fight ensued. It finally centered on a group of ten earthworks. Eight of these were easily captured by the Americans, but the defenders of the ninth and tenth made a brave resistance, and lost 130 men killed and wounded before they were overcome. The Americans had two killed and two wounded. No further resistance to the American invasion was expected, but a subsequent attack was nevertheless made upon Capt. Pershing's rear guard, and a lieutenant and one sol-

dier were wounded. Gen. Davis reported on the 7th to the War Department on this subject that—

Captain John J. Pershing has completed a circuit of Lake Lanao via the east coast from Camp Vicars. He had a sharp fight at Taraca, captured ten forts, many prisoners, thirty-six lantacas and sixty rifles. All other dattos are friendly. He liberated prisoners, destroyed hostile forts and lantacas. Our loss was two killed and four wounded. Every hostile Lanao datto has now been chastised. All Moros know our friendship is valuable and is freely extended to all who deserve it. No property, save hostile forts, has been molested. Troops returned to Vicars via the west coast. Moro labor eager for employment on the roads and shelter buildings; former about finished; the latter progressing rapidly.

### NEWS NOTES.

—Richard Henry Stoddard, the poet, died at New York on the 12th, at the age of 77.

—All the cities of New Hampshire voted on the 12th in favor of license for liquor selling, and at least 100 towns voted the same way.

—President Roosevelt (p. 72) was received in Los Angeles on the 8th. He left on the 9th and reached San Francisco on the 12th, where he still is.

—Dr. Albert A. Ames, four times mayor of Minneapolis, was convicted on the 7th of accepting a bribe as mayor. This is one of the notorious "boodle" prosecutions of Minneapolis.

—The governor of Pennsylvania signed a bill on the 12th which is declared by the press of the State without distinction of party to be a blow at legitimate freedom of the press. Its object is believed to be the protection of ring politicians and corporation conspirators.

—Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, of Toronto, who died on the 30th of April, was the pioneer woman physician of Canada. She graduated in medicine in New York in 1868, the university at Toronto having refused her admission on account of her sex. She had given up active practice ten years prior to her death, owing to an accident, but at that time she had become so successful that her practice rivaled that of some of the most prominent physicians of Toronto.

—A clock work infernal machine containing 100 pounds of dynamite and the clock work in operation was found on a New York dock on the 9th among the baggage intended for the Umbria of the Cunard line. A warning received by the police, purporting to come from the Mafia society, ex-

plained that this machine was only a crude affair intended to show how easily the Mafia could sink a ship and to indicate their intention of driving British ships out of New York harbor.

### PRESS OPINIONS.

#### GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), May 12.—The Omaha business men have received a dose of their own medicine and cannot reasonably complain, but to the sober-minded observer who adheres to first principles of constitutional liberty the spectacle is full of instruction.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), May 14.—In Omaha it is now injunction against injunction in the labor trouble. . . . The injunction now secured by strikers against employers . . . has an extreme point of its own in that it actually enjoins injunctions. It forbids the employers to bring any more such suits against the strikers. This latter feature is equivalent to pushing injunction to an absurdity. If each side can enjoin the other from enjoining it the end of the injunction is clearly seen. Apart from the absurd features of the situation there is much reason to deem it a pity that the labor leaders have so resorted to the very method of attack which they have so long and so bitterly denounced. In their warfare on "government by injunction" they have had the encouragement of many persons who did not sympathize with their industrial aims. It is a grave matter, therefore, for them to shift their position and rather too grave, perhaps, for a venture in burlesque.

#### THE POLICE "SWEAT BOX."

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), May 12.—"Sweating" in police parlance is about synonymous with "bullying" a prisoner into confession. Sometimes, in its milder forms, it corresponds with "cajoling." It is the natural resource of the policeman who has no detective ability and would not know how to follow up a clew if by any chance he should recognize one when he met it.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), May 11.—When a lad of 11 can be tortured, cajoled, browbeaten, confined, starved, overfed, bribed and heaven only knows what else for seven days, passing through an ordeal which, according to Inspector Wheeler, he will not forget during the remainder of his life, it is high time definite steps were taken to put the sweat box where its prototypes, the inquisition and torture chamber, have been put.

Chicago Chronicle (Ind.), May 12.—Police methods in Chicago have an evil reputation wherever the name of the city is known. Detectives who cannot see "protected" gambling in public places are notoriously permitted to employ the sweat-box as a daily ritual within secrecy of cells. . . . Why should not Mayor Harrison introduce the water cure into the Chicago police department? The responsibility for the conduct of that department is his. The water cure is a quicker method of extorting confessions, true or false, than solitary confinement and starvation. . . . To invent lies for the purpose of compelling a child to tell more lies about its parents is a peculiarly atrocious instance of abuse of brief authority. . . . Some day in this city an intrepid judge will take up the torture question and will give the proper instructions to a grand jury concerning the inhuman wretches in or out of uniform who employ torture in pretended legal proceedings in the name of this community.

#### DEMOCRATIC POLITICS.

Knights of Labor Journal (lab.), April.—Why don't those howling Democrats

who are deserting the people and the Kansas City platform and are now baying in the field for "some candidate who can win," propose the name of Senator Platt, or Quay, or Spooner? If the Democratic party has no principles, why not be honest enough to take a good man who will be a candidate that is entirely satisfactory to the Republicans? Why not? Why not be honest enough to take the advice of Samuel J. Tilden, when a lot of trimmers asked his advice on the national platform: "Make it as nearly like the Republican platform as possible, without using the same words." The nearer the Democratic principles come to the Republican platform the more Democrats jump over into the Republican party. They say there is no principle in Democracy, and the Republicans have better brains and more liberal pay. Answer the question: In what respect is Quay or Spooner a better Republican than Grover Cleveland, except in brains?

New Haven Union (Dem.), May 1.—There is an irrepressible conflict going on in the Democratic party. We have no doubt of the result. The men who were loyal in 1896 and 1900 will control the organization. The six million and a half voters who supported Mr. Bryan in 1896 and 1900, are not going to place in power and give their confidence to journals and men who received every honor at their hands, and when they could not have their own way in their attempt to Republicanize the Democratic party, repudiated the platform, bolted the nominees, and have been doing everything in their power for the past eight years to cripple and destroy the organization. The campaign of 1904, in our opinion, with Grover Cleveland as the standard bearer of the Democratic party—on a platform advocating money monopoly, would receive less votes in the electoral college than Horace Greeley, the life-long Republican, did in the campaign of 1872, when he was nominated as the Democratic standard bearer, the motive being in 1872, as it is now, "any old thing to win."

### MISCELLANY

#### BLUE BLOOD AND RED.

From John Boyle O'Reilly's poem on "Crispus Attucks," the Negro patriot who was killed in Boston, March 5, 1770.

O, blood of the people! changeless tide,  
through century, creed and race!  
Still one as the sweet salt sea is one, though  
tempered by sun and place;  
The same in the ocean currents, and the  
same in the sheltered seas;  
Forever the fountain of common hopes and  
kindly sympathies;  
Indian and Negro, Saxon and Celt, Teuton  
and Latin and Gaul—  
Mere surface shadow and sunshine: while  
the sounding unifies all!  
One love, one hope, one duty theirs! no matter  
the time or ken,  
There never was separate heart-beat in all  
the races of men!

But alien is one—of class, not race—he has  
drawn the line for himself:  
His roots drink life from inhuman soil,  
from garbage of pomp and pelf;  
His heart beats not with the common beat,  
he has changed his life-stream's hue;  
He deems his flesh to be finer flesh, he  
boasts that his blood is blue:  
Patrician, aristocrat, tory—whatever his  
age or name,  
To the people's rights and liberties, a traitor  
ever the same.  
The natural crowd is a mob to him, their  
prayer a vulgar rhyme;

The freeman's speech is sedition, and the patriot's deed a crime.

Wherever the race, the law, the land—whatever the time, or throne,

The tory is always a traitor to every class but his own.

Thank God for a land where pride is clipped, where arrogance stalks apart; Where law and song and loathing of wrong are words of the common heart:

Where the masses honor straightforward strength, and know, when veins are bled,

That the bluest blood is putrid blood—that the people's blood is red!

#### THE FRANCHISE IN NEW ZEALAND.

A marked innovation was the granting of the franchise to the natives. They are called Maoris, and number about 50,000 pure bloods. About 200 Maori wives have English husbands. The physiognomy, stalwart physiques, and forms as stately as our original Sioux Indians indicate their ancient Aryan origin, necessarily modified by travels and migrations among the Malays and Indo-nesion isles. Their traditions tell of reaching New Zealand in a fleet of canoes. The learned trace Semitic and Aryan words in their dialects. They practice circumcision, and their government was patriarchal. The English, seeing their possibilities, and thinking it wiser to teach them than to kill them, to filch their lands or gold fields, took extra pains to educate them. Very many of them are now land-holders, and all are voters. Four of these Maoris are now in parliament, and one, an excellent speaker, is in the ministry. When will America so educate her Indian tribes as to elect a Red Jacket or an Osceola to a seat in congress—or permit an Elizabeth Cady Stanton to honor our senate?—J. M. Peebles, A. M., Ph. D., in the April Arena.

#### AN EARLY TRADES UNION AND ITS FATE.

An extract from a private diary kept by an intelligent and scholarly young carpenter living in New England and New York during the years from Sept., 1820, to May, 1827. The incidents of the portion we give herewith took place in Boston in April, 1825. Copy made from MS. in the office of The Public.

April 12 [1825]. This evening I was placed in [a] situation rather more delicate as regarded public affairs than any in which I had ever been placed. The causes that led to it were the following: Several of the most respectable journeymen Carpenters having frequently discussed upon the impropriety of working so many hours during the longest days in summer, for a day's work, and on the necessity and expediency of limiting the number of

hours for a day's work, thereby reducing it to a regular system whereby every mechanic might be enabled to work the exact specified time for his employer, and yet have some leisure time to regulate and make such arrangements in his affairs (especially if he has a family) as are indispensably necessary. The first step taken to effect this was notice given in the public papers that a meeting of the journeymen carpenters would be holden at Concert Hall, Wednesday, the 12th of April, and solicited punctual attendance. This notice was given about ten days previous to the proposed meeting. Five or six days before s'd meeting about sixty or seventy of the above named met to consult what measures to adopt at the general meeting, and make such arrangements for the same as might be thought proper. The business done at this amounted simply to the choice of six men chosen as a committee to make some arrangements for next meeting. The day previous to the meeting it [was] proposed by them to nominate me to the chair, not because they supposed me to possess superior abilities for executing the duties of this office, but because they supposed me influenced by an unusual degree of independence, and this idea arose probably from a careless indifference manifested towards those who professed a superiority over me. It was upon the same consideration I consented to accept of the appointment. Our meeting consisted of about eight hundred, principally journeymen Carpenters. Several animated addresses and speeches were given, which seemed to instill into every mind a spirit of unity, of independence, and of utter abhorrence to their present mode of despotic servitude. About five hundred of the then present became obligated to support the object that called us together, viz., to regulate and establish a day's work to ten hours. The above mentioned obligation embraced no more than the pledge of honour from man to man, manifested by subscribing their several names to an instrument stating our resolutions and our reasons therefor. The master carpenters, learning our proceedings, took the earliest measures to counteract them, and (as the subject pains my feelings) let me say in a few words, they succeeded. Not altogether, however, through their own sagacity, but by the bribed, the scandalous, perjured, traitorous conduct of some on whom we placed implicit confidence. The conduct of these, together with the insinuations and threats of those in

whose employment they had been engaged, induced others to abandon as hopeless the system for which they had earnestly contended. One fainted, one after another, till our fabrick fell! There may it lie. May the attempt to rear it again never be made but by such hands as are determined to see it either completed, or redemolished by fair and honourable endeavours of a contending foe. May it never again be polluted by those traitorous hands who were first to desert it.

#### INDIRECT TAXATION.

For The Public.

Mr. Van Rensselaer Knickerbocker, a careless, but close-fisted bachelor, long furnished a subject of contention for two neighboring boarding house keepers, whom he patronized alternately. Mrs. Jefferson enjoyed his favor for several years, when suddenly he left her in a huff and went to board with her rival, Mrs. Hamilton. This was more than Mrs. Jefferson could stand, and she employed all her blandishments, besides holding out the inducement of a reduction in board, to secure his return, in which she was successful for a brief period. Mrs. Hamilton then reduced her rates further, and broadly hinted that for the pleasure of waiting upon so fine a gentleman, she would board him for nothing. Of course Mrs. Jefferson could not meet this "cut," and kept on wondering how her rival could not only support Mr. Knickerbocker, but could continue to decorate herself with gay-er costumes as the days wore on, especially as he was almost her only boarder.

But for Mr. Knickerbocker's stinginess and irreproachable moral character, Mrs. Jefferson would have been justified in entertaining the worst suspicions. Unable any longer to contain her curiosity, she waited on her neighbor, and the following colloquy ensued, after the customary greetings:

"Well, Mrs. Hamilton, you have practically made your own of Mr. Knickerbocker."

"Yes, Mrs. Jefferson, and proud of it, I am."

"If it wouldn't be presuming, might I ask what are you charging him for board now?"

"Why, certainly, Mrs. Jefferson, I am only too glad to tell you. I have to charge him a dollar and a half a week now, but I hope inside of six months I can dispense with all charges and board him free."

"Well, well, Mrs. Hamilton, you surprise me. How do you do it? Board a

man for nothing! And especially 'as rich a man as he is! Now if he were a poor man there might be some—"

"Oh, if he were a poor man, I couldn't afford it. He has a number of extravagant habits, and I don't propose to keep him for a lot of tradesmen to grow rich in plundering him. I make them divide with me, or they don't get to see him. The man who is the most liberal with me gets admission when Mr. Knickerbocker is in good humor, and gets warned when he is cranky. His wines, his cigars, his books, his clothes, everything that he uses, costs him more than it used to, but he does not notice the fact. In the early days of his stay with me, I was reduced to such desperate straits to keep him that I went into his room when he was asleep and got as much money as I wanted out of his clothes. Another time—"

"But, my dear Mrs. Hamilton, do you think this is honest?"

"At this question Mrs. Hamilton grew visibly angry.

"What do you think I am running—a Sunday school for my health, or a boarding house for profit? If Knickerbocker hasn't sense enough to know that he can't be supported for nothing, or has such a lot of vanity that he thinks I am doing it because I am stuck on him, it's not my affair. Even if you went and told him all I have told you he wouldn't believe you; he would attribute it to jealousy. The best advice I can give you is to get into some 'get-rich-quick' scheme, for you won't get your old boarder again. The older he gets the more conceited he grows over the thought that it costs him nothing to live and he has broadly hinted that he will make me his residuary legatee. Last Sunday at church the minister read from the Bible about 'the children of darkness being wiser in their generation than the children of light,' and I thought it was the wisest thing I had heard out of the good book in a long time. It is much more to the point than talking about not setting the net in sight of the bird. Why, now-a-days the birds feel so flattered at your wanting to catch them that you need no nets at all. Well, I am sorry you have to go. Anything more you want to inquire about? Yes, I will probably try for some more boarders on my indirect taxation plan, as my son calls it. What! they'll find me out! Yes, ma'am, they may, but they will be so much ashamed of having been taken in they won't tell anyone of it."

JOHN J. MURPHY.

#### CHILD LABOR.

A contribution written by Louis F. Post, editor of *The Public*, for the American Federationist for May, the organ of the American Federation of Labor. Published here by special permission of Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

One need not be familiar with the appalling details to have his wrath excited against what is known as child labor. All he need do is to imagine his own or a neighbor's child wearing its life away in the dust and racket of a coal breaker or the ceaseless din of a factory. Let his imagination seize upon the image of a real child, not the mere abstract idea which we spell c-h-i-l-d, but a little boy or girl with whom he is personally acquainted, whose features he recognizes in his mind's eye, and whose name he recalls with affectionate emotions—let him associate that image with a perpetual round of nerve-racking drudgery, and his education against child labor will be instantly complete.

No sane man or woman could bear the thought of turning their own baby friends into factory machines, no matter how proud they might be of the resulting commercial "prosperity." At such a cost commercial "prosperity" is all too dear. But what difference does it make if the immolated children happen to be some one else's instead of ours? They are nevertheless as human, and their suffering is as great as the suffering of our own would be.

Moreover, our civilization is to be tested in this respect not by the care that well-to-do parents give their children, but by its child life as a whole; and by that test how terrible is the indictment against it! No wonder the horrors of Moloch, the child-consuming god of the ancients, and of Ganges, the child-engulfing river of the Hindus, are recalled to illustrate the child-devouring "prosperity" of our own civilized time and Christian country.

Child labor is child sacrifice. No heathen rites, however wretched or cruel, for the pacification of vindictive gods, can be much more revolting to a reflecting mind than the destruction of the innocents for the profit of commercial promoters in this Christian land. Let me not be understood as opposing labor by children. Children are benefited by laboring. Every child, from the time it begins to play intelligently, should have responsible labors to perform. That is the natural way of develop-

ing physical skill and moral sensibility. But child labor, as the term is used, does not describe the wholesome normal tasks of childhood. It describes instead the drudgery of a monotonous toil which stunts the body and compresses the mind, which fatigues beyond endurance and degrades without compunction while it kills without mercy.

There should be no question about dealing instantly with such an outrage upon the children of our time and country. Even paternal laws, such as repressive acts against child labor undoubtedly are, may be tolerated as a temporary expedient for the sake of children whose rights are momentarily in deadly peril.

True, it is to be borne in mind at all times that the child labor iniquity is a natural result of an iniquitous institution more fundamental. If heaven were monopolized, there would be child labor or something oppressive quite akin to it in heaven itself; and it is unavoidable on earth so long as the earth is monopolized. Child labor is an evil without roots of its own. It is simply one of the manifestations of that social and industrial life which has its roots in land monopoly. This fundamental wrong would manifest itself in other ways if child labor were effectively prohibited. A fundamental social wrong is like migratory rheumatism. If by local treatment you subdue its manifestations in one place, you hardly have time to realize the relief before you are aware of them in another place. The only remedy for such industrial evils as child labor must be radical. It must be one that goes to the root. It must not merely allay, it must eradicate. And the root whence all such evils as child labor draw their sustenance is land monopoly. Abolish land monopoly and you abolish child labor, and only so. For, after all, it is the pressing needs of disinherited and impoverished parents, rather than the greed of factory owners, that make child labor possible. Where is the well-to-do family from which a single child has ever been dragged by capitalistic greed into factory service? Restore to parents full freedom to raise themselves above want and fear of want, and you can better trust the parental instinct than the instinct of a State official, to protect the rights of children.

But with the potency of the parental instinct checked by an institution the destructive nature of which

cannot be widely enough exposed to the public understanding to be uprooted in this generation, and with whole armies of children consequently deprived of the most elementary rights of childhood, immediate relief is demanded. Even the most consistent adversary of paternal legislation may well, in such circumstances, withhold opposition while temporary laws for the protection of children are enacted and enforced.

#### MAYOR TOM L. JOHNSON.

From The Commoner (Wm. J. Bryan, editor and proprietor) of May 8, 1903.

Among the prominent Democrats of the country who have been mentioned in connection with presidential honors none has been mentioned with more frequency than Mayor Tom L. Johnson, thrice elected mayor of Cleveland, O. He is a Democrat who has always been loyal, always a hard worker in the party, and always a virile leader in reforms demanded by the people. The Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat, one of the strongest Democratic dailies in the country, edited by Warren Worth Bailey, speaks of Mayor Johnson in the following words:

"If nothing more than ability to carry elections were to be the test of fitness, Johnson would measure up to the full standard. He is the only Democrat of national reputation who has in recent years been able to wrest victory from the clutch of hopeless conditions; victory, not for himself alone, but for his party also.

"Two years ago he became mayor of Cleveland. It was not by bargaining with the Republican politicians and corporation magnates of that Republican city, as his 'Democratic' predecessor had done, but by fighting them with radically democratic policies in an open campaign. He appealed to the people and won them over to his side. Six months later he secured a Democratic victory in Cuyahoga county, until then a Republican stronghold, and seated in the legislature the first Democratic delegation that had gone from that county in 40 years or more. When a year had rolled around he led the party to victory in a municipal election in Cleveland in which he was not himself a candidate. In another six months he was leading the State campaign for his party in northern Ohio, where he increased the Democratic vote by 10,000; without counting Cuyahoga county, which he carried for the State ticket by 2,500, the city of Cleveland responding with

a plurality of 5,000. And now, after only two years of leadership, he not only secures his own reelection as mayor, but establishes his party completely and overwhelmingly in power in a city which has never before been regarded as Democratic. On the mere basis of vote-attracting ability, no present aspirant for the Democratic nomination for president can compare with Johnson.

"But that is the least of his qualifications. Both his administration as mayor and his methods of party leadership have proved him to be a democratic statesman of the purest and ablest type. When he came into the office of mayor of Cleveland two years ago that city was under the government of what is known as the federal plan. It was the mayor's duty under this plan to appoint a cabinet consisting of heads of departments, and to supervise their work. There were but few men who had been tested in public office whom he could select for appointments. Most of the tried office holders of Cleveland of both parties had been found disgracefully wanting. Johnson was obliged, therefore, to reorganize the city government with untried men, trusting to his knowledge of human nature to pick out the honest ones, and to his business experience and judgment to select the capable. He did not fail. From top to bottom the administrative department was put upon a better business footing than that of any other city in the Union. All his appointees have won public confidence, both for ability and integrity. There is not a black sheep among them.

"In the legislative department Johnson was obliged for a year to work with a city council in which Republicans were in the majority, and each party was well represented with corruptionists. He brought the honest Democrats and the honest Republicans together, led them to unite in organizing the council by electing honest Republicans instead of crooked Republicans to the offices of that body, and by inspiring confidence in the honest councilmen of both parties was able to secure from the council the legislation he needed for faithful service to the city. It was with the aid of this council that he began his now famous and nearly successful fight against the street car monopolies. From the next council nearly all the crooked members were excluded in response to Johnson's appeal to the people; and with a Democratic majority in that

body his fight became easier, until the street car monopolists 'ripped' the city and tied his hands altogether.

"While fighting the street car monopolists Johnson did not overlook the inequalities of taxation by which the great corporations and the great landlords of the city had long profited at the expense of the masses of the people. Finding a moribund tax board in the legal equipment of the city government, he got rid of its useless members, reorganized it with new men, and began through them to reveal the inequalities and injustice of the tax system and its local operation. Among the discoveries of this rejuvenated board was the fact that small property owners were taxed on the basis of from 60 to over 100 per cent. of the true value of their property, while large property owners escaped with valuations ranging from 60 per cent. downward, and the public service corporations got off with valuations as low as 10 per cent. and even lower.

"Johnson's attempt to remedy this revealed injustice was cut off by the same 'ripping' process that tied his hands in the street car fight. The old-time tax board, no longer moribund, was legislated out of office; and the public service corporations were relieved by Republican officials of the increased taxes which that board had found they justly owed. But this was not a defeat for Johnson. His triumph at the Cleveland elections last week amply proves that it was but a factor in that fierceness of the battle which makes the victory that comes at last all the more complete and secure.

"The man who can and will make that kind of a fight for the people is the type of man the Democratic party needs for its presidential candidate. Nor has Johnson's political career in Cleveland anything in it of the nature of fireworks. It is simply an expression of the character and mental and moral equipment of the man. None who know him are astonished by it. They expect it. In business he has forged ahead from a poor boy, the son of a Confederate officer impoverished by the Civil War. He has played in the same game of business that the great captains of industry are playing yet, and he has won at it. His ability as a business man not even the best of them will dispute. Johnson is no weakling 'theorist.' He knows all the twists and wriggles in the diplomacy of plutocratic business with which the plutocrats so bewilder President Roosevelt, and he knows how to turn them to account for the

people. This he has demonstrated in his career as mayor of Cleveland.

"Not only has he succeeded as a business man, as the mayor of a great American city, and as a political leader, but he has served in Congress with distinction, and in a way to prove both the soundness of his views on pressing national questions and his unflinching loyalty to his convictions. Who that remembers his free trade speech on the floor of the House can forget his retort when a protectionist rebuked him as a beneficiary of protection for speaking against it? 'As a business man in business affairs,' he exclaimed, 'I will take advantage of all the bad laws you pass; but as a member of this House, on this floor, I will not help you to pass them, and I will try to make you repeal them.'

"It is moral perception and courage like that that the Democratic party needs in its presidential candidate. It needs precisely the qualities which Tom L. Johnson has proved himself to possess. His business education, his economic insight, his profoundly democratic convictions (which know no distinctions of class, sex or race), his integrity of purpose, his candor with the people, his acute knowledge of men, his legislative experience, his administrative record, his tireless energy, his courtesy and good feeling, his familiarity with the theory and practice of monopoly and his thoroughly tested devotion to the purpose of crushing it—these qualities, which Johnson possesses in eminent degree, justify the masses of Democracy in turning toward him and demanding his nomination. At a time when industrial monopoly is reaching out for control of the national government, the best possible recommendation for the presidential nomination of the Democratic party is the splendid record Mayor Johnson has made in northern Ohio. He would be the kind of candidate to inspire hopes of victory, and the kind of President to make the victory worth having when it had been won."

#### HOW TO BE GREAT.

The children sat down to the table.

Willy said, as he staked out a claim to the chairs: "My foresight was such that I secured these sites—seats, I mean."

Johnny, by the connivance of the servants, scooped in all the salad oil. He remarked, as he handed the waiter a bribe: "The Lord gave this to me as a trust." Georgie said: "By my honesty and industry I secured control of this passageway, and I am entitled to all that the traffic will bear."—From "The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall.

#### PECATONICA.

Viewed from Freeport, Ill. Freeport is famous for its natural beauty, the historic Lincoln-Douglas debate, and—a Carnegie Library.

For The Public.

In the years that have come and the years that have gone,

And the time our historian knows,  
Men have waited in vain their ambitions to gain

In this fleetest of whimsical shows,  
Yet, the seasons keep smiling, as ever they may,

Since the sun of the first summer rose  
In its glorious flight to behold the delight  
Where the old Pecatonica flows.

For the fields are as fair as the heaven we'd share,

And the groves are as grand in their pride,

So an artist must halt in exquisite despair  
Where the Master's whole skill was applied.

Oh, the peace of the valley! Asleep on the slopes

In the bliss full abundance bestows,  
While the music sings sweet on the shores  
at her feet

Where the old Pecatonica flows.

But the struggle is stern in the valley to-day,

Where Arcadian memories gleam,  
And the purpose of men enters into the fray

That is blinding their beautiful dream.  
They have charged to the left, and resisted  
the right

In the field weeping over its woes,  
While the gold from the hills all its opulence spills

Where the old Pecatonica flows.

In the process of time—the transformer of art,

When the monument crumbles to dust,  
That was bought with the blood commerce wrings from the heart

And has reeked with its ruinous rust,  
There shall stand on Memorial Hill, men,  
to be,

Where the gilt of its giver now glows,  
And their longing shall see temples reared  
by the free

Where the old Pecatonica flows.

And the glory of gain shall be silently spurned,

If the gain be for arrogant greed,  
For the lovers of Liberty's lessons have learned

The corruption of caste, and its creed,  
And the land will be loyal, the land will be true

To the faith in the freedom that rose  
From the sweat o' the soil that rewarded  
its toil

Where the old Pecatonica flows.

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

First College Boy—Hooray! My people have all turned Christian Scientists.

Second College Boy—Why such joy?  
First College Boy—Well, hitherto the only thing that has kept me from having a beautiful time has been the thought that it would worry them.—Harper's Bazar.

"I suppose there will never be an end to grabs until everything is grabbed."

"Oh! Not even then; because the people who haven't grabbed anything will be trying to grab what has already been grabbed."—Puck.

In the discovery of rheumatic gout, science at last recognizes our great middle class, who are too poor to have gout, and yet too rich to have rheumatism.—Puck.

#### BOOKS

##### THE HEART OF JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

This book is one volume of 500 pp., edited by Percy Livingstone Parker and published by the F. H. Revell company. The full published Journal makes four such volumes; and these four published volumes are by no means the whole of John Wesley's Journal. Usually such writings ought to be given to the world complete and unabridged; but in this instance Mr. Parker has done a good turn. His volume will reach hundreds of readers who would stick at undertaking to go through four times as much; and besides, enough is here given to get at the heart of the great preacher.

The editor has done well to reprint at the beginning Augustine Birrell's delightful essay, "An Appreciation of John Wesley's Journal." There could be no better introduction to whet one's appetite for the book. As to the editor's work, it has been simply that of selection. This seems to have been judiciously done, so far as one can judge without going through all of the four volumes. It would seem that the present volume would have been greatly enhanced in value by the addition of occasional notes. Take for example the episode in Georgia, and especially the difficulty with Mrs. Williamson, which was the immediate occasion of Wesley's departure, this book leaves the reader quite in the air.

John Wesley was one of the world's great elemental characters. He was a genius—a genuine original. One feels like calling him aboriginal. Notice how little he cared about bodily discomforts:

"In an hour or two we came to a cypress swamp, which lay directly across our way; there was not time to walk back to Savannah before night; so we walked through it, the water being about breast high." There you have the man. "I have lain many nights in the open air, and received all the dews that fell; and so, I believe, might any one, if his constitution was not impaired by the softness of a genteel education."

When this was written he had himself received a classical training in the best schools of England, was a master of arts, and a fellow of Lincoln college, Oxford; but no amount of "genteel education" could extinguish the elemental originality of this man or impair the iron of his immense vitality. His nature was to think and act with a gigantic independence, which no school curriculum could quench and no human master could dominate. There were many strange sides to his character, which it is worth while to become acquainted with; but through all there is the distinct note of the rare, supreme type of man who acts always in accordance with the independent convictions of his own soul.

Of course life is never a May-day promenade to men of this kind. Let us take just one glimpse of a scene that was similar to many others that occurred during his preaching tours through England: "So they dragged me along till we came to the town; where, seeing the door of a large house open, I attempted to go in; but a man, catching me by the hair, pulled me back into the middle of the mob. . . . An honest butcher, who was a little farther off, said it was a shame they should do thus; and pulled back four or five, one after another, who were running on the most fiercely." At last he got free, "over the mill-dam, and thence through the meadows; . . . having lost only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands." This was in October, in the year 1743.

It is not unlikely that as the years go John Wesley will more and more stand out as the greatest Englishman of the eighteenth century. His life was almost coterminous with this century. He was born in 1703 and died in 1791. "No man," says Mr. Birrell, "lived nearer the center than John Wesley. Neither Clive nor Pitt, neither Mansfield nor Johnson. You cannot cut him out of our national life. No single figure influenced so many minds, no single voice touched so many hearts. No other man did such a life's work for England."

No wonder then that the journal of such a man, telling in his own words his thoughts and doings, should be a unique book. It is indeed one of the great first-hand books which the world cannot let die.

J. H. DILLARD.

**SIR ISAAC PITMAN.**

The life and labors of this remarkable and most useful man are told by his brother Benn, whose establishment at Cincinnati prints the book.

Isaac Pitman was born in Wiltshire, England, early in the last century. He was a hard worker and close student all his life. While still a young man,

he invented the system of phonographic shorthand, which is the basis of all existing systems of rapid writing. He adapted it to 14 European and Oriental languages. The invention consisted in assigning distinct signs to each sound in the language.

Before Pitman's time stenographers wrote by sound; but their writing was arbitrary, for they had no complete set of sound signs. He supplied this defect in the late 30's and early 40's, and his attempts at doing so revealed, unexpectedly even to himself, a scientific system of writing—the phonetic.

For reporting purposes Pitman's system was quickly adopted. It brought him a large income, but what he made from that source he expended in his efforts to popularize his system for writing and printing in general. For his public service he was knighted shortly before his death, which occurred in 1897.

In religion, a subject in which he was absorbed, Sir Isaac Pitman had been a Methodist, in which denomination he served as a lay member; but he soon became a Swedenborgian, in consequence of which his Methodist brethren expelled him, the Swedenborgian doctrines of the trinity and of the atonement not according with theirs. His gentleness of disposition had made him a vegetarian early in life, and one of the purposes, besides phonetics, to which he gave much time and labor, was his plan for substituting a duodecimal system of computation in place of the decimal system, whereby he reckoned by dozens and grosses instead of thousands and hundreds. He kept his own business accounts by the duodecimal system.

Though Pitman was in receipt of a good income during his life, it came without his seeking. He seems to have been inspired not at all by any love for money making, but altogether by an overmastering desire to be useful.

The appreciative biography before us is illustrated by Benn Pitman's own hand, with ornamental drawings, chiefly of wood carving in which he is an expert.

**BOOKS RECEIVED.**

—Class Struggles in America. By A. M. Simons. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth Ave. Price, 10 cents. To be reviewed.

—Instead of a Book, by a Man Too Busy to Write One. A Fragmentary Exposition of Philosophical Anarchism. Culled from the Writings of Benjamin R. Tucker, Editor of Liberty. Second edition. New York: Benjamin R. Tucker, publisher. To be reviewed.

—The Art of Living Long. A new and improved English version of the treatise of the celebrated Venetian centenarian, Louis Cornaro. With essays by Joseph Addison, Lord Bacon and Sir William Temple. Milwaukee: William F. Butler, publisher. To be reviewed.

—Banquet of the Massachusetts Single Tax League, Hotel Vendome, Monday evening, April 13, 1903, to some of the Landlords of Boston. Address of C. B. Filibrown, President of the League, upon the subject of Ground Rent. With newspaper editorials. Boston: Massachusetts Single

Tax League, 68 Essex St. Price, 5 cents each; \$3 per 100. To be reviewed.

**PERIODICALS.**

It is well that the Literary Digest has given a wider circulation to Prof. James's article in the Harvard Monthly ridiculing the craze for degrees—especially the Ph. D. The fact is the country is filling up with Ph. D.'s, many of whom are uneducated. I recently received a letter from a Ph. D. (in Biology) which showed the crudeness of a sixth grade boy in composition, and of a boor in the ordinary amenities of cor-

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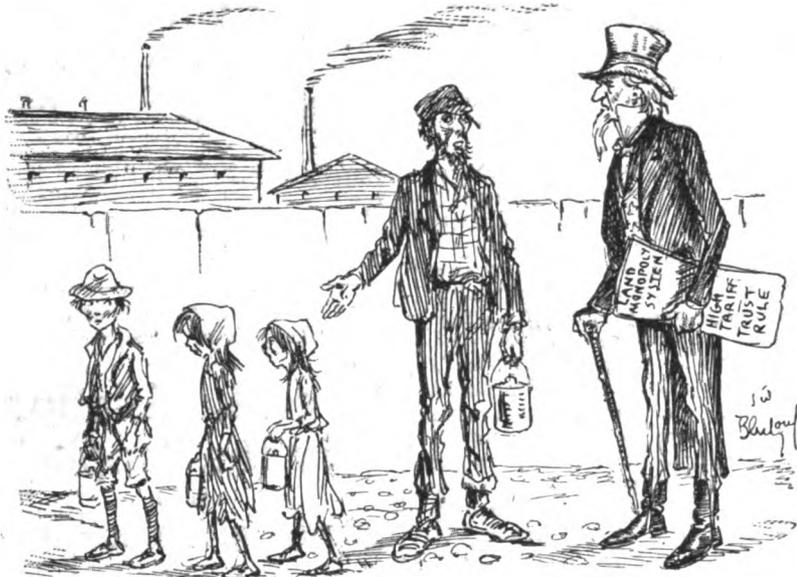
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Gentlemen:—You and each of you are hereby notified that a Special Meeting of the Stockholders of the Elaborated Ready Roofing Company, a corporation organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, is hereby called to be held at the office of the Company, Number Thirty-four (34) Washburn Ave., City of Chicago, State of Illinois, on the Thirtieth (30th) day of May, 1903, at the hour of Ten o'clock a. m. for the purpose of increasing the capital stock of said corporation from Ten Thousand (\$10,000.00) dollars to Twenty-five thousand \$25,000.00 dollars; and for the further purpose of enlarging the object for which said corporation was formed.

Dated at Chicago, Illinois, this 27th day of April, A. D., 1903.

M. B. BECKER, President.  
H. D. COOK, Secretary.  
JAY D. MILLER, Attorney, Attest.

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**THE CHILD-LABOR QUESTION.**

**PARENT**—No, Sir, I don't send 'em to work from greed, but because I've got to. But if I done it from downright Selfishness, what do you think of the Social conditions of a Republic that would turn parents into something worse than brutes?

responsence. I am convinced that one of our greatest educational needs is a university to stand for honesty and reality, in which true culture and education will count for more than a label. J. H. D.

By all odds the most complete information we have had concerning the proposed land measure in Ireland is given in a letter to the Nation of April 28. There may be some amendments before final adoption, but there is little doubt that the conclusion of the writer will stand: "It gives the landlord far more than the value of his estate, and does not give the tenant the full ownership that he desires to have, nor adequate consideration for what he will have to pay. It is unfair between Great Britain and Ireland, for it puts an unnecessarily heavy charge on the Irish taxpayer for a reform from which England will derive not only a large benefit, but a profit." Michael Davitt was right in asserting in the recent convention of the Irish National League that this bill will not put an end to the land struggle. J. H. D.

The most vital and important article in the current magazines is that of Mr. Lincoln Steffens in McClure's for May, en-

titled "Pittsburg: A City Ashamed." It throws light on ways that are dark; it is the story of the famous boss, Chris Magee, with its sequel. The cool effrontery of the whole business would shock the American public if there were not so much of the same thing, and if we were not so much immersed in our individual hustling that we have no time to bother with public affairs. "The business man," says the writer, "the typical American merchant everywhere, cares no more for his city's interest than the politician does." This is true. The average "prominent citizen" now and then utters a pessimistic growl about corrupt government, but he is unwilling to make the slightest sacrifice for the public good, and he is mistaken in his growling. He complains that the trouble lies in "the lower elements," whereas the corruption begins from the ranks of the "saviors of society." As the author of this article says: "There is nothing in the complaint that the lower elements of our city populations are the source of our disgrace." In this number of the magazine Miss Tarbell's story of the Standard Oil company is brought down to Rockefeller's indictment in 1879. J. H. D.

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