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The National Civic Federation has played in another solemn farce, and retired behind the wings to doff its costume and wash off the paint.

It is with no desire to fling an epithet that we call this performance a farce. We call it a farce because that is what it is. Any scheme for the harmonizing of "labor" and "capital," such as the Civic Federation represents, is bound to be either a fake or a farce, and in the spirit of charity we prefer the latter characterization.

This does not imply that harmony between labor and capital or laborers and capitalists, is impossible. What it does imply is that harmony is impossible between labor and special privilege. That this implication is true may be seen by reflecting upon some simple example of the relation of mere laborers to beneficiaries of a distinct and clearly defined special privilege. Suppose the special privilege to be the ownership of a lake, and the work of the laborers to be the catching of fish in that lake. What possible community of interest could there be between those lake owners and those fishermen? Obviously none whatever. Economically they are enemies, not friends.

Nor would this obvious fact be changed if the lake owners were to become capitalists, making nets and boats and collecting bait for the fishermen. As net and boat makers and bait collectors, their interests would indeed be identical with the interests of the fish-

ermen. In that relationship they would really be laborers, too, and the interests of labor are universally identical. But the interests of these boatmakers and bait collectors, these capitalists, would be unchanged as to their ownership of the lake. In that relationship their interests would still be hostile to the interests of the fishermen. In those circumstances to call them capitalists, and then urge that the interests of capitalists and laborers are identical and ought to be harmonized, would be either a trick or a comedy.

Yet that is what the National Civic Federation is doing. The interest of most of the "capitalists" who compose it is chiefly not as actual producers of boats and accumulators of bait, but as owners of the lake. That is to say, dropping the metaphor, their dominant interest is not as actual producers or collectors of capital; it is as owners of special privileges. And that they may not be required to remove their masks at the Federation conferences, it is provided by the Federation rules that questions having that tendency shall be excluded from discussion.

An instance of the disposition to head off that kind of discussion was afforded at the recent conference, as reported by the local press. We quote from the Chicago Tribune of the 17th:

Labor leaders and representatives of capital gave socialism and its advocates a stinging rebuke yesterday when, without invitation, socialists attempted to promulgate their theories at the second day's sessions of the National Civic Federation convention in Steinway hall. One of their speakers was stopped in the midst of his harangue at a time when he was trying to demonstrate that "the wage system must be abolished before employer and employe can be reconciled."

Now we do not accept the socialist theory. We believe that it will

collapse when it comes into general discussion, with the true individualist spirit instead of the plutocratic animus for its adversary. Neither do we approve the action of any man in forcing his views uninvited upon any conference of which he is not a member. But the socialists do represent a proposed remedy, be it true or false, for the economic troubles about which the National Civic Federation professes to be solicitous. Yet the socialist theory is stringently excluded from the considerations of that body. Nor is this done merely when the theory is advanced by an uninvited auditor, who is perhaps out of order. It is a definite and permanent policy of the Federation, deliberately designed to prevent the unmasking of monopolists who play in the role of capitalists.

The principal subject of discussion at the Chicago conference of the National Civic Federation was the "open" shop. Most of the "capitalists" present were for the "open" shop, while the labor leaders were opposed to it. Those who advocate the "open" shop insist that employers should make no discrimination between union workmen and non-union workmen; those who oppose it insist that employers, if they want to harmonize labor and capital, must "unionize" their establishments and employ none but union men. Over this question the Federation "capitalists" and labor leaders wrangled. The labor leaders had the best of the argument, of course; for if "labor" means organized labor (and it is so treated by the Federation), and if capitalized monopoly is "capital" (which the Federation assumes), then there is no way of harmonizing "labor" and "capital" with the "open" shop. For organized labor to concede the "open" shop, not from necessity but as a prin-

ciple of unionism, is to abandon the whole trade union scheme. Extremely ridiculous, therefore, is the pretense of "capitalists" who approve trade unionism and yet insist upon the "open" shop. To trade unionism it would be fatal to allow organized workmen to work with unorganized workmen in any establishment in which they were sufficiently well organized to prevent it.

"Prof." George Gunton has appeared upon the stump for Senator Hanna in the Ohio campaign. "Prof." Gunton is economist extraordinary and professor plenipotentiary to the plutocratic combines of the country. His appearance upon the Ohio stump is strictly "non-partisan." In fact he does not appear as a stump speaker at all. He appears as a "non-partisan" lecturer. His "bulletins" and leaflets also are "non-partisan." The whole thing was arranged for immediately after Tom L. Johnson's nomination. Senator Hanna arranged for it, quite in a "non-partisan" way.

This may be seen by reference to the following letter from Senator Hanna, if read in the light of the use "Prof." Gunton has made of it.

Cleveland, Ohio,
September, 4, 1903.
Professor George Gunton,
41 Union Square,
New York, N. Y.

My Dear Sir:

I have carefully considered your proposition with reference to educational work along the lines you have planned. I fully appreciate the benefit of such work and heartily endorse your proposition. It will give me pleasure to cooperate with and to assist you in the development of your ideas in this matter. With very best wishes, I remain truly yours,

M. A. Hanna.

With a remarkably good fac simile of that letter "Prof." Gunton is appealing to business men in even the most distant parts of the country for funds to help Senator Hanna's campaign in Ohio. Observe the kind of "educational work" that Mr. Hanna so heartily endorses and offers to assist, and note its deliciously "non-partisan" flavor. "Prof." Gunton ex-

plains it in a letter to selected business men (accompanying Senator Hanna's letter), which appeals to their "personal interest." A copy of his letter has been sent us by a business man, to whom "Prof." Gunton's "managing secretary" had sent it under the mistaken impression that this business man's "personal interest" could be appealed to with the usual effrontery. We quote the pertinent part of "Prof." Gunton's managing secretary's letter:

It is felt that the strong and convincing writings of President Gunton will be of great value in the present campaign in Ohio, and arrangements have been made to send many thousands of bulletins and leaflets into that State—directly into the hands of the voters. This, of course, will necessitate a large and extraordinary expense, and if you do not feel at this time prepared to cooperate with us to the extent of subscribing for a life membership which is fully explained in prospectus [\$100], we ask that you contribute in such an amount as you feel the proposition is worth to you and do so promptly in order that the work for the Ohio campaign may go forward with vigor and in the largest possible proportions. Make checks payable to George Gunton, President, and kindly remember that the greatest good will come from immediate and decisive action.

And so Senator Hanna's good "non-partisan" work in Ohio goes on, under the crafty management of the ingenious "Prof." Gunton; and the ship-subsidy goose hangs excitingly high.

Senator Hanna is a protectionist, yet he is working with might and main for ship subsidies. He says he wants more American ships. But why should a consistent protectionist want any ships?

While Senator Hanna was in Chicago in attendance upon the conference of the National Civic Federation, he learned of the ominous closing down of factories that has already begun in Ohio. One of the closers-down, an Ohio manufacturing friend of his, unfolded the news to him. Naturally enough Mr. Hanna was indignant. Had he not been telling the working people of Ohio that industrial disaster will not come so long as he and his party friends are kept in office? And here were

Ohio captains of industry recklessly bringing on industrial disaster in the very middle of an Ohio campaign, where so much depends upon fooling enough of the people yet a little longer. In his indignation Mr. Hanna turned upon his friend, and not without some bitterness of tone, pungently asked him: "Why couldn't you have waited until after election? Don't you realize that I have some interest in Ohio myself just now?" Mr. Hanna is evidently a good deal of a confidence man in politics. But he was not discreet enough on this occasion to speak easy.

The result of this campaign in Ohio will determine absolutely whether the present condition of prosperity is to continue or not." Did Mark Hanna say that? Are you sure? Will he guarantee that the conditions under which our prosperity labors are to be abolished if he is beaten? For the prosperity was all the trusts said it was, and more. The half was never told. The land wallowed in prosperity. Then the trusts put their conditions on it. Hanna has a condition, for instance, that every one who rides on a street car in Cleveland must pay him toll for use of the streets. Now that is a condition that will be removed if Johnson wins. But the trusts have imposed conditions of the tariff and other devices by which they get a quarter of the prosperity the country makes. Will that be eliminated if Johnson wins? Glory hallelujah! Hanna is like the fellow who proposed to a girl. "I'll buy you a washboard," he said, "and you can have half what you make." Hanna's condition of prosperity is that the people shall have all they make after the trusts have had their rake-off. Boundless, except a limit of two dollars a day. The amount the workers may earn is boundless; the amount they may get is the condition. And if he catches them murmuring he is going to take the washboard away. Thank God, the results of the Ohio campaign, this year or next, this century or next, shall

abolish the conditions Hanna and his sort have put upon prosperity.

Those Hannaistic newspapers which assume to see so much of the sensational in Tom L. Johnson's use of a circus tent for public meetings, something in which Hanna has been obliged to imitate him, and in his use of an automobile for getting out among the people of Ohio in his campaigning, are missing an opportunity to expose the most unique and sensational feature of his campaign. While they waste space in lurid descriptions of such commonplace things as circus tents and automobiles, Johnson's really picturesque performance escapes their attention. This is nothing less than carrying on a State campaign, against the most magnificent campaign fund ever contributed by corporation rings for a State election, and in a State which has for years been debauched with campaign money by leaders in both parties, yet without the use of money. Johnson is actually trying the experiment of trusting to the voters instead of the grafters for success. Could anything more picturesque, unique and sensational be conceived? Yet the sensation hunters for the newspapers are missing it all.

If Johnson were a poor man, there would be nothing very remarkable about his cashless campaign. But he is a rich man. If he were a close-fisted man, his cashless campaign might be attributed to penuriousness. But he is notoriously a free spender and generous to a fault. So there is no way of accounting for his cashless campaign except as a new dodge in politics. And that is what it is. Johnson is making no fight for a season and then to retire. He is making no fight for the governorship nor for the presidency. His fight is for a principle—the equal rights of men; and he is in the fight for life. What may happen this Fall, or next, these are only incidents. The important thing is to arouse the people themselves to a realization

of their condition and an understanding of what they must do; and that cannot be accomplished with campaign funds. So Johnson leaves campaign-fund politics to his adversaries. His appeals are to the conscience of the voters. Until he gets at that, the campaign fund will beat him, if it is big enough and judiciously distributed. But when he gets at that, campaign funds will be so much money wasted. This new kind of politics has won in Cleveland. It has yet to win in Ohio. Perhaps it will win in Ohio this year. If not, may be next year. If not then, there are other years to follow. Meanwhile Johnson has the satisfaction of knowing that his adversaries must keep their campaign funds up to the standard at every election, or be routed by their own indignant heelers at the first sign of shrinkage. The Ohio campaign is a contest between clean politics under Johnson's leadership, and boodle politics under Hanna, Foraker, Cox and McLean.

At the request of Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, Edward W. Bemis and Carl H. Nau, the latter a public accountant and both of them experts in statistical analysis, have prepared a detailed statement of the amount of tax dodging by railroads in Ohio, for the perpetuation of which Senator Hanna is now appealing to the people of that State. It is a valuable document. If the people of Ohio were aware of the condition it exposes, Johnson would be the next governor without another speech, and a great change would come over the political complexion of the legislature. It appears from this report that the railroads of Ohio are appraised for taxation at only 20 per cent. of their true value, whereas other kinds of property are taxed on 60 per cent., thus causing an aggregate loss to the various counties of \$4,484,416 in railroad taxes. Other taxpayers consequently pay 10 per cent. more than they ought to. The extra favors which Senator Hanna's followers give to railroads may be inferred from

the fact that those roads which pass through both Ohio and Indiana are taxed hardly half as much per mile in the former as in the latter State.

When it is considered that in the estimation of the plutocratic press the free silver question has long been regarded as a dead issue and Mr. Bryan as a leader without a following, the dust it is kicking up over Mr. Bryan's reported abandonment of the free silver idea is decidedly entertaining. The report is absurd to any one at all familiar with Mr. Bryan's position on the money question. Yet his published denial was necessary, perhaps, to neutralize the effect upon public opinion of the jubilations of newspapers that are much more at home with diatribes, when they discuss Mr. Bryan, than with the financial doctrines they pretend to criticize.

A single tax man of Baltimore, Mr. John Salmon, expresses no little surprise that Senator Hanna's candidate for governor of Ohio supposes that the single tax has been a disastrous failure wherever tried. Of Mr. Herrick and his notion Mr. Salmon writes:

This stamps him as being a twisted thinker and a loose observer. The single tax is in operation all over the United States, flowing into the pockets of private individuals, which is what single taxers object to. Here in Baltimore more than in any other section of the country, it is strongly apparent. We have the ground rent system in operation, 90 per cent. of the real estate being held on leaseholds. The custom is an old English one grafted on the Maryland colonies by Lord Baltimore and his English compeers, and it has grown and flourished like a green bay tree. When one buys a home here it is in nine cases out of ten subject to a ground rent. These ground rents are dealt in as a form of investment the same as a mortgage or any other form of investment; but the point to observe is that they are a single tax, pure and simple, the price paid for the use of the ground per se and for ground only.

Our last assessment separated the value of land from the value of improvements, and it is done every day in our community. Baltimore has more houses per capita than any city in the country, due to the ground rent system; and a house costing \$1,200 to build is very often sold for \$800 or \$900 in order to

create a ground rent ranging from three dollars a front foot to \$20 and \$40 a front foot. To explain more fully: Bonus buildings are run up on plats of ground split up into lots 15x90, and a ground rent say of \$6 per front foot is put on the lot, making \$90 a year ground rent, which the buyer agrees to pay, and in his ground rent is a clause that he will also pay all taxes. This \$90 is essentially a single tax. The agreement to pay it is exactly the same kind of a contract that is in vogue in Fairhope, Ala. With this extremely important exception, that whereas we in Baltimore bind ourselves to pay all the taxes, in Fairhope the company or lessor, agrees to pay all taxes. Talk of its being a disastrous failure! Not on your life. Ground rents are as scarce as hens' teeth, and can only be bought on a 3 per cent. basis. They command as good a price as government bonds, and it is estimated that \$14,000,000 at least is raised in Baltimore alone from this source—nearly twice as much as the city and State taxes amount to. And what is this tax of \$14,000,000 paid for? Why, merely for the privilege of living in the city of Baltimore. That's all the payers get for it. And the only kick we've got coming is that private individuals get that money instead of the city and State.

In comparison with the terrible brutality which distinguishes the heroisms of war, how inspiring is this simple newspaper report from New York on the 18th of one of the heroisms of peace:

While fire was destroying two floors of the tenement at 105 Division street to-day, six children and Rabbi Solomon Levin climbed through windows and stood on the fire escape. Extension ladders that quickly were raised fell six feet short of the imperiled group. Firemen stationed themselves on the top rounds below and then the Rabbi took the children and lifting them over the railing dropped them one by one to the firemen, who caught them and passed them on down. So intent upon the rescue and so thrilled by its heroism had been the crowd that it was not until the threatened children were safe that the wallings of a panic-stricken woman became intelligible. Her husband, Jacob Frank, she said, and her little daughter were on the top floor. Louis C. Beyer, a fireman, with his head covered with wet cloths, ran into the building to the top floor, described by Mrs. Frank. He stumbled into the place and falling to the floor for the little air left, crawled through one room after another until he came upon the prostrate form of a man. A comrade who had been waiting on the ladder took the unconscious man from Beyer and carried him to the street.

Courage like that, if devoted to

taking human lives instead of saving them, would make every telegraph wire to vibrate and the headline types of the great newspapers to dance with delight, while the heroes would be flattered and promoted. If a neat bit of spying and a trifling flavor of forgery were mixed in with the heroism, it might win for the hero even a brigadier's shoulder straps and pay. But who are the denizens of a tenement house that firemen should be thought of as heroes for saving their lives? It was the fireman's business, anyhow; and no very noble business, either, as compared with killing men and other animals.

Now comes Senator Dubois, of Idaho, with a proposition to disfranchise the Mormons, not because they practice polygamy, but because of "their growing strength and political ambitions." It's the same old story. We try to make ourselves believe that we disfranchise people because they are inferior in race, as with Negroes in the South and Chinamen on the Pacific coast; or because they are immoral, as with the Mormons when they were polygamists. But the universal reason at bottom is that we want to govern them. It is our political ambition against theirs.

That such institutions as the Mormon church and Dowie's "Zion" are dangerous to free institutions is true. This might be true also of race influences such as prevail among the Negroes at the South and among Chinamen on the Coast. When races vote together as such, they are a menace to free institutions. So, when ecclesiastical organizations enter as such into politics, teaching their members that they must vote under ecclesiastical orders, they also are a menace to free institutions. But nothing of this kind is so great a menace to free institutions as disfranchisement. Let the ballot be general, and race animosities will die away. Let the ballot be general, and the most autocratic ecclesiastical organization will lose its influence in the

political arena. But let any considerable body of people, linked by ties of race or religion, be held in subjection as ballotless people, and free institutions are not merely menaced, they are gone.

The Chicago city council has taken one important step in the direction of municipal ownership of railways. It has agreed unambiguously to bring the acceptance of the Mueller act to popular vote at the city election in April. So much the municipal ownership advocates have accomplished. One thing more remains to be done. They must see to it that no traction franchise passes the city council, either absolutely or subject to submission to popular vote, until after the popular vote on the acceptance of the Mueller law. If they succeed in this, municipal ownership of the Chicago street car system will be but a few months farther off.

When the Rev. Dr. Henson describes John Alexander Dowie as a reincarnation of Balaam, he pays Dowie a compliment which he could not have intended and which apparently is not deserved. Balaam was a prophet who remained true to his high calling and delivered his message straight, though sorely tempted by the most seductive kind of bribery.

EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S CHICAGO SPEECH.

If the purpose of bringing Mr. Cleveland to Chicago to make a speech that might as well have been made in New York city or Princeton, New Jersey, was to start a presidential boom for him in the West (and, really, any other purpose is invisible to the naked eye), then his visit was a failure.

An easier approach to the few score rich men who honored him with the banquet at which he spoke, may have been established conveniently against the day for raising campaign funds; but rich men cannot make presidential booms, however potent they may be in marring them.

Some satisfaction may have been derived, moreover, from the popular reception at which 2,000

Western people are said to have shaken the ex-President by the hand, some of them expressing at the same time an earnest desire to see him in the White House again. But a hundred score admirers in a city of hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, falls short of a popular demonstration—even for Mr. Cleveland.

We would not be understood, of course, as implying that Mr. Cleveland couldn't command a much more demonstrative reception in Chicago. Were he to come here as a declared candidate for the presidential nomination—whether Democratic, Republican or Palmer-and-Buckner, according to his state of mind at the time—he would receive an ovation of sufficient magnitude to warrant no little display of head-line types in the New York Times, the Brooklyn Eagle, and the Princeton (N. J.) Casket. Coming as he did, the private guest of a business club, with widely advertised announcements of his intended appearances in public, his reception was a fairly generous mark of respect to the only living ex-President of the United States.

But if Mr. Cleveland's visit was a failure in the estimation of such of his admirers as had hoped to see it burst into a presidential boom, Mr. Cleveland's speech on "American Good Citizenship" was no failure. It was probably the best speech he has ever delivered, and one of the best on record on that subject by any speaker.

In general terms Mr. Cleveland outlined a theory of good citizenship which, were it lived up to by the American voter, the American office-holder, the American workman and the American business man, would give a lustre to the American name that no military achievements could confer, not even in the eyes of the most strenuous seeker after military glory.

His rebuke to negative patriotism, to self righteous contentment with things as they are, to the perfunctory performance of the occasional duties of citizenship, to a blind and lazy faith in the invulnerability of American institutions, to foolhardy optimism,—all this was sound in principle and formulated with an elo-

quence that was none the less impressive for being ponderous.

Only two or three false notes marred the performance.

While Mr. Cleveland spoke of a higher law than the law of political parties, of "a higher law under whose sanction all parties should be judged"—a most exalted sentiment and the true ideal of higher politics,—he fell into the error of implying that this higher law is inferior to legislative and judicial law. For he inculcated "respect for the law"—not "the higher law," but legislative law—"as the quality that cements the fabric of organized society and makes possible a government by the people."

This principle is a false principle. Not "respect for the law" which legislatures prescribe, but respect for the higher law of right and justice, is what makes government by the people possible. When legislation contravenes the higher law, it is no more worthy of respect than is a party platform that contravenes the higher law. For reasons of expediency, and for the sake of peace, we may obey such legislation until we can repeal it regularly. But respect it! Never. The fugitive slave law, for instance, was not entitled to respect, even by those who from a false sense of civic prudence or from personal cowardice obeyed it.

Not only was Mr. Cleveland in error in inculcating respect for legislative law (regardless of its harmony with the higher law), but he was inconsistent. He placed the higher law above party allegiance, which was right. But he had already placed legislation secured by party allegiance,—the fugitive slave law, for example—above the higher law.

It was doubtless this confusion of thought regarding the sanctity of legislation that influenced Mr. Cleveland when he placed not only legislation by legislatures but legislation by judges upon a pedestal.

"Querulous strictures concerning the action of our courts," said he, "tend to undermine popular faith in the cause of justice."

Mr. Cleveland is lawyer enough to know that the cause of justice is never injured by "querulous strictures" concerning the action

of courts. Neither the defeated party to a lawsuit who querulously criticises the court, nor he who goes out into the woodshed and "cusses," has ever undermined popular faith in the judiciary. When the judiciary begins to lose its hold upon the confidence of the people, it is not due to "querulous strictures" by critics of the courts; it is due to some form of corruption in the courts themselves.

But these false notes are the only emphatic discords in an otherwise splendid democratic harmony.

So profoundly democratic was Mr. Cleveland's speech in some respects, that the mere reading of it may stir the enthusiasm of Henry George's followers as it has not been stirred with reference to Mr. Cleveland since his free trade message of 1887.

Take this extract, for instance:

If love of country, equal opportunity, and genuine brotherhood in citizenship were worth the pains and trials that gave them birth, and if we still believe them to be worth preservation and that they have the inherent vigor and beneficence to make our republic lasting and our people happy, let us strongly hold them in love and devotion.

Also this apt contrast with the quotation above:

Then it shall be given us to see plainly that nothing is more foreign or more unfriendly to the motives that underly our national edifice than the selfishness and cupidity that look upon freedom, and law and order, only as so many agencies in aid of their designs.

And this impressive comparison:

We are told that the national splendor we have built upon the showy ventures of speculative wealth is a badge of our success. Unsharing contentment is enjoined upon the masses of our people, and they are invited, in the bare subsistence of their scanty homes, patriotically to rejoice in their country's prosperity. This is too unsubstantial an enjoyment of benefits to satisfy those who have been taught American equality.

Note in those extracts the dominant thought.

"Let us strongly hold them in love and devotion." Hold what "in love and devotion"? Not "love of country" alone. Not merely "love of country" and "genuine brotherhood in citizenship" to-

gether. But also "equal opportunity."

The day has passed when any American public man may retain his reputation for intelligence while interpreting all meaning out of "equal opportunity" by referring to equal voting opportunities and equal opportunity to be President. Mr. Cleveland fell into no such absurdity. His speech used the phrase "equal opportunity" in a sense which includes equal economic opportunity.

Else what did he mean when he declared that the "unsharing contentment" which is "enjoined upon the masses of our people" is "too unsubstantial an enjoyment of benefits to satisfy those who have been taught American equality"?

Whether Mr. Cleveland meant to do it or not, he has left himself no logical means of escape from Henry George's conclusions. "Equal opportunity" is an absolute impossibility in any country under whose laws (as under ours) its area may pass (as the area of our country is passing) into the hands of a few, and where the masses are consequently becoming increasingly landless.

The wonder is, as one reads Mr. Cleveland's Chicago speech, that the plutocratic banqueters before whom he delivered it—very types of "the selfishness and cupidity" which he contemptuously described as looking "upon freedom and law and order only as so many agencies in aid of their designs."—the wonder is that they could receive the speech with favor and even with applause.

Had William J. Bryan, or the late Gov. Altgeld, or Tom L. Johnson delivered that speech before that plutocratic Chicago audience; had either of these men uttered sentiment for sentiment, aye, word for word, what Cleveland did—he would have been laughed at as a dreamer or denounced as a social disturber. The false notes regarding the sanctity of all legislation and the sacrosanctitude of judges, would never have saved Bryan or Altgeld or Johnson from the condemnation of that audience of millionaires for the rest of the speech. Yet the same audience applauded Cleveland. Why?

An old story may suggest the

explanation. During the anti-Masonic excitement which followed the report that Morgan had been murdered by Free Masons for exposing their secrets, a number of anti-Masons were elected to the New York legislature. The demagogic leaders while at the State capital stopped at an expensive hotel on the hill—the "A House," let us call it,—and this hotel came consequently to be known as the anti-Masonic headquarters. But most of the anti-Masonic legislators, too poor to live at the "A House," stopped at a third or fourth rate hotel down near the river—the "X House." In the "X House" coterie was one anti-Masonic legislator who had lodged himself there not because he couldn't afford better accommodations but because he wanted to be "in touch" with the "common herd" of his party. Before the legislature closed, however, he moved up to the "A House." Mentioning his new address one day to an opposition member, the anti-Mason was asked by the latter—

"Don't you live down in the 'X'?"

"No," replied the anti-Mason; "I used to, but I've moved up to the 'A'."

"Why did you leave the 'X'?"

"Because it's so full of anti-Masons, and they talked for anti-Masonry so much that I got tired."

"But you are now at the anti-Masonic headquarters. Don't they talk for anti-Masonry?"

"Oh, yes; they talk for it, too. But them fellers down at the 'X,' they believed in it."

If the millionaire bankers were willing to applaud democratic generalities from Mr. Cleveland, which they would have denounced as "levelling" and "anarchistic" if uttered by a Bryan, an Altgeld or a Tom L. Johnson, it is a fair inference that they note the difference of background. It may be that their toleration of such generalities from Cleveland is not because they think he doesn't believe in them; but it is certain that their intolerance for the same generalities when uttered by a Bryan or a Johnson is because they know that Bryan and Johnson do believe in them.

And if they were to take these

sentiments from Cleveland with much allowance for salt, they might find in Mr. Cleveland's public career quite enough to justify their confidence in his facility for distinguishing glittering generalities in ante-election declarations from concrete realities in post-election conduct.

Mr. Cleveland signalized his first term in the presidency with a tariff message which rang as true as does his Chicago speech. Upon the issue thus raised he was defeated for reelection. But four years later the same issue carried him back into the President's chair upon the crest of a veritable tidal wave of public sentiment in hostility to protection. The same wave gave him a Congress with 41 majority in the House and control in the Senate on the tariff question.

The obvious thing for him to do at once upon taking his seat was to assemble Congress in special session to carry out the mandate of the people. This was necessary in order to secure that result before jealousies over the distribution of official spoils could make an opening for the maneuvers of tariff beneficiaries in their efforts to thwart the popular will. Not only was this the obvious thing to do, but Mr. Cleveland was urged to do it by friends who supposed that he meant what he had said in his tariff message.

But in the interval of four years between his first term and his second, Mr. Cleveland had made acquaintances in the region of Wall street, where he had set up a law office. These acquaintances were of the same class, though higher up, with the banqueters whom Mr. Cleveland addressed in Chicago last week. They were financial friends. These financial friends were opposed to calling an extra session of Congress. They did not want the country disturbed with "premature legislation" of the kind the people had distinctly demanded. So Mr. Cleveland turned a deaf ear to his other friends, and refused to call a special session for the consideration of the tariff question. Like his financial friends he also feared to disturb the country with "premature legislation" on the subject upon which the people had rendered their verdict after five years of discussion.

But four months later, Mr.

Cleveland's financial friends were perfectly willing to risk disturbing the country with premature legislation upon a subject which had not been discussed before the people, and regarding which neither Mr. Cleveland nor Congress had received any popular mandate. So Mr. Cleveland called a special session for this purpose.

When that session closed Mr. Cleveland's party, united upon the tariff question and resistless in its power, had been wrenched asunder by a new and unrelated issue—the coinage question. The needed opening for tariff beneficiaries was thus effected. Mr. Cleveland's fine message on the tariff question was then incontinently thrown into the waste-paper basket of the sugar trust. Months were spent by Congress at the regular session, upon a tariff bill which, when it finally passed, was a wretched caricature of what the Cleveland administration was under bonds to the people to produce.

Is it any wonder if the privileged classes have confidence in Mr. Cleveland, no matter how much he menaces them with the glittering generalities of democracy?

On the other hand, is it any wonder that the unprivileged have learned to distrust his noblest utterances?

How could the people have done otherwise than bury his administration under an avalanche of adverse votes, as they did at the first opportunity? Popular revulsion was as sudden and pronounced as it was richly deserved. At the Congressional elections of 1894, the majority in the House was shifted from Democratic 41 to Republican 66. The complexion of the Senate also was changed for the worse. The popular vote against the Cleveland administration was enormous. In Ohio it ran up to a Republican majority of 137,000—a phenomenal figure.

With Mr. Cleveland's significant record on the tariff issue before them, the financiers at the Chicago banquet might well have listened with complacency and even approval to democratic generalities which, from other lips, would have excited their anger to the highest pitch and evoked from

the billingsgate vocabulary of their subsidized newspapers its most stinging epithets.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Oct. 22.

The Alaskan boundary commission in session at London (p. 361) has come to a decision, which was made public on the 20th. It is regarded as being almost if not wholly in favor of the United States and against the Canadian claims.

This controversy grew out of an interpretation of the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia. As that treaty defines the boundary between the Hudson's Bay Company and Russian America it governs the boundary between the Dominion of Canada, subsequently established by Great Britain over the Hudson's Bay Company's territory, and Alaska, which was purchased from Russia by the United States in 1867. The controversy consequently was more distinctly one of Canadian-American than of British-American interest; and the British outside of Canada have been notably indifferent.

The question at issue, which has long been pending (vol. i, No. 47, p. 9; vol. v, p. 680), relates to so much of the boundary as extends from the 56th parallel near the 130th meridian, northwesterly to the 141st meridian near the 60th parallel. As described by the British-Russian treaty of 1825, this boundary line begins at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island, which is defined as being "in the parallel of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and 133rd degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich)." The line is then described as ascending "to the north along the channel as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude." Over that part of the line there has been no controversy. It is the geographical vagueness of what follows that has caused the dispute. Having thus fixed a point where the channel known as "Dixon Entrance," which extends to the natural inlet called "Portland

Canal," strikes the 56th degree of north latitude, the treaty proceeds:

From this last mentioned point the line of demarcation shall follow the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian), and finally from the said point of intersection the said meridian line of the 141st degree in its prolongation as far as the frozen ocean.

The latter clause also has been free from dispute, the whole controversy turning upon so much of the boundary as runs from Portland Canal to the 141st meridian, the latter point being the summit of Mt. St. Elias. As to this part of the line, the issue hinged upon the interpretation of the following provision of the treaty:

Article 4.—With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the previous article, it is understood:

1st. That the island called Prince of Wales Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

2d. That whenever the summit of the mountains, which extend in a direction parallel to the coast from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at a distance of more than 10 marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possession and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of 10 marine leagues therefrom.

Until the discovery of gold in the Alaskan region this boundary question gave no trouble. But following upon that discovery difficulties constantly arose between American and Canadian prospectors and settlers, and these difficulties soon involved the two countries in the controversy which has just been decided by the boundary commission. The Canadians claimed that the 10-league clause must be interpreted to mean 10 leagues inland from the ocean line, whence the three-mile limit to the high seas is commonly measured; but the Americans insisted that it must be interpreted to mean 10 leagues inland from the actual shore line, following its sinuosities around inlets. Upon the Canadian contention but little of the mainland would have been left to the Americans. Lynn Canal and the American settlements at the head of that inlet—Dyea, Skagway and

the rest—would have been on Canadian territory. Upon the American contention the whole of Lynn Canal would be within American territory, and Canada would have no outlet to the ocean anywhere north of the 56th parallel. In support of their claims, the Canadians relied upon the general principles regarding ocean limits—urging that the boundary must cross inlets of more than 10-leagues penetration inland by jumping from headland to headland. They also referred to the specific reservation to Russia in the 4th clause of the treaty, of the whole of Prince of Wales Island. This reservation clearly shows, they argued, that the 10-league line had reference not to the sinuosities of inlets, but to the main line of the ocean coast, since it would have been unnecessary had the 10-league limit been regarded as extending 10 leagues inland at all points. The American theory, which the boundary commission appears to have adopted, is stated and approved by E. W. Thompson, a Canadian journalist, of Toronto, in an interview appearing in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 19th. Referring to the indefiniteness of the second clause of the fourth article of the British-Russian treaty he says:

Because of this indefiniteness it was necessary to interpret the words of the treaty by investigating the notes exchanged between the negotiators, and the circumstances precedent to and surrounding the negotiations. These showed clearly that the purpose of the treaty was to give Russia a coast strip which would serve as an effectual barrier against the Hudson's Bay Company's wish to encroach on the Russian Fur Company's fur trade along the coast north of latitude 54 degrees 40 minutes. Such a barrier could not have been created except by giving Russia possession of the fords, inlets or 'canals' up to their heads. If these heads had been left to the British the Hudson's Bay Company could have placed trading posts on the shore, in full view of many coast Indians, and easily accessible by canoe to all within the distance of a week's paddling or more. Thus the Russian coast fur trade monopoly, which was precisely what the Russian negotiators wished to protect, and precisely what the British negotiators first tried to break and afterward recognized, would have been destroyed. Because all this was obvious to any impartial student of the docu-

ments, it was clear long ago that the Russian or American strip must include all the shore of all the inlets north of the Portland Canal, and must have a width extending at least to the tops of the hills or mountains along the shore.

When this boundary controversy had reached the point of involving the governments immediately concerned—the Dominion of Canada and the United States—a joint Canadian-American commission was agreed upon, its function being to frame a treaty between Great Britain and the United States adjusting all disputes including that over the Alaskan boundary line. This commission, agreed upon in May, 1897, adjourned in February, 1899, to the following August, without having accomplished anything final in character. The Canadian commissioners desired to submit the boundary question to the arbitration of a tribunal consisting of one distinguished jurist chosen by Great Britain, another chosen by the United States, and a third, an umpire, chosen by the other two. But that was not satisfactory to the Americans. They demanded a commission of six jurists, three to be selected by each country. They also insisted that existing American settlements on tide waters should remain within the jurisdiction of the United States even if the Canadian theory of the boundary line were in other respects to prevail; and to that the Canadians refused assent. No progress was made by the commission after the interim between its adjournment in February, 1899, and the adjourned day in August of the same year (vol. ii, No. 70, pp. 1, 2.) Upon its reassembling, the United States offered to accept the proposition of an umpire provided Canada would agree to take the umpire from a South American republic; but Canada refused this, insisting upon a European umpire. So the matter was left until January 24, 1903, when it was settled by an arbitration treaty (vol. v, p. 680) signed at Washington between the United States and Great Britain. Under this treaty the boundary question was to be submitted to an arbitration tribunal consisting of six commissioners, three to be selected by each side to the controversy. The issue was to be determined by a

majority vote, thus making it necessary, in order to prevent a deadlock, for one of the two countries to win over at least one commissioner selected by the other. Moreover, whatever might be the decision of the arbitrators on the general question of boundary, all existing American settlements on tide waters were to remain within the jurisdiction of the United States. This treaty was ratified February 11, 1903, by the Senate of the United States (vol. v, p. 713), and President Roosevelt immediately appointed (vol. v, p. 730) Elihu Root, Senator Lodge and Senator Turner as the American arbitrators. The British arbitrators were Chief Justice Alverstone, of England, and Sir Louis Jette and Allen Aylesworth, of Canada. The commission met at London on the 3d of September (p. 361). They chose Chief Justice Alverstone as president of the commission, and on the 19th they came to their decision by a vote of 4 to 2, the English chief justice voting with the Americans and against the Canadians.

The decision gives Portland Canal to Canada, but the American contention as to the 10-league line inland is sustained. Some islands at the mouth of Portland Canal are also given to the United States. The contention regarding the 10-league line was expressed in the 5th and crucial question submitted to the arbitrators as follows:

Was it the intention and meaning of said convention of 1825 that there should remain in the exclusive possession of Russia a continuous fringe or strip of coast on the mainland, not exceeding ten marine leagues in width, separating the British possession from the bays, ports, inlets, havens and waters of the ocean, and extending from the said point on the 56th degree of latitude north to a point where such line of demarkation should intersect the 141st degree of longitude western meridian of Greenwich?

To that question the commission answers in the affirmative by the casting vote of Chief Justice Alverstone. The Canadian commissioners not only voted against this award, but have refused to sign it. Their objection to signing is that the award is not a judicial one, whereby they are understood to imply that in voting with the American commission-

ers the English chief justice was governed by diplomatic or political rather than judicial considerations.

Great Britain has concluded a treaty with France, signed at Paris on the 14th, which constitutes another step towards arbitration in avoidance of war. It provides generally for the submission to The Hague tribunal of all disputes over treaties between the two countries, which do not involve national honor or independence or affect the interests of a third nation. The terms of this treaty are as follows:

Article 1. Differences of a judicial order, of such as relate to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, which may arise between them and which may not be possible to settle by means of diplomacy, shall be submitted to the permanent court of arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of July 29, 1899, on condition, however, that they do not involve either vital interests or the independence or honor of the two contracting states, and that they do not affect the interests of a third Power.

Article 2. In each particular case the high contracting parties, before addressing themselves to the permanent court of arbitration, shall sign a special arbitration bond setting forth clearly the subject under dispute, the extent of the powers of the arbitrators, and the details to be observed as regards the constitution of the arbitral tribunal and the procedure.

Article 3. The present arrangement is concluded for a term of five years from the date of the signature.

In British politics (p. 441) Chamberlain is still prosecuting his anti-free trade campaign. He spoke on this subject at Newcastle on the 20th to an audience of 4,000 people, who are reported as enthusiastic. John Morley entered the campaign on the 19th with a free trade speech at Manchester. In opposition to Chamberlain's policy a Free Food League has been formed, with the Duke of Devonshire, who recently resigned from Balfour's cabinet (p. 423), as president. The duke accented conditionally in a letter in which he said:

I understand the principal object of the league is to oppose the new departure in the fiscal policy, which now has been definitely announced and which includes the taxation of food imports from foreign countries and preferential treat-

ment for the colonies, as well as a general tariff on imported manufactured goods. I understand these objects do not involve opposition to the policy of the government in so far as that policy is limited to reserving to the government the right of proposing to parliament tariff legislation for the purpose of negotiating commercial treaties and the mitigation of hostile tariffs.

These conditions were accepted by the league. Mr. Ritchie and Lord George Hamilton, who also resigned recently from the Balfour ministry (p. 391), are among the membership of the Free Food league.

At the center of political activity in the United States, Ohio (p. 440), the campaign waxes fiercer as election day draws near. The reunion of the McKisson and the Hanna factions in Cleveland is emphasized by the Republicans as a sure indication of the defeat of Johnson in his own city. According to Raymond, the Chicago Tribune's staff correspondent (who seems, by the way, to have abandoned his high plane of impartial reporting for mere political puffing for Mr. Hanna), in a letter of the 19th from Cleveland—

Uncle Mark Hanna and his Republican associates have only one object in view, which is to kill off Tom Johnson for mayor of Cleveland. They know perfectly well that there is not the ghost of a chance of Mayor Tom being elected governor, and this entire campaign, with its four principal candidates centered in Cuyahoga county, is planned from the Republican side for the express purpose of defeating Johnson so completely that the next time he runs for mayor of Cleveland he will be discredited in advance.

Senator Hanna and Mr. Herrick resumed their touring campaign of the State on the 13th at Mt. Vernon in the Republican county of Knox, and Wooster in the county of Wayne. On the 14th Mr. Hanna appeared again in Cleveland, where he advocated the ship-subsidy bill. The secretary of the treasury, Mr. Shaw, spoke at Delaware in the Republican county of Delaware on the 14th, and Mr. Herrick was at Wellington in the Republican county of Lorain on the 16th. Both he and Senator Hanna left Cleveland on the 20th for a final tour of the State. Another member of the President's cabinet, Mr. Wilson, the secretary of agriculture, has come into the State to make five

speeches for Senator Hanna during the present week.

Having reference to Senator Hanna's defense of ship subsidies, Mr. Clarke, his antagonist for the Senate, has renewed his challenge to debate. He did so in his speech at Sandusky on the 15th, saying:

I want to state that I will meet Mr. Hanna on 48 hours' notice anywhere in the State and talk ship subsidy with him. I will take the position that the ship subsidy in any of the three forms proposed by Mr. Hanna would be not a benefit, but a burden to the people of Ohio.

Mayor Johnson's appointment for the 13th at Ottawa in the Democratic county of Putnam was filled by John J. Lentz, owing to the necessity Johnson was under of resting his voice (p. 441), while Mr. Clarke spoke at Galion in the Democratic county of Crawford. Mr. Lentz spoke for Johnson also at Cary and Sycamore in the county of Crawford on the 14th, and at Bucyrus in the same county on the same day. On the 15th Mayor Johnson again appeared to keep his appointments, addressing five meetings in Erie and Huron counties (both Republican), the principal meeting being at Sandusky, where he was joined by Mr. Clarke, and 4,000 people crowded into his tent. On the 16th he spoke at six meetings in the Democratic county of Seneca, where ex-Congressman Norton (vol. v, p. 517) is fighting the Democratic ticket within the party, and closed with a tent meeting at Fremont in the Democratic county of Sandusky. Here there was an audience of 4,000. At Shelby in the afternoon of the 17th, and Mansfield in the evening (both in the Democratic county of Richland), where Johnson defeated the old Democratic boss, Earhardt, at the primary last Spring (p. 113), both Johnson and Clarke spoke at large tent meetings, that at Mansfield numbering 5,000 people. Johnson's meeting on Monday, the 19th, was at Mt. Vernon in the Republican county of Knox, where 4,500 people gathered in the tent. It was here that Johnson stated his position on the use of campaign funds. After remarking that Senator Hanna has ostentatiously been making charitable donations during the

campaign, and explaining that Mr. Hanna has not been using his own money for this, but that he has been giving from the vast Republican campaign fund, Mr. Johnson said:

I have had this simple rule, not to give a penny to any donation during a campaign. I haven't even bought a lottery ticket. I haven't even given a cent to tramps who come to my door, although I often do when there is no campaign in progress. I do not believe in trying to influence voters by this means. I would not give a penny to any charitable institution at this time even if I knew it would elect me. The money is all on the other side. I do not, however, fear the use of money by our opponents when the people are aroused and are thinking for themselves. The people can't be bought and they can't be fooled. A few crooks can be bought, and they are welcome to them. I do not believe that the expenditure of money in a political campaign does any good. Often I think it does harm.

On the same subject, in his speech of the 15th at Sandusky, he said that he would rather have one man contribute 25 or 50 cents to defray campaign expenses in his own county than to have some millionaire open up his coffers for the good of the cause. He added that it was more effective, inasmuch as the man who contributes a little feels that it is his campaign and is interested accordingly, while the money of the rich man who contributes is usually squandered recklessly and gives rise to heartburnings and jealousies.

William J. Bryan spoke for the Ohio Democrats at Zanesville, in the Republican county of Muskingum, on the 19th, to a crowd of 6,000 people. He dealt principally with the subject of 2-cent railroad fares, equitable taxation and home rule.

Into Hamilton county, which is strongly Republican and where the Democratic organization is weakened by the opposition of the McLean faction and the apathy of the voters, a number of speakers have gone from different parts of the country to arouse the people with street meetings, especially in Cincinnati. Best known of these speakers is Congressman Robert Baker, the New York Democrat who was elected to Congress a year ago (vol. v, p. 483) in a strong Republican district of Brooklyn. Among the other out-

side speakers who are thus volunteering their services for Johnson in the campaign in Hamilton county are William Horan, of Seattle; Vernon J. Rose and R. T. Snediker, of Kansas. Thomas Bawden, of Michigan, and Western Starr, of Illinois. Reports are made of growing interest in the Democratic campaign in Cincinnati in consequence of these street meetings, which are increasing in numbers and in the size of audiences.

Regarding the use of campaign funds, the Democratic chairman, Charles P. Salen, has addressed an open letter to the Republican chairman, Charles Dick, in which he says:

At the outset of the present State campaign I submitted to you a proposition that you and I, as chairmen of the respective State committees, should publish verified statements, accompanied by similar statements from the candidate for governor and senator, of all receipts and expenditures in the State and legislative campaigns. My proposition was in large part inspired by the feeling current throughout Ohio that the relationship between Senator Hanna and the vast special privileged and monopolistic interests of the country was so intimate that a campaign fund of extraordinary proportions would be placed at the disposal of Senator Hanna and your committee for the purpose of influencing the election of a legislature favorable to his return to the Senate. Since your refusal to agree to a public statement, I have endeavored to keep informed on the methods pursued by your committee, Senator Hanna and the agents of both. My findings convince me that you and Senator Hanna have at your command sums of money so vast as to overshadow any political campaign fund in the past history of Ohio politics. . . . I again invite you to join with me in the publication, three days before the election, of verified statements by you and me and by the candidates for governor and senator, showing contributions from all sources to the campaign fund of the State committee and to those of the candidates for governor and senator, and the disbursements which have been made out of those funds, to the end that the people of this State may vote intelligently by knowing the character and extent of the interest which is supporting the claims of the rival candidates.

No acceptance of this proposal has yet been reported.

NEWS NOTES.

—Unobserved by the guardians of the government, John Turner, the English

communist-anarchist, came into the United States on the 14th.

—The French parliament reassembled on the 20th.

—The American Bankers' association met at San Francisco on the 20th.

—The National Civic Federation was in session at Chicago on the 15th, 16th and 17th.

—Samuel E. Morss, former consul-general at Paris, proprietor of the Indianapolis Sentinel, and founder of the Kansas City Star, was killed on the 21st by falling from the third story of the Sentinel building.

—The Chicago city council on the 19th agreed by unanimous vote to submit the Mueller law (p. 441), for authorizing municipal ownership of street car transportation, to popular vote at the next municipal election, to be held in April, 1904.

—At the Henry George association, Handel hall, Chicago, the following speakers are announced: October 22d, at 8, Hon. Francis W. Parker, on "Law Making and Law Makers;" October 25, at 3:30, John Z. White, on the "Single Tax;" October 29, at 8, Miss Jane Addams, on "The Moral Substitute for Wars."

—President Roosevelt, by proclamation on the 20th, convened the new Congress in special session, to begin on the 9th of November, for the purpose of considering and determining whether the approval of Congress shall be given to the reciprocal commercial treaty between the United States and the Republic of Cuba (vol. v, p. 822) signed at Havana on December 11, 1902.

—The National Transcontinental Railway bill was read a third time in the Canadian senate on the 20th and passed. The bill provides for a new railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific through the agricultural districts of northern Canada. It will parallel the Canadian Pacific for some distance, but will be so far north of that line that practically new territory will be tapped.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 394) for the month ending September 30, 1903, as given by the Treasury sheet, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports	Imports	Balance
M	291,457,165	\$24,163,783	\$45,281,282 exp.
G	10,236,672	17,424,882	7,424,272 imp.
S	7,302,496	6,570,532	\$32,664 exp.
	\$99,046,271	\$27,359,197	\$38,761,674 exp.

—Brig. Gen. John Chase, of the Colorado national guard, who made arbitrary arrests in Colorado and suppressed a newspaper (p. 425), has been summoned before a military court for trial for perjury and disobedience of orders. The alleged perjury is in connection with the imprisonment of one of the strike leaders at Cripple Creek. Gen. Chase signed court papers which false-

ly stated that the strike leader had been released. His friends say he did not read the papers carefully, and committed the act inadvertently.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE KINK IN PROSPERITY.

Texas Vorwaerts (Dem.), Sept. 25.—Radium must be a thing very similar to our much-lauded prosperity. The average man is always hearing or reading about it, but never sees any of it.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Oct. 16 (weekly).—"I am prosperity," says Mr. Hanna; "I am it." And, after all, what living man better incarnates prosperity, in all its crude, uneven, barbaric, monopolistic splendor, than the keen and pudgy statesman from Ohio?

(Minneapolis) Farm, Stock and Home (ag'l), Oct. 15.—If newspaper accounts are reliable Senator Hanna is asserting from the stump in Ohio that if the election in that State this Fall does not go his way financial and industrial panic will follow. The gresome thing about this is that Hanna is doubtless right. The "captains of industry," of which he is one, can create a panic whenever they choose, and a defeat at the polls would doubtless make them "choose."

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Oct. 18.—The resourceful Mr. Hanna is in diligent search for the causes of the unlooked-for failure of the Republican boom in Ohio, and the more encouraging prospects for Tom Johnson. In his speech at Piqua the other day he noted a "lull in business and industries all over the land," due not to the fact of Republican supremacy in State and nation and Democrats without power in office or place, but to the fact, as Mr. Hanna put it, "to the slight uncertainty as to the result of the election in Ohio and elsewhere;" therefore he held "a quietus would be put on the industrial relations of the nation" should Johnson be elected or Clarke capture the Ohio Legislature. For a man of Hanna's vaunted common sense and experienced practical judgment, could a more humiliating, false and nonsensical scare be attempted? If there is a "lull," as Hanna urges, he omits all mention of the causes promoting it, based on capitalistic combinations, the crooked ways of the trusts and the apprehensions they have created, and places the whole responsibility on the prospects of Democratic success—in defeating Hanna—in a State that counts its Republican and Hanna majority by the hundred thousand. Who has been "running" the country for years past? Who has claimed responsibility and credit for business and industrial prosperity? Who, but the party of trusts that Hanna maintains and defends? And yet he finds out there is a "lull," and that the Democrats are responsible. Could partisan blindness and misrepresentation go further?

THE ANIMUS OF DEMOCRATIC REORGANIZATION.

The Commoner (Dem.), Oct. 16.—Those who imagine that the reorganizers confine their objections to Democrats who advocate the hated "16 to 1" proposition may find instruction in reading the bitter assaults made by the organs of the reorganizers upon Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio. Mr. Johnson has not made bimetalism one of his chief principles; and yet the New York World, while claiming to be a Democratic newspaper, boldly calls upon Ohio Democrats to vote against Johnson and to assist in the election of a Republican candidate. The New York Times, another alleged Democratic newspaper that does not find it convenient to support Democratic candidates or Democratic principles, has some very bitter things to say concerning Mr.

Johnson. The Brooklyn Eagle and other lesser lights of the reorganizers adopt similar tactics with respect to the Democratic nominee for governor of Ohio. The objections to Mr. Johnson are not that he is an advocate of bimetalism, but that he may be depended upon to do his best in the way of protecting the people on general principles. In the parlance of the street, Mr. Johnson "means business" in the contest between the people and the trust magnates, and the organs of the reorganizers, however much they may decry the "16 to 1" proposition, would cheerfully accept a man who pretended to believe in bimetalism if he could be relied upon so far as the people are concerned to "hold the word of promise to the ear to break it to the hope."

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP IN CHICAGO.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Oct. 21.—The purpose of the fog that in some quarters is sought to be thrown around the traction situation is simple. The intention is to make us all lose sight of what can be gained for the city by the Mueller bill and slip through or sneak through or jam through legislation giving the traction companies what they want and nullifying the intention of the Legislature. The trick is to ignore the benefits the city can secure by waiting a little longer, and to make an arrangement for a franchise after the termination of the present truce on November 30. . . . We should be prepared, therefore, to fight the ninety-nine year fraud and to wait patiently in the meantime for the popular vote in April on the Mueller bill. Having stood fifteen years of the rottenest street car service in the world for the benefit of the holders of watered stock, we can probably stand six months of it for our own profit and welfare. The friends of municipal ownership should prepare an ordinance providing for putting the bill into force and taking over the traction lines, and submit that to the people at the same time.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Oct. 21.—Tom Johnson may not have the slightest chance to be elected governor, but it is observed that the other fellows are not resting on their oars.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Oct. 19.—Theodore Roosevelt begins to understand what the strenuous life really is as he watches Hon. Tom L. Johnson and his red devil chasing Mark Hanna through the tall timber of Ohio.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Oct. 16 (weekly).—The election of both Mr. Johnson in Ohio and Dr. Garvin in Rhode Island would prove salutary to those commonwealths. Both merit the support of good citizens on issues of purely local significance. It is to be hoped that in these four coming elections, municipal and State, the independent voter will prove a mighty force for purity and reform.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

Cleveland (O.) Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), Oct. 19.—According to Treasury reports there is now in circulation in this country \$800,000,000 more than in 1896. But, as the cry of the stock exchanges proves, there is still not enough money. And yet it was these very trust promoters who in 1896 bellowed louder than all others: "We have more than enough money!" Bryan is not a trust promoter, but apparently he knew the needs of the stock exchange better than they. Suppose that the Klondike, of which no one knew anything in 1896, had not been discovered since and poured its many millions into our circulating medium. Just suppose.

THE SINGLE TAX IN OHIO.

Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), Oct. 19.—According to the say-so of the Republican leaders and organizers concerning the single tax, the appraising of the value of the bare land under this system will be by

means of the yard stick—the more surface the higher the value and tax. It is just the reverse; the more valuable a piece of land is, the higher the tax. For example: Here is a farm of 100 acres, value \$10,000. There is a city lot containing only one acre, but having a value of \$50,000. This one acre will pay twice as much tax as the 100 acres. The thing is so plain that it is hard to understand how Republican oracles can keep on asserting that under the single tax the farmers, because they have the most land, would also pay the most tax. It is just the other way. City land, with its ten to a hundredfold greater value, would have to pay the most tax. And exactly that is the why of this awful howl.

MISCELLANY

SALUT AU CHAUFFEUR.

(Supposed to have been written by Walt Whitman.)

A song of the automobile! A carol of the festive Red Devil!

A yodel of the goggie-eyed chauffeur, sitting aplomb in the midst of devastation! A chant of speeds, tires, tonneaus, spark-plugs, poppet-valves, collet-pins, high-clutches, this shall be my morning romanza!

See the lokomokobile scooting through my poem! The waft and aura of gasoline floating through my morning romanza!

The squawk and scatter of chickens, the squeal of the old rooster who didn't jump quick enough.

See! The robust Manhattanese, attired in the usual costume, agile, elusive, profane just; at present, getting out of the road for dear life! The impotence of his cuss words! The uselessness of the protests of the apoplectic old lady!

See! The over-curious calf standing in the middle of the road; the dog, imprudent, unforseeing; the two instantly transformed into veal or sausage.

Allons, mes enfants! Whoop!

See! The festive chauffeur, rampant, chantant, jubilant, moving the lever to let the speed out another notch! Libertad!

See the wagon, the horses rearing and plunging! He is upon them. Crash! That was a good one! The friendly and flowing rustic, where is he?

I am not only the poet of the chauffeur; I do not decline to be the poet of the cop also.

See the suburban cop standing, ready to pinch those who break the speed laws! The lokomokoko furious arriving, the chauffeur refusing to stop; the jigger, enraged, shooting the tire of the car; the tire punctured, the Red Devil stopped.

See the cop dragging the chauffeur before a police judge; the judge imposing a fine; the chauffeur, reluctant, paying it.

Justitia, ma femme, I salute you! I perceive that once in awhile you get there with both feet!

—Horace B. Matthews, in Life.

A SUBJECT FOR THE "HUMAN IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY."

"Let us discuss," said the Clergyman, "the origin of sin among the lower classes."

"Rescue work among the Fiji Magdalens—" said the Missionary.

"Or," interrupted the Professor, "the ratio of wages to the price of pate de fois gras."

"Rather the doctrine of Antinomianism," said the Theologian.

Said the Philanthropist: "The care of superannuated, delinquent, one-legged women is a profitable subject."

"Let us discuss the monopoly of land," said the Demagogue. The Missionary said "that was flying in the face of Providence, for it would stop subscriptions." The Clergyman said "he had to go to a meeting for the suppression of vice among the poor." The Theologian looked at his watch. The Philanthropist had a chill, and the Professor said that a man had fallen among thieves, and he must go and pass by on the other side. Said the Scientist: "The consideration of degeneracy and cretinism is more comforting to those on top—to the upper classes, I mean."

And they went out one by one.—From "The Game of Life," by Bolton Hall.

THE FABLE OF THE MAN WHO PRETENDED TO BE FOR THE PEOPLE IN ORDER TO WORK HIS GREAT GRAFT.

Les Shawlie was a schemer bold who dreamed and thought and wrote of gold, and spent the main share of each hour in legging for the money power. The people in the common ranks he bled to please the favored banks, and all his thoughts were ever bent on getting banks their cent per cent.

He shook his head and answered: "Nay," when common people asked fair play, and told them that kind providence should give them better common sense. Said he: "Pray let me give you facts; you cannot pay your share of tax unless the banks can lend to you the money when the tax falls due.

"And how can banks get stuff to lend unless I stand their special friend and let them have in mammoth stacks the money that you pay as tax? 'Tis plain to see with but a glance, you have no idea of finance. The matter is quite plain and right and you've no reason for a fight.

"You see, we tax you good and high, and store the money high and dry. Then, when for money there is need, we hasten with the utmost speed to hand it over to the banks, with no return save hearty thanks; and then the banks from you may clear from 10 to 30 'per' a year.

"This is to all you folk a boon, I hope you'll realize quite soon; for without

such a plan as this our finances would go amiss; and soon the time would be at hand when in our free and glorious land no money e'er would be displayed, to keep alive our marts of trade."

The people then showed a desire to rise as one man and inquire, why from their bent and aching backs he did not lift the heavy tax, and thus leave money free and loose to manifest its proper use, and not squeeze people day and night until the gold was out of sight, then lend to banks with the intent that they should made a big per cent.

"'Tis very plain," said Shawlie then, "that none of you are thinking men. How could the banks live, if you please, unless allowed your gold to squeeze? 'Tis treason of the rankest brand for people in this wonderous land to claim a right, and then expect that right to be shown some respect."

MORAL:

The people will get nought but knocks, Until they use the ballot box.

—Will M. Maupin, in *The Commoner*.

REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

A portion of the opening address at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance held in Cincinnati, Oct. 12, delivered by Dr. W. P. Thirkield, corresponding secretary of the Methodist Freedman's Aid and Southern Educational society. From the reports of the address which appeared in the Cleveland Plain Dealer and the Chicago Tribune.

In estimating criminality among the black people, we should keep in mind that since Appomattox nearly every Southern State has maintained schools of crime—an organized institution for the training of criminals. This I charge against the convict lease system of the South. This system with its thousands of victims has been the cause of much of the outbreak of crime among the black people, through its brutalizing and dehumanizing influences on thousands of Negroes.

Under this system both prison and prisoners are farmed under the control of private corporations, sold to the highest bidder. To the lessee the body and soul of convicts are assigned. The motive of both State and lessee is not morals but money; not reformation, but exploitation of criminals for gain. It is crime turned into a source of revenue, the brawn and blood of criminals bartered for gain.

Criminals are generally scattered in branch prisons—quartered in rude stockades without proper sanitation, food or clothing. The average life of these convicts is less than ten years. Old and young are promiscuously chained and herded together. Even men and women are, in some camps, not separated. One warden of a State penitentiary protests

in his report that under the present law and custom the penitentiary is the school of crime instead of being a reformatory institution. Of the 50 boys under 18 nine-tenths of them leave prison much worse than when they came in.

There is in these convict camps no organized reformatory effort. Reform does not enter into the system. The aim of the State is not the moral reformation of her criminal classes, but the care of them without cost, and even the reduction of taxes through the sale of criminals.

The outcome of the careful investigation of the convict lease system on the part of the Governor of Georgia was a revelation of inhumanity, barbarity, and shameless immorality.

In a period of two years over 1,100 of these convicts escaped from Southern prisons. Think of 1,100 thieves, murderers, thugs at large, lawless men, roaming about in defiance of all law and order. Think of a system that has no reformatory element, no system to cure men of crime; but that educates young criminals in crime, but that, by its barbarity, brutalizes and dehumanizes men and sends out those that do not die under the system to debauch and de-grade society. From such criminals what wonder is it that there have come forth hundreds of moral monsters? The present system is a sowing of the wind, and it is bound to reap the whirlwind.

Over against the outcome of these schools of crime is the fact that all the thousands of graduates from the Christian schools maintained by the benevolence of the North and South not one graduate has ever been even accused of crime against the sacredness of womanhood.

THIS IS HELL.

A portion of a sermon on "A Patriot's Idea of Hell," delivered in Cincinnati, Oct. 18, at the Vine Street Congregational church by the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow.

"An astonishing and horrible thing is committed in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests are grasping; and my people love to have it so; and what will ye do in the end thereof?"—Jeremiah v:30-31.

A Chicago lawyer said to me: "I believe the great mass of the people are honest; only a few are corrupt. But when, in any community, the people become corrupt—that is hell."

This man's graphic statement recalled Jeremiah's phrasing of the same thought.

There is a condition of society, said Jeremiah, which fills one with astonishment and horror. What is it? It is not that the prophets prophesy falsely—

not that alone. Nor that the priests are mercenary—corruption among the leaders is not the worst that can happen. But when the leaders are corrupt and the people know it and love to have it so; when the people themselves have been debauched—what hope is there for the community; what will ye do in the end thereof?

We are not discouraged by the indifference of people. They can be shaken out of that; ignorance can be overcome; prejudices can be broken. But what can be done when the moral fiber of the community has decayed? When courage is gone, and a city is cowed by its political bosses; when self-respect is done, and the people seem scarcely to realize their shame; when greed has well-nigh claimed all hearts, so that the scoundrel is not despised for his evil deeds, but honored for his success and envied for his spoils; when the universal guilt puts on a cynical laugh, and truth is answered by a silent shrug of the shoulders—that is hell.

It would be sad indeed to believe that anywhere in this country such a condition has actually been reached. Such a belief would paralyze every effort for human betterment. Pessimism is the doctrine of despair. We need preachers of hope. But optimism does not mean blindness. There are enough signs of moral decay in certain of our communities to suggest a terrible warning to those who love our free institutions; signs which should impel them to their utmost effort to stem the tide of evil which threatens to sweep away the foundations of the republic.

This decay of public morals is most in evidence in our cities.

Our magazines have been flooded with articles portraying what Jeremiah would have called an astonishing and horrible thing. Our cities have fallen into the hands of politicians who have made an alliance with our public corporations for purposes of public plunder.

The methods of these thieves are an open secret.

Those who keep unlawful resorts made to pay tribute to the bosses. The law, which was intended for the discouragement of vice is used for purposes of blackmail. These laws are not enforced, save as a penalty for those who wish to break the laws but refuse to pay the bosses for the privilege.

Contractors doing public work are compelled to include in their bids the commission which is demanded by the political machine. The arbitrary power which inspectors have of accepting or rejecting materials is sufficient to ruin any contractor who is foolhardy enough

to undertake public work without becoming a party to the conspiracy.

The public pay roll is padded, and wages are paid in the name of men who are dead, or of those who never lived, for work which is never done, but for which taxes are collected.

The great daily papers are bribed by contracts for public printing which the bosses give out at extravagant prices. For instance, the public printing in Cincinnati is divided between two Republican papers, each receiving \$18,000 a year. Recently a law was passed requiring public printing to be given to Democratic papers also, and the Cincinnati Enquirer, claiming to be a Democratic paper and the only one, gets all the printing, which amounts to about \$36,000 a year, minus the share which goes to the machine. This paper has not supported a Democratic ticket since 1896, except once, when its owner was a candidate. It is Democratic for purposes of public printing only.

Undoubtedly, the most prolific source of corruption is in the granting of franchises. It is the common belief that enormous bribes are given for those privileges, and political accidents, such as the nomination of Joseph W. Folk, occasionally give us a glimpse into the political depths.

In order to make it appear that these frauds are acquiesced in by the people, fictitious majorities are secured by padded registration lists, and professional "repeaters" are employed to go from precinct to precinct, voting under assumed names, under the direction of city officials, and with the protection of the police.

What shall we say of cities like Cincinnati and Philadelphia, where these conditions prevail year after year without provoking a storm of indignation?

Some say the people do not know. Then let us work patiently for their enlightenment.

Some say the people do know and do not care.

If this is true, it is an "astonishing and horrible thing."

WOOLEN INDUSTRY BLIGHTED BY HIGH TARIFF.

THE SHEEP AND THE GOATS.

No important industry better illustrates the blighting effects of tariff taxation than that of the manufacture of woollens. The high duties placed upon its chief raw material, wool, in 1867, have been but slightly changed since, except for the three years, 1895, 1896 and 1897. The duties on raw wool have averaged about 44 per cent. since 1867, while the duties on manufactured woools have averaged over 80 per cent. During the last three years the duties on raw woools

have averaged over 52 per cent., while the duties on manufactures of woools have averaged about 94 per cent., under the McKinley and Dingley bills. Surely the virtues of protection must show in this government-favored industry! What are the results?

The woollen industry has been declining rapidly as compared with other important, though less protected, industries and as compared with our increasing population. In the following table the increase in population is compared with the increase in the value of woollen manufactures, and with the increase in cotton manufactures—the other important textile industry and one whose chief raw material, cotton, is on the free list:

Year.	PER CENT. OF INCREASE.		
	Popu- lation.	Cotton. man'ct' res.	Woollen. man'ct' res.
1890	21.85	23.58	9.88
1880	50.21	76.58	24.75
1870	97.59	91.1	49.06

Thus, while the value of cotton manufactures has more than kept pace with our growing population since 1880, and has almost kept pace since 1870, the value of our woollen manufactures has not half kept pace with our population since 1890 or 1880, and has barely half kept pace since 1870. This means that the per capita value of woollen goods produced in this country is declining from year to year, is less now than in 1890 or 1880, and is 25 per cent. less than in 1870, the decline being from \$5.17 per capita in 1870, to \$3.89 in 1900.

Could there be a more withering criticism of our protective system than is shown by the sad results of this industry? The attempt to compel the people to pay nearly twice the normal price for woollens has resulted: (1) in blighting the industry that was to be protected and built up, and (2) in preventing the people from wearing warm, substantial clothing, and (3) in forcing them to wear shoddy and cotton clothes.

The doctors and undertakers who treat or bury the victims of improper clothing, are the real beneficiaries of taxed wool and woollens.

Nor do we get better results if we consider the effects of "protection" upon the prices of wool or upon the wool growers. According to the census report, the average cost of scoured wool declined from 56.56 cents per pound in 1880, to 45.46 cents in 1890, and to 37.71 cents in 1900. This same report tells us that the per capita consumption of wool declined from 8.52 pounds in 1880, and 8.75 pounds in 1890, to 5.97 pounds in 1900. And this decline has occurred in spite of the fact that we imported more than three times as many pounds of raw wool in 1900 as in 1870. Practically, all of the reduction in consumption is due to the reduced production of domestic woools. And here, again, the reduction in the home supply of wool has occurred in spite of the great increase in the amount and proportion of coarse woools and of mohair (included with wool in the 1900 census), to the fine woools produced. As a matter of fact, the number of sheep east

of the Mississippi river and north of Mason and Dixon's line, which included the fine wool section when high protection was first applied, is now less than one-half what it was in 1867, and their value is probably only one-fourth what it was then.

The following extracts from the 1900 census, compiled by Republicans and protectionists, tell a part of the sad tale of this tariff demoralized industry:

The year 1900 was an unfortunate one for an official investigation of the wool manufacture. . . . The machinery in many mills was only in partial operation, or run on part time. . . . Like the preceding year, it was marked by unusual conditions, both as to the chief raw material and manufactured products. . . . The sudden changes in wool prices, and the strenuous competition for business, led to the failure of many large and until then prosperous concerns.

The quantity of wool consumed in woolen mills in 1900 was only nine-tenths of the quantity consumed in 1890 and was about 30,000,000 pounds less than was used in 1880.

The quantity of shoddy used in these mills was 66,856,106 pounds. The proportion of clean shoddy and clean wool used were respectively 31.5 and 43.1 per cent. of the raw material consumed in the card wool manufactures.

The use of shoddy has made possible a greater supply of warm clothing than could have been obtained without it, while the mixture of cotton and cotton yarn with wool has made possible the production of soft, light-weight fabrics, well adapted for use where lightness, moderate warmth and low cost are desired, and consequently the people are better clad than before these combinations were devised.

In discussing the hosiery and knit goods industry the census reports says:

The quantity of wool used has decreased 3,685,486 pounds. . . . The use of cotton and cotton yarns has increased greatly, and in consequence the whole character of the industry has altered. In 1890, 22,432,617 pounds of cotton and 33,248,849 pounds of cotton yarn were used in this industry. In 1900 the demand for cotton goods had so increased that 44,461,301 pounds of raw cotton and 131,620,068 pounds of cotton yarn were necessary, which would require approximately 160,000,000 pounds of cotton for its production, making the total quantity of cotton used in this manufacture 200,000,000 pounds, costing \$25,766,510, compared with 17,453,007 pounds of wool used, which cost \$5,292,135.

In our underwear we now have only two-thirds as much wool as in 1890, and the average underwear contains eight times as much cotton as wool.

The paragraph from the census extolling the virtues of shoddy (old rags ground up) displays the happy temperament and optimistic mind of the protectionist—when his party is in power; and his wonderful skill in transforming adversity to prosperity—on paper. He puts his protection glasses before the shivering, shoddy victim, and immediately the poor fellow begins to feel a "moderate warmth." He is then, supposedly, ready to give thanks to the Republican party which, having made it impossible for him to wear real woolen clothes, did not

compel him to go stark naked, but, kindly and humanely, permitted him to wear "soft, light-weight and low-cost" shoddy and cotton clothes. Well may we feel proud of our sanguine census makers for their ability, by inserting these side remarks, to give warmth and color to what would otherwise be cold and gloomy statistics of adversity. We can have nothing but prosperity while the party of protection and shoddy is on deck.

The greatest prosperity experienced by the woolen industry in many years was during the three years of free wool and low duties on wools, in 1895, 1896 and 1897. More wool was consumed, both domestic and foreign, and more yards of woolen goods produced, than before or since. During these three years the per capita consumption of wool averaged 9.59 pounds. During the five years since, it has averaged only 5.95 pounds. Thus, during the three Wilson bill years we consumed far more wool than in any four years since, and almost as much as during the whole five years since.

Deprived of wool by high tariff duties, the people have taken to wearing shoddy and cotton. Ours is the only important country that taxes raw wool. All other countries recognize that no one country produces all kinds of wool, and that many varieties of wool must be mixed to produce substantial, well-finished and marketable goods. As Mr. William Lloyd Garrison says:

To expect to make the United States supply all grades of wool by passing a Congressional edict, is as vain as to declare by statute that Massachusetts shall have the climate of Italy, or South Carolina that of Russia. It follows of necessity that our manufacturers must either import the wools not grown in this country, or limit the range and quality of their product.

Free wool, then, does not mean a lessened demand for home grown wools. Nor does it mean lower prices for them. In fact, it is difficult to detect any effect upon prices of domestic wools, of high or low duties on wool.

Protection having proven a flat failure, both as to the wool grower and the woolen manufacturer, the Republicans of the Agricultural department at Washington are now advising the farmers to try to raise Angora goats as a substitute for sheep. They are telling New England farmers that these goats are just the things to reclaim the many abandoned farms in their territory. The Republicans have already begun to call the hair of this goat (mohair) wool, and to include it with the genuine article in their statistics. But for this statistical fiction our wool figures would make a more sorry spectacle than they now do.

Will calling a goat a sheep make it one? Will the farmers bite at this goat bait? How much longer can the Republicans fool the farmers? These are vital questions.

BYRON W. HOLT.

A definition of the difference between "Old School" and "New School" has been given thus: "The children of

the Old School Presbyterians sin as soon as they are born, and the children of the New School Presbyterians as soon as they know how."—Woman's Journal.

DIRGE.

I'm sure they'd take my manuscripts
And spare me all these pangs,
If I were called Frank Harding Peck
Or Richard Dempster Bangs.
Oh, would I were Kate Seton Hobbes,
Or Robert Caldwell Higgins,
Or Josephine McEnery Vance,
Or Thomas Daskam Wiggins.
Each one of these sonorous names
Adds envy to my sins;
For all of them are triplets born,
While mine are only twins.
—The Whim.

"I dunno about it bein' altogether a good thing to hold these expositions," said Uncle Josh. "It gets them foreigners sendin' goods over here and if some of 'em are cheap and attractive it may be a temptation to our people to buy 'em, thus underminin' our infant industries which are strugglin' so hard to hold their own ag'in' the pauper labor of Europe."

"Yes; that's so," said Uncle Silas. "But, then, on the other hand, it helps us to get a line on them pauper-labor-made goods, and when we find out which of 'em is the cheapest and most attractive, and therefore the most dangerous to our prosperity, why, we can boost the tariff up on them particular goods higher than it is now!"

And Uncle Josh was forced to admit that, even from a protectionist point of view, international expositions might have their uses.—Puck.

Some days ago two little fellows of seven or eight years heard older people speaking of skeletons. The seven-year-old listened intently to the conversation, when the elder boy, with an air of superior knowledge, said abruptly:

"You don't know what a skeleton is; I do."

"So do I!" replied the younger. "I know. I know for certain, I do."

"Well, now, what is it?"

"It's bones with the people off!"—Lippincott's Magazine.

An American heiress was wooed by a foreign prince, who urgently besought her to become his wife. In order to test the sincerity of his love, she asked: "Will you marry me if I give away all my money for charity, and become as poor as yourself?"

The prince considered awhile, and then responded: "Yes, provided you will still marry me if I renounce my title

and become a plain, republican person like yourself."

Query: Did she agree to his proposition?—Smart Set.

Monopoly is the king of robbers, for it stealeth the root of the tree.—The Whim.

The great college president was slow to speak.

But at length, the attacks upon the modern system of secondary education becoming more virulent, he raised his voice.

"The insinuation," he declared, indignantly, "that the students who make brilliant records at their books do so at the expense of their athletic standing, is false and wholly unwarranted."—Puck.

A scientist said that, if the earth were flattened, the sea would be two miles deep all over the world. Whereupon an Oklahoma editor prints the following: "If any man is caught flattening out the earth, shoot him on the spot. There are a whole lot of us in Oklahoma who can't swim."—The Woman's Journal.

When you hear about the "marriage problem" and the "servant-girl problem" and the "labor problem" and the "drink problem," you may know that somebody is trying to dodge the plain truth about parentage and service and industrial responsibility and the nature of alcoholic poisons.—The Straight Edge.

Kind-Hearted Citizen—Tut! tut! tut! Don't worry over it, little boy. You didn't break your pitcher, and there's no use, you know, in crying over spilt milk.

Little Boy—Do I talk as if I was cryin', mister? (Resumes his violent language).—San Francisco Star.

The late Luigi Arditi once visited Stratford-on-Avon and was shown all the relics connected with Shakespeare. "Ah, I remember," he said. "Shakespeare, yes. 'Romeo e Giulietta,' 'Macbet,' 'Hamlet.' He was a great librettist."—Chicago Chronicle.

BOOKS

"IS WAR NOW IMPOSSIBLE?"

The Tolstoyan objection to war, that it is wrong, has been supplemented by Jean De Bloch's proof that it is impracticable. Thus again the moral and the practical are shown to harmonize.

The last of Bloch's six volumes on "The Future of War in Its Technical, Economic and Political Relations," translated by

R. C. Long and with a conversation with the author by W. T. Stead, and an introduction by Edwin W. Mead, has been published for the International Union, by Ginn & Company, Boston. The book is really a remarkable confirmation by materialistic methods, of the idealistic theory that what is morally wrong is practically unwise.

Jean De Bloch, who died in 1902, was a Polish Jew of Warsaw. Originally a poor street pedler he became a rich banker. His business led him into the study of financial economics, and incidentally of the art of war. He wrote exhaustively upon such subjects as Russian railways, Russian finance and Russian local government; but his "monumental work," as Mr. Mead characterizes it, was embodied in the six volumes on the future of war, of the last volume of which the book before us is a translation.

This book comprises a detailed explanation and discussion of modern military and naval development and an inquiry into the growing economic and political difficulties of waging war, all leading toward the conclusion that Europe must either disarm, or face the alternative of business ruin from the continuance of an armed peace or a veritable catastrophe from war. The book is written to prove that the normal development of the art of war has already advanced to a point which makes war between great Powers a physical and economic impossibility.

Mr. Stead's preface is a valuable contribution. Being in the form of an actual interview with the author, it illuminates the technicalities of the book itself with colloquial converse. "The war in which great nations armed to the teeth," so Mr. Stead quotes M. Bloch, "were to fling themselves with all their resources into a struggle for life and death—this is the war that every day becomes more and more impossible. Yet it is in preparations against that impossible war that these so-called practical men, who are the real Utopians of our time, are wasting the resources of civilization. I am dealing not with moral considerations which cannot be measured, but with hard, matter-of-fact material things, which can be estimated and measured with some approximation to absolute accuracy. I maintain that war has become impossible alike from a military, economic and political point of view."

That Bloch was capable of measuring and weighing the military factors involved in the practical side of the war problem, is shown by Mr. Mead in his introduction. "He met the military men," writes Mr. Mead, "upon their own ground. He lectured last Summer to the United Service Institution in London, a body of military experts, with a major-general in the chair, and he proved himself the superior of these practical and learned military men upon every technical point, and worsted them in the debate."

No intellectual diversion could be more

useful to world-power Congressmen and strenuous Presidents than a perusal of this book.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"The Being with the Uprighted Face." By Clarence Lothbury, author of "A Little Lower Than the Angels," "God Winning Us," "The Code of Joy." Philadelphia and London. The Nunc Licet Press. Price, \$1 net; postage 10 cents. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

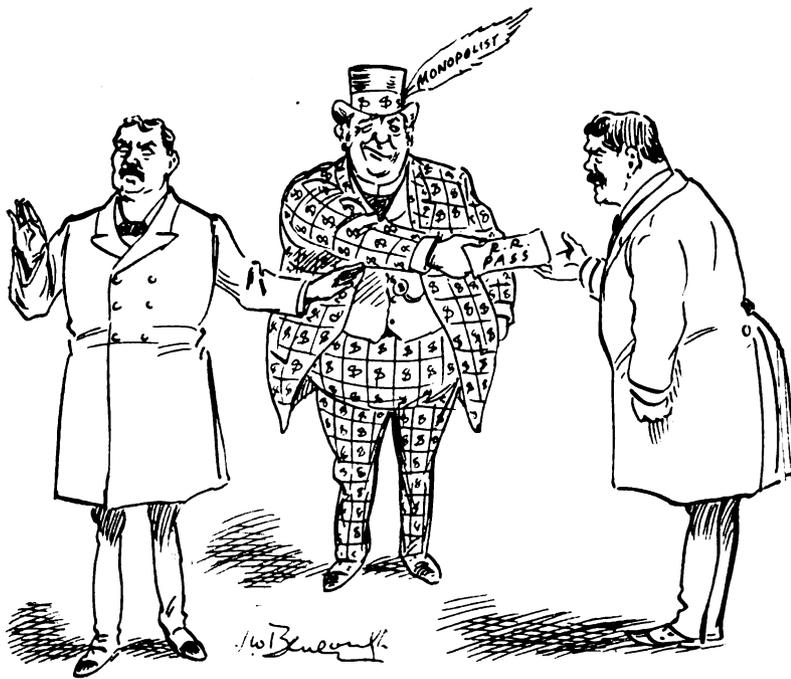
Readers of the Pilgrim for October will be delighted to welcome again the brief introductory editorials on men and matters of Moment. These editorials have always been calm, judicial, clear, free from exaggeration, and without as strong and able as any comments that are to be found upon current events in any of the many publications of to-day. It is interesting to note that in this number both Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee occupy prominent pages. Why such a magazine should feel called upon to publish such an article as that on Captain Hobson's Fams, is one of those problems of modern journalism the answer to which must probably be found in the necessity to be "popular." J. H. D.

The Springfield Republican, of October 14, has a word for Mr. Hanna, which he probably would not appreciate, if he should happen to see it. "Mr. Hanna," it says, "is much concerned in this campaign over the specter of socialism. It will not do. Mr. Hanna sees it everywhere, no matter what county he speaks in. The real pathos of this spectacle is that Mr. Hanna does not realize how much he himself contributes to socialism, with his ship subsidy bills and various monopolies." It is not clear whether the writer means that Mr. Hanna, by his methods, contributes to the discontent which produces socialism, or whether he means that Mr. Hanna's policy is itself socialistic; but he hits it, either way. J. H. D.

The leading editorial in the New York Independent, of October 8, deals with the present interesting situation in England. "At the psychological moment," says the writer, "Chamberlain has raised the banner of protection, and Balfour and his cabinet are all marching under it. It represents the temporary failure of the doctrine of free trade, which is the doctrine of international unselfishness, the doctrine we hold within our own States, the doctrine that will prevail in the final federation of the world." But this general international protection must be subject to general disintegration. "It may, indeed, be that after all, Chamberlain is playing the grand fifth act of the comedy of protection, which had to come to make the farce complete." J. H. D.

The Springfield Republican, speaking of the Rhode Island campaign, says: "This is an ideal year in politics for letting Rhode Island stay at home with its home issues. No one, it would seem, who has impartially studied public affairs in the plantations, may deny that a real work of reform needs to be accomplished, and that events have so contrived as to make Gov. Garvin the representative above all living men of the forward movement." In the same editorial the writer calls attention to the amusing contrast between the Republican platform and the Republican candidate. The platform holds forth vehemently against the trusts for building up barons of wealth. The candidate, Col. Colt, is "the head of the great rubber trust of America, a director of the American woolen trust, president of the Industrial Trust company, which has been absorbing small banks around the State, and vice president of the Rhode Island company, the street railroad oligarchy, which has all things its way in the Rhode Island legislature." J. H. D.

Harper's Weekly, of October 16, writing of the situation in Ohio, says: "Senator Hanna, for some reason best known to himself, seems to think that the Republicans are much less certain of obtaining a majority in the Legislature than they have hitherto been supposed to be, and that, consequently, his reelection to a seat in the United States Senate is in doubt. Only on this hypothesis can we explain



THE INCORRUPTIBLE PRESIDENT AND THE OTHER ROOSEVELT.

"The President is aware that special trains are emphatically not furnished to Theodore Roosevelt as Theodore Roosevelt, but to the personage who happens at the present time to occupy the position of President of the United States."—N. Y. Tribune, Aug. 31.

his earnest appeal for assistance, and the responsive cooperation of Republicans of national reputation in a State campaign. As we have formerly pointed out, it would not be easy to exaggerate the effect that would be produced on several pivotal States if in Ohio the Democrats should manage to acquire a majority of the legislature." Apart from State issues and other considerations, there is a single assertion of Senator Hanna which should make every Democrat in Ohio, no matter how disgruntled he may be over other questions, exert himself to defeat his reelection. This is his bold statement that he intends to continue his championship of the ship subsidy bill. This fact alone should be enough to unite solidly against him every man who has ever ventured to call himself a Democrat—and, in fact, every Republican who does not wish to see his party go mad in its favoritism of privilege. J. H. D.

Perhaps the most interesting feature in the Outlook, of October 10, is the publication of some of Henry Ward Beecher's letters. One of these, to the editor of the Tribune, which Dr. Abbott says is without date and without indication as to whether or not it was published, is a splendid attack on the protection idea. "It is the last vestige," writes Beecher, "of that old system of paternal governments to arrange men's religious beliefs, to determine their social relations, to prescribe their meat, drink and apparel; to do for them what a free people are a thousand times better able to do for themselves. The aim and drift of protection is foolish and impertinent, but the machinery by which it seeks to secure this bad end is even worse than the cause which it serves and corrupts. Custom houses, in their nature, are academies of injustice and dishonesty—abhorred of God as they ought to be of men." The following note to Maj. Pond, the famous lecture agent, is too good to miss copying: "Another rest day! Two consecutive Sundays I have not preached! The hay fever is insidiously creeping in and spoiled my beauty. Though not given to whining, I find myself snuffling. My eyes are easily touched with tearfulness, and I have the wish fulfilled of the old prophet: 'O that my head were a fountain of tears'—I sneeze, blis, tris; repeat; forte, sforzando, fortissimo. My deeds are evil,

for I begin to hate the light. My eyes stand out with fatness." J. H. D.

The able and interesting writer of the Boston Literary Letter, in the Springfield Republican, writing recently of Julius Caesar, says: "The contemporary and immediately succeeding authors who wrote of Caesar—Cicero, Sallust, Suetonius and Caesar himself—do not furnish the material for the philanthropic statesman that Mommsen and Froude make him out to be—and the same may be said of Lucan and Tacitus, who had ample means of knowing historically what the facts were." To this it may be said in general that contemporary writers would not be likely to understand such a man as Caesar, and certainly no one of the men mentioned, except, perhaps, Tacitus, could at any time appreciate Caesar's policy. Cicero wrote in all sorts of ways about Caesar—making him sometimes a god and sometimes a tyrant. Caesar wrote about himself in the most impersonal way. He certainly never posed as a philanthropist; but he as certainly did give evidence of loving fairness and justice; and every single item of his policy as a statesman shows that his aim was to secure to the masses of the Roman people a better life than they were leading under Cicero's sham ideal of a republic. As to Lucan and Tacitus, who wrote in the latter part of the following century, it is enough to say that the fashion was in the literary set of their time to sanctify the old republic and to discredit Caesar. Suetonius wrote still later—probably at least 200 years after Caesar's death—and it is hard to see why the writer puts him in the class with Cicero, of authors "contemporary and immediately succeeding." The proper test for judging Caesar is to be found in the actual measures which he advocated, and, as far as he could, carried out. These measures all point to the undoing of a weak, degraded, monopoly-glutted oligarchy, and to the betterment of the masses of the people. J. H. D.

DEBATE Mr. John Z. White will debate with Mr. A. M. Simons, the question "SINGLE TAX VERSUS SOCIALISM" at the Maplewood Opera House, 1510 North Rockwell Street, on Sunday afternoon, November 1st, at 2:30 p. m. Take Elston or Milwaukee Ave. cars.

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