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Since the Ohio Democratic convention, the editorial page of the New York Times—a Wall street product—has been in a state of delirium bordering on insanity. "Loose writing" is what one might call it were it not so much like "tight writing."

Horrible as are the reported atrocities of the Turks in Macedonia, the United States is in no position to protest. Nowhere are the Turks reported to have been more atrocious in their conduct than American Christians are proved to have been in the Philippines. No Turkish general has yet been charged with issuing an order to his troops, as Gen. Smith did in Samar, instructing them to "kill all over ten."

When the Macon (Ga.) Telegraph insists with some show of violence that—

the law says that every man shall have the right in this country to earn an honest living, and that he shall exercise that right; there is no need for loafers or room for loungers; the law condemns them, and says they shall go to work, if not freely then forcibly—it must be understood as referring only to impecunious loafers who have no privileges, and not to rich loafers who are allowed to own the earth.

One of the New York papers of the current month, the Press we believe, reported a suggestive incident at one of the New York police courts. Eight men had been arrested for walking between the tracks on the Vanderbilt highway to Buffalo. Seven of the prisoners expressed contrition. They re-

pented and were discharged. But one of the eight insisted that he had a right to walk on the tracks. The magistrate asserted the contrary. "Oh, yes, I have," said the prisoner; "but as things are going now I suppose a man won't be let walk along the roads." The response of the magistrate was a sentence of three months' imprisonment. Now, why is that man imprisoned? Is it because he walked along a railroad track? Or because he didn't repent of walking along the railroad track? Or because he said he had a right to walk along the railroad track? Or because he expressed the fairly sagacious opinion that "a man won't be let walk along the roads" after awhile? Or because the magistrate is an unfit person to sit upon the bench of a court of justice?

Charles Francis Adams is reported to have testified thus regarding municipal ownership of transportation:

I can only say that, as the result of careful official examination on my part, I have never yet found in Europe anywhere a case of municipal or public transportation worthy of an instant's consideration as compared with our own. We here in America do things in the transportation line which in Europe they do not even dream of, and wherever the government lays its hands on a line it becomes, compared with our system, paralyzed at once.

But that is not the point. How does public transportation there compare with private transportation there? Is Glasgow better off or worse off than under the private system? Or, if Glasgow has had public ownership too long to admit of such a comparison, fairly, how does the public system in Liverpool compare with the recent private system there, and how do both compare with European systems where private operation still prevails? Those are the true tests. An expert witness should

leave less wool on the edges of his testimony.

A Southerner writing to the New Orleans Harlequin, of John Temple Graves's recent anarchistic utterances on the Negro question, suggests this important comparison:

There is not very far from our shores an English colony called Jamaica. The Negroes outnumber the whites in that colony far more than they outnumber the whites in any section of this country. And yet assault on white women in that colony by Negroes is absolutely unknown. It is unknown because the Negro in Jamaica knows that in an English colony the law is supreme, and that he will be inevitably pursued and punished for his crime. We of the South have tried lynching and the Island of Jamaica has tried the reign of law, and the record is there for any one to read who desires to be informed.

Expressions like that help to prove, what the fact is, that Southern sentiment is not altogether dominated by law defying mobs and their law-ignoring defenders in the press and upon the rostrum. It is to be regretted that the Harlequin found it necessary to disclaim "all sympathy" with its correspondent's views, without even an attempt to dispute the convincing facts he advanced in support of his views.

A case of white peonage has now come to light in Alabama to supplement the practice of black peonage (p. 264) which has prevailed in that and neighboring States. From black to white is an easy transition. Poor whites, North as well as South, who join in the hue and cry against the Negro race, little suspect the tendency of what they do. Let the Negro be deprived of natural rights on account of his black skin, and poor whites will soon be driven into the same procession on account of their empty pockets. In illustration of this ten-

dency we are confronted not only with the white peonage case in Alabama, but with several similar cases in Michigan. These have been discovered at Kalamazoo, where the proprietor of a shoe-blackening stand has been detected in buying a Greek boy. It appears that this is only one instance. Boys are said to be picked up every year in Greek cities and sold into slavery in the United States.

By degrees the more intelligent anti-Bryan newspapers are coming to understand Bryan's position on the money question. One of these newly enlightened papers is the Chicago Record-Herald, which, in commenting upon the Democratic platform of Ohio (wherein nothing is said in terms about bimetallism, but "financial monopoly" is opposed) observes:

From this we are to infer that free and unlimited coinage at the prescribed ratio is not an indispensable specific, but merely one method of striking at financial monopoly.

Although this is not exactly as Mr. Bryan would state his position, it goes far to show that at least one hostile paper has come to some sort of an understanding of his insistence that the question of money monopoly is a live question whether the silver question be dead or not. The strange part of the matter is that any American newspaper, with its columns loaded with reports and discussions and conferences and schemes and Congressional bills with reference to the currency, should imagine that the money monopoly question is dead. Whether bimetallism be the remedy for money monopoly or not, and whether it is a dead issue in politics or not, the persistence of money monopoly is nevertheless a present fact too obtrusive to be innocently ignored.

The country has heard, with many expressions of much joy, of the recent conviction at New York of a labor leader of the name of Samuel J. Parks, for extortion. But few have heard that

the prosecuting officers profess to know that Parks was in criminal partnership with a business house of enormous wealth, and that while Parks is sent to prison this house is unmolested. Yet that seems to be the fact. In the course of his cross-examination of Parks on the 20th of August, the assistant district attorney asked a question the object of which the court called upon him to explain. This was his explanation, as reported by the New York papers of the 21st:

I am going to prove that before Sam Parks came to this city he was a maker of strikes in Chicago, and that he was brought here by Sam McConnell, the head of the Fuller Construction Company, for the purpose of calling strikes on all work in which the Fuller company was not engaged.

The court ruled out the question and struck the lawyer's statement from the record. That was proper. But why is Parks the only one of the conspirators to be indicted? If the district attorney knows that the Fuller Construction company conspired with him, why does the Fuller Construction company go scot free? This company is a \$20,000,000 corporation, but that is no reason for ignoring the crimes of its officials, if they have committed any. So far, however, as has yet appeared, there has been no prosecution of the Fuller people.

The special election at Cleveland on the question of establishing a municipal lighting plant (p. 346) did not come off on the 8th. Senator Hanna's attorney general, upon the application of a Cleveland lawyer who belongs politically to Senator Hanna's Democratic contingent, secured a restraining order from some of the Supreme Court judges. The order was obtained without notice to the city, and the hearing was set at a date two weeks after that set for the election. The purpose of this "snap" order is therefore manifest upon the face of the proceedings. It was to prevent an expression of public opinion. A month had elapsed during which such proceedings might

have been instituted and a full hearing had. But the back-door restraining order was granted only a week before the election. The election would not have determined the matter. Even after an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the people, a two-thirds vote of the city council would have been necessary to confirm. Consequently the restraining order might have been granted against the council after the popular election, and thus have saved all property rights. But it was an expression of popular opinion that the combination of corporations and Republican officials wished to prevent. Hence the restraining order at the particular moment at which it was granted.

The straits to which the Cleveland "grafters" are driven by Mayor Johnson is well illustrated by that injunction against a popular election. The law under which the election was to have been held was a Republican act, and the corporation-Republican combine now seek its nullification by Republican judges through a Republican attorney general. In doing so they advertise the very facts about themselves that Johnson lays stress upon in his appeals to the people. Surely Johnson is one of the luckiest of public men in the political enmities he incurs and the assinine maneuvers he frightens his adversaries into making.

They could hardly make any move more foolish than the moves they have already made, which have lost them the county of Cuyahoga and bid fair to lose them the State, unless it might be the one that Senator Hanna's attorney general threatens through the newspapers—the arrest of Johnson for contempt of court in criticising the injunction judges. Johnson's friends over the country might wisely pray for something of that kind. It would advertise the iniquity of the plutocratic programme in Ohio as nothing else could. Johnson has in fact not criticised the judges, un-

less the following extract from his Cleveland speeches in support of the public ownership plan, may be so construed:

To-night I shall, as I believe I always have, speak with the utmost deference of the Supreme Court. We ought to respect the court, for the court is the representative of the law of the land, and I in common with other people, respect our laws. Without such respect we should have anarchy. If we think the court has made a mistake the remedy is in our own hands. We have the remedy of the ballot, and by this remedy we can depose judges who, we believe, have erred. But while they remain judges it is our duty to honor and respect them. In this case, as often before, I think the judges have made an error. It is the privilege of every citizen to criticize a court, so long as his criticism is respectful.

I believe that there is no court high or low that should hear one side of a case and then pass judgment without allowing the other side a chance to state its case. In this case, so the newspapers say, the court, or a part of it, sitting behind closed doors, has granted an injunction to prevent this election, and has set the hearing at a date two weeks later than that fixed for the special election. So we are left helpless. We are not allowed to state our case before judgment was passed, and now we are prevented from even making our arguments until two weeks after it could have been of avail. My friends, I believe this custom is wrong.

The election was to have been merely an expression of the opinion of the people. It could not authorize the bonds. After the special election the council, by a two-thirds vote, had still to authorize the bond issue. The mayor, the auditor, the clerk of the sinking fund commission, all had to certify to the ordinance before it could become effective. That would have been the time to bring the suit and to raise whatever objections there might have been to the selling of the bonds.

I believe that the Supreme Court has been imposed upon. I believe that the court has been imposed upon by persons interested in defeating the municipal lighting plan, when they refused to allow to the people merely an expression of opinion. They might have had some excuse if the election were really to authorize the bonds. But they know that the election could have done no such thing; that it was merely an expression of the people's wishes, and knowing this they went down to Columbus and secured that injunction.

But the literature which we have prepared is going to be circulated just the same. We are going to go on with our meetings and our discussions just

as if there had been no injunction. We ought to consider this question in the light of the corrupt and unholy alliance which has been consummated between the owners of special privileges in this State and the leaders of the Republican party. This injunction suit could not have been brought if it had not had the sanction of Attorney General Sheets, a man thoroughly dominated by our United States Senator Hanna, a man who has proved his devotion in the past to Mr. Hanna and Mr. Hanna's interests and those of Mr. Hanna's friends. It was Mr. Sheets who brought the injunction suits to block three-cent fare in Cleveland; it was Mr. Sheets who instituted the ouster which threw down our city government, that Mr. Hanna's street railroad interests might not suffer. Mr. Sheets has always been on that side, working might and main. For years these Republican leaders have been using their party to help out their business interests, so-called, which means their special privileges. We have had proof after proof, and this last injunction is but one more.

If Mr. Hanna's attorney general regards such utterances as contempt of court, he could probably do Mayor Johnson no greater favor than by inducing the judges to arrest him for contempt. That would make an artistic climax which would probably produce startling effects.

Grover Cleveland has been nominated as the Democratic candidate for the presidency by a Western paper, the Chicago Chronicle. Originally this paper called itself Democratic, and it did scatter a good deal of democracy through its columns, for its editors were democrats. But it had a publisher—John R. Walsh by name,—also a Democrat, but only by name. He is a banker who, like all the more successful men of his vocation couldn't recognize a political principle if he saw it coming up the street, unless it were coming to his own bank for deposit or discount or as collateral. Owing to the influence of Mr. Walsh, the Chronicle turned in to help Hanna beat Bryan in 1896. In 1900 Hanna didn't need the Chronicle, and it skipped from one side of the political fence to the other, after posting the city with handbills protesting its loyalty to the Dem-

ocratic party—protesting altogether too much. Since then it has proclaimed its independence of party. But meanwhile Mr. Walsh has become editor as well as publisher, and the policy of the paper is dictated by him from the back office of his bank. The nomination of Cleveland by the Chronicle is therefore nothing but a nomination by Mr. Walsh, made for business reasons and not from political or journalistic motives. When it is known that Mr. Walsh, besides being a banker, is one of the greatest monopolists of Chicago, and that he cherishes his monopolies as old-time misers cherished their potted gold, his nomination of Cleveland, in his capacity as directing and supervising editor of the Chicago Chronicle, will probably not serve the cause of the Great Uncommoner to the full extent that was intended.

One of the difficulties of editing a "Democratic" paper from the back office of a plutocratic bank, was illustrated in the issue of the Chicago Chronicle of September 2. The editorial columns of that issue displayed the following bit of "Democratic" opinion:

People who have maintained that Colonel Bryan will not bolt next year will do well to note what has happened in Ohio. Despite his friendship for Tom Johnson the colonel deftly sidesteps that gentleman's invitation to orate from the same platform with the "goldbug" Clarke.

But in another column of the same paper in the same issue was the following item of news relating to the same subject:

Versailles, O., Sept. 1. — The Ohio Democratic State campaign was formally opened here to-night, with a large meeting. Excursion trains were run from the surrounding country and brought thousands to the meeting. The chief speakers were: W. J. Bryan, Tom L. Johnson, Democratic candidate for governor, and John H. Clarke, candidate for United States senator to succeed Senator Hanna. Bryan in his speech spoke enthusiastically of the ticket nominated by the Democratic State convention, and predicted victory for the ticket. He also indorsed Clarke for United States senator.

The banker-editor of the Chronicle ought to edit its news as well

as its editorials. There is virtue in uniformity.

The unsophisticated news reader who last week found proof of the impartiality of the law in the fact that a collection of rich men were on trial for manslaughter in New Jersey, because their negligent management of a street car system had caused the death of several school children, was too previous in his expressions of satisfaction. He should have considered that the corporations which own the legislature of New Jersey might possibly own her judges also. Had the case gone to the jury, and an uncorrupted verdict been rendered in favor of the defendants, that would have been as satisfactory, on the score of the impartial administration of justice, as a verdict the other way. It is not convictions, but trials that are needed as an earnest of the impartiality of the courts. But there was no trial in this case. The three judges ordered the jurors to acquit—ordered them, mind you! This is something which judges often assume to do. It is a common practice. But the very form of it testifies to its being a judicial invasion. If judges had the right to render verdicts, they would need to resort to no such fiction as directing juries to do the rendering. But as they have not that right, they have calmly arrogated it to themselves in this indirect manner, and so built up a practice in contravention of the constitutional theory that in criminal trials the jury shall judge both the law and the fact. Taking advantage of that practice, these judges of the corporation-ridden State of New Jersey took the prosecution of the multimillionaire street car managers away from the jury and turned the millionaires loose. To do so they were obliged to declare that neglect to take precautions against the possibility of accidents at notoriously dangerous railroad crossings, is not negligence on the part of the street car managers. The outcome of

this farcical trial is what might have been expected. One of the distinguished defendants—John D. Crimmins, of New York,—frankly said he expected it. "Why," said he, "the case of the prosecution was hopeless from the outset. I knew all along what the outcome would be. There never was the least doubt in my mind of the final decision." Mr. Crimmins's foreknowledge must appear to the unsophisticated to have been quite phenomenal. But really it would have been much more remarkable if the president of the Pennsylvania railroad had gone to prison in New Jersey so long as there was a Jersey judge to stand between him and a jury.

If one case of horrible lynching has occurred in Delaware, the same State has at least given the world, as an echo, the benefit of wise words from the lips of the chief justice of her Supreme Court. In an address before the Universal Peace union last month, Chief Justice Lore condemned not only the lynchers who burn men accused of crime, but also the lynching spirit which, as expressed by Judge Brewer, of the United States Supreme Court, would deny to accused men the commonest safeguards which the law throws about property. "I cannot agree with Judge Brewer's suggestion," said Judge Lore, "that there should be no appeal or writ of error in criminal cases; it would seem monstrous that an appeal should be denied where a man's liberty and life are at stake." To such as Judge Brewer, Judge Lore administered in this connection this well-merited rebuke: "The only difference between those who claim that the court should act quickly before the mob can act, and the man who claims that lynching is the only proper remedy for crime, is that the first would convert the court into a mob and the second would convert the mob into a court." Judge Lore's words on the true function of the court are golden words: "Courts of justice," he said, "are not established

to administer swift vengeance, but to administer justice after a fair and full opportunity of defense and just conviction."

Judge Lore gave expression to other sentiments regarding the spirit of lynching which are of highest moment at this critical period in the history of our democratic republic. There is warning as well as truth in his words:

Lawlessness pervades the land, unrest and discontent brood over apparent prosperity. We have become the money center of the world, but this has bred a feverish appetite for gold with all its vulgar accompaniments. Coronets and coats of arms are eagerly sought by the sons and daughters of late hucksters, and butchers, and blacksmiths. Law has degenerated into lawlessness. We would call a halt upon our captains of industry who have brought our country to its present height of frenzied speculation. Plants worth only thousands of dollars are by the magic wand of watered stock and glittering advertisements swollen into millions. Gigantic frauds are palmed upon the people as successful business enterprises. Our greatest financiers are racking their brains to circumvent the law and the people, and by lawlessness achieve wealth, being careful only to keep outside of actual violence and the common jail. When their cunning evasions of the law are crowned with success all men are tempted to lawlessness. Captains of industry, how much of the unrest, the mob violence, and the labor troubles of the time have been bred and fostered by your methods?

It is well when a man in Judge Lore's position can see with vision so clear the homogeneity of crime. Lynching is not isolated lawlessness; it is a brutal manifestation of a universal spirit of the time. When rights and duties are ignored in the teachings of college and pulpit and newspaper, and expelled from the ethics of business, regard for them loses its hold also upon the common mind.

David B. Hill, the New York statesman who declared himself "a Democrat still—very still,"—has broken his reticence with a declaration of the soundest kind of democracy. "What the government of a free country like ours owes its citizens," said Mr.

Hill at a county fair last week, "is not a living, but free and equal opportunity with every other citizen to obtain a living." Good. And that is precisely what Tom L. Johnson says. But there is this peculiar difference in the effect. The "plutes" and "grafters" applaud Hill, but they denounce Johnson. Why? Evidently because they know that Johnson not only preaches that good democratic sentiment, but believes in it.

With Mr. Hill the declaration that our country owes each of its citizens "free and equal opportunity with every other citizen to obtain a living" is mere clap-trap. Let Mr. Hill himself be the judge. Taxes measured by labor values are inconsistent with that doctrine; taxes measured by the value of privileges are in furtherance of it. Which does Mr. Hill favor? Would he exempt the working farmer's improvements and tax the mine owner's mineral deposits, the city millionaire's valuable lots, and the speculative land grabbers' unused acres, or would he retain the present system? It is much to be feared that Mr. Hill's "free and equal opportunity for every citizen to make a living," which rolls so trippingly off his tongue, rolls as trippingly off his conscience.

An article by W. H. Allen, quoted editorially in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 31st, deals with the "favorable" balance of trade mystery. It will be recalled that Mr. McKinley said (vol iii, p. 291), in 1900, that our enormous export balance is paid for with "pure gold." Inasmuch as the treasury statistics at that time showed this to be an enormous mistake, and have continued to show the same thing,—our balance of gold imports falling below our balance of merchandise and silver exports millions upon millions of dollars,—this theory of payment has collapsed. Several others have been advanced, only to meet the same fate. At last the assertion is made, very

pretentiously, that Europe has been paying off her trade debt to us by sending back to us our own stocks and bonds, and also by allowing our capitalists to invest in European securities. But now comes Mr. Allen, who, according to the Record-Herald,—

has made up a table of the sales and purchases of shares by foreigners on the New York Stock Exchange as reported weekly in the New York Times and New York Evening Post, and he finds that for the four years, 1898-1901, the net excess of purchases over sales was 3,797,000 shares, while in 1902 alone did the sales exceed the purchases, and then by only 427,000 shares. The net showing for the five years is, therefore, that purchases were in the lead by 3,370,000 shares. As to direct sales and purchases outside the stock exchange, Mr. Allen finds, though by less exact methods, a similar tendency.

That disposes of the vague explanation that our stocks and bonds are coming back to us. On the contrary, we have an export balance of stocks and bonds as well as an export balance of merchandise and silver. Moreover, proceeds the Record-Herald, referring again to Mr. Allen—

he presents facts to show that instead of our lending money abroad we have been most of the time heavy borrowers, and from this he infers further that we cannot have had funds idle for permanent investments in foreign countries on any large scale. These conclusions evidently make the problem as to how we are paid for our excess of exports all the harder to solve.

Not so much harder, either, if you but consider that most of our stocks represent land values—mines, railway rights of way, etc.—and that foreign holdings of American land by real estate deed instead of corporation stock, are vast. When the land rent (direct as rent and indirect as dividends) is considered, our excess of exports is pretty fully accounted for. Like Ireland, we are paying ground rent to absentees; but unlike Ireland, we are bragging of it, and fatuously regarding it as evidence of prosperity.

First Katydid—Why didn't you come before?

Second Katydid—Were you calling? "Was I calling? Don't you see how hoarse my legs are?"—Life.

THE SERVICE OF THE UNIVERSITY.

By a very remarkable coincidence the same sweeping remark about our universities was recently made in my hearing by two men of widely differing rank and circumstance. One of them is a labor leader, a man who earns his living by manual labor and yet is a reader and thinker. The other teaches in a university, in its mechanical department, and yet is a believer in social ideals. The words of the two men were almost verbatim the same, and I am doing no violence to either in combining what they said. To put it in fewest words it was, that for the solution of our social problems there is no hope in our universities.

In the two instances the conversation was along what seemed to be entirely different lines. With the labor-leader the talk was of social problems. With the professor the talk was of spiritual problems, or, to be more accurate, it might be better to say that the professor's talk was rather of the maintenance of fine ideals in the midst of modern life.

We may hold that both of the speakers exaggerated extremely in their unqualified statement, and that they were speaking in the free way of private talk, but still it seems worth while to consider what was in their minds in making the statement. If any supposedly sensible people think this way, it is well to know the fact, and to submit to wider judgment whatever of truth or falsity may be in their criticisms.

The position of the labor leader is one with which we are all more or less familiar. He maintained that the specific teaching of the universities in economic and social questions ignores the aspiration of workingmen for better wages and a higher plane of living, that the professors may in a general way contemplate some gradual improvement, but that they do not acknowledge any radical ground for the complaints of wage-earners. His main attack, however, was directed against the general spirit which he conceived to pervade the universities. In brief he held that they are sub-

servient to the classes of privilege and monopoly. To the suggestion that they are open to young men of every class, and that as matter of fact all the large universities contain students who are poor, and are working their way, he replied that such young men are animated by purely personal ambition, and are likely to become the very worst exponents of class privilege. He said that he had known such.

The position of the professor is more surprising, especially as the opinion comes from one connected with what may be called the ultra-practical side of his institution. The conversation began by his criticism of a lecture by one of his colleagues engaged in what may be called the literary side of the institution. He was surprised that this lecture based the value of the study of language and even of history and literature upon their scientific aspect, and that the lecturer seemed to find all his satisfaction in claiming that these subjects had now become as truly scientific as chemistry or physics. There was nothing, he said, in the lecture that upheld the ethical or ideal-producing value of the study of literary subjects. He thought that the lecture was a sign of the times and reflected the prevailing spirit in universities. His attention being called to the great advance in the scientific treatment of such subjects as language, he replied that he was only objecting to the putting of this side first. The universities, he asserted, have been given over partly to purely practical aims, and even those departments which might not be considered purely practical are ashamed to stand for fine ideals, but base their value upon what looks like the practical. He said that he had great respect for his side of the university, which professedly looks toward the bread-and-butter side of things, but that he could not keep from regretting and condemning the course of those departments of literature which seem to be neglecting their great work of maintaining ideals, and to be surrendering their high opportunities to the worldly spirit of utility or to the cold intellectualism of exact science. He had, he said, nothing to

say against practical knowledge or the accurate training of exact science; but these are not all. He went so far as to say that the great need of this age is enthusiasm for ideals, enthusiasm for causes that cost sacrifice, and that the universities are doing nothing, apart from their strictly scientific work, to foster enthusiasm for anything but getting on in the world.

Here, in a way, the two critics may be said to have met. Each of them charged that the universities are fostering chiefly the promotion of personal ambition, and are doing little or nothing for the promotion of higher ideals for the common good or for the progress of the social spirit that fosters a broad, rather than a narrow, democracy.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Sept. 10.

The news dispatches of last week to the effect that the Supreme Court of Ohio had granted an injunction forbidding the special election at Cleveland on the question of establishing a municipal lighting plant (p. 346) have proved to be well founded. The injunction was granted on the 1st by three judges of the Supreme Court—Shauck, Crew and Davis. It was granted upon the application of the attorney general of the State, in a suit brought by Thomas H. Hogsett, of Cleveland, the attorney of the Cleveland Gas company, who represented the Citizens' league, an organization just formed to oppose the municipal ownership proposition. Politically Mr. Hogsett is accounted a Democrat. He was city solicitor under the administration of Mayor John Farley, whom Tom L. Johnson succeeded. But he does not affiliate with the Democratic party as at present constituted in Cleveland. The injunction order was granted without notice to the city of Cleveland, and it was set for argument on the 22d—two weeks after the date for the special election. A motion to dissolve the injunction, made on the 5th, was heard by Judges Crew and Shauck and denied. Conse-

quently the special election did not come off.

Mayor Johnson continued the speaking campaign in favor of the establishment of a municipal lighting plant up to the 8th, notwithstanding the injunction, his last public meeting being held on the 7th, according to the original programme. No public meetings were held by the opposition. At the last meeting but one, Mayor Johnson, as reported, laid the blame for the injunction at the door of Attorney General Sheets, and, through Sheets, at the door of Senator Hanna, who, he said, controls Sheets's actions. With some detail Mr. Johnson reviewed Mr. Sheets's record. He pointed out, among other things, that it was Sheets who had brought the ouster suit which had destroyed the federal plan in Cleveland, that it was largely through Sheets's efforts that the \$20,000,000 which had been added to the tax duplicate of the Cleveland public service corporations had been removed, and the city board of tax equalization had been abolished and replaced by a board "perfectly true to Hanna." Mayor Johnson also reviewed the history of the municipal lighting movement in the city council, and attacked the "three so-called Democrats," who had voted with the Republicans to defeat it. "By getting this injunction," Mayor Johnson continued, "the corporations probably thought they would defeat the plan of securing a municipal electric lighting plant. Instead of accomplishing this they have merely made more votes for the proposition. The spectacle of treachery within the Democratic party, the spectacle of Senator Hanna and his factotum, Sheets, enjoining, through the Supreme Court, an expression of popular opinion, the spectacle of the Citizens' association, which is really only a Cleveland Electric Lighting association, posing as the champion of the people and then seeing to it that the people do not have a chance to say what they want, all these have made votes for the municipal electric light proposition, and I believe that the people will decide in its favor by an overwhelming majority. If the people decide otherwise I shall be content, for I

do not want a municipal electric light plant unless the people want it."

Meantime Mayor Johnson had, as mayor, called a non-partisan meeting to discuss the subject. He did this in response to a petition from the German-American Bund and other citizens. The meeting was addressed by William Backus, president of the German-American Bund, who presided; by W. J. Springborn, head of the public works department of the city; by Thomas Moore, president of the United Trades and Labor Council; by Thomas Fitzsimmons, a large manufacturer well known in Cleveland for his non-partisan activities in civic affairs, and by Mayor Johnson. The meeting adopted the following resolutions:

Be it resolved that we, the citizens of Cleveland, in mass meeting assembled thank the public service corporations for the effective manner in which they have furnished proof of their infamous interference with our legislative bodies; and be it resolved that we condemn the motives and actions of the so-called Citizens' league and their attorneys as unworthy of good citizenship, and that we leave these to the contempt of every citizen who has the welfare of the city at heart; and be it further resolved that we look upon the misuse of judicial power in granting injunctions without giving both parties a fair hearing, as opposed to the fundamental principles of our republic and as calculated, if persisted in, to bring the dignity and high standing of our courts of justice into discredit; and be it further resolved that we do all in our power to elect such men to public office as are free from taint of corporate influence and whose part and position in politics and economics are proof that they will execute the respective trusts to the interests of all people. We demand equal rights for all and special privileges to no one.

The Democratic campaign in Ohio, which has been in progress under Mayor Johnson's leadership since early in August (p. 281), began systematically on the 9th at Akron. A new tent (the old one being retained in Cleveland for local campaigning) was pitched for the first time. Mayor Johnson, as candidate for governor, and John H. Clarke, as candidate for U. S. Senator, appeared as the principal speakers before a

large audience. The Chicago Chronicle, in an unfriendly report, estimates the audience at 3,000. Akron is the county seat of Summit county, which is strongly Republican.

Prior to this, Mr. Johnson had spoken at several meetings (p. 344) in different parts of the state. Wm. J. Bryan, also, had spoken at immense meetings. Mr. Bryan's signed statement, regarding the senatorial candidacy of John H. Clarke, issued from Columbus on the 2d and of which we were able to give only the concluding paragraph last week (p. 345), can now be given in full. As printed in the Columbus Press it was as follows:

I would have preferred the nomination of some one who had been active and earnest in the support of all the planks of our platform; but the delegates who endorsed the Kansas City platform also endorsed Mr. Clarke, and after talking with him and listening to his speech last night, I am satisfied that his sympathies are with the people in their fight against organized wealth, and that if elected senator he can be trusted to stand for the reforms for which the Democratic party is contending. As an evidence that his sympathies are with the masses I point to the fact that he has long advocated the election of senators by a direct vote—a reform without which other reforms are impossible. He is opposed to government by injunction, and this question is a good test of his sympathies. He is in favor of an income tax—another proof that he is not the representative of plutocracy. His views on imperialism and the tariff are also sound and in line with democratic purposes. His one difference is on one phase of the money question—namely, metallic money—and on this question I believe he was grievously in error in 1896.

But since that time the quantitative theory of money has been established and the arguments made in favor of a larger volume of money have been vindicated. Believing as I do, that his sympathies are right, I shall trust him to carry out his platform on all questions that come before him rather than give encouragement to those who would elect a Republican legislature and thus not only re-elect Mr. Hanna but prevent the enactment of needed State legislation. On the more acute phases of the money question I believe he will be found in entire harmony with Kansas City platform Democrats. I can not conceive of his supporting an asset currency or the Aldrich bill, neither do I believe that he would support the Republican measures which provide for

branch banks and for making the silver dollar redeemable in gold.

Mr. Clarke recognizes, as he said last night, that revolutions do not go backward; he recognizes that the Democratic party is marching forward to meet the issues presented by plutocracy, and he is opposed to the scheme of the reorganizers. While we might prefer some other Democrat to him, we certainly must prefer him to a Republican who is against us on all questions, especially when the legislature that will elect him will also give the people home rule, cheaper railroad fares and more equitable taxation. To oppose him because of his action in 1896, in spite of the fact that he helped us heartily in 1900, in spite of the fact that he has supported Johnson in all his reforms, in spite of the fact that he is now helping us on everything except one phase of one question, and in spite of the fact that on that question I believe his sympathies will lead him to our side when he thoroughly understands the subject—to oppose him, I say, in spite of these things, would be unreasonable and unjust."

Mr. Clarke's response to Mr. Bryan's statement came in the form of an interview in the Cleveland Plain Dealer on the 4th. Referring to his meeting with Mr. Bryan on the 1st, with which, says the Plain Dealer, he expressed great satisfaction, Mr. Clarke said:

Mr. Bryan agreed thoroughly with me that we are in perfect accord upon all important matters which are before the people in this campaign. In this respect I mean that we are in accord upon all the great principles of the Democratic party, both national and State. The fact that we have differed on some points as to the methods to be used to gain the same great ends did not for a single moment stand in the way of an indorsement of my candidacy by Mr. Bryan. He does not require agreement with him upon every principle in order to secure his hearty cooperation. No one who knows Mr. Bryan can question for a moment that he is heart and soul in a movement to secure what he sincerely believes to be the best for the great masses of the American people.

Mr. Bryan's last speech for the present in the Ohio campaign was delivered at Marion on the 2d to an audience numbering at least 6,000. He was accompanied by John J. Lentz, C. C. Philbrick, and W. W. Finley, the latter being the chairman of the State committee. Mr. Monnett, the candidate for attorney general, was one of the speakers and Mr. Lentz was another.

Some idea of the kind of cam-

painging to be expected this Fall in Ohio may be had from the following extracts from a news report of the 7th in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, nominally a Democratic paper, but really and professedly independent:

Extensive arrangements that are being made for work by the literary bureaus of both the large political parties indicate that there will be more printed matter, bearing upon the campaign, used this Fall than ever before in the history of the State except possibly in a presidential year. The Republican managers have had their literary bureau at work for weeks and they are preparing to scatter literature broadcast over the State telling the voters of the dangers of "Johnsonism." It is said that a good share of the material to be used in the rural districts will be along lines calculated to show Mr. Johnson's partiality for the single tax doctrines of Henry George. In the opinion of the Republican managers the single tax "expose" can be used among the farmers with much effectiveness against the Democratic nominee. . . . The work that is going on among the Democrats also indicates that they will not take a back seat as far as the distributing of campaign documents is concerned. It is probable that the plan of last Fall will be followed out again, but upon a more extensive scale. Tens of thousands of Democratic pamphlets will be distributed in connection with the tent meetings and in other ways. Prof. Bemis, who has appeared upon the local stump in the municipal lighting meetings of the last week, will not do any more work upon the platform. Instead he will devote time to the securing of data for one of the leading pamphlets to be scattered over the State in the hope of influencing votes for the Democratic cause. The pamphlet will have to do entirely with the relation of the assessment of railways to their true value as shown in the stock market. It will be designed to be an analysis of the figures which will form the basis of Mr. Johnson's campaign for more equitable taxation. It is the plan to have this pamphlet contain nothing but a straightforward presentation of statements in connection with railway taxation without the extra campaign frills that marked the leading pamphlet distributed by Mr. Johnson last year. It will be the aim to present the situation in nearly every county in the State so as to give the material as local a flavor as possible.

Labor day celebrations in the United States on the 7th are reported from most points to have been phenomenal in the magnitude of the labor processions. New York city appears to have

been an exception, owing to dissensions in the labor organizations over the choice of Samuel J. Parks as marshal. Parks had been convicted of using labor organizations for purposes of extortion, had been sentenced to State prison, had entered upon the serving of his sentence, and was at large on bail pending an appeal. The reports as to the number in the procession are conflicting. They vary in their estimates from 10,000 to 40,000. President Roosevelt spoke at Syracuse. In Chicago the number in the procession was probably 100,000.

One feature of the Chicago celebration of Labor Day was the activity of representatives of the Municipal Ownership Delegate Convention in securing signatures to a petition to the city council to submit to popular vote the adoption of the Mueller law for municipal ownership. This movement is related to the Chicago traction question (p. 300), and is designed to head off the granting by the city council of long-term street car franchises to private corporations. The petition, which is self-explanatory, and is reported to have been signed by 60,000 workmen on the 7th, is as follows:

To the Honorable the Mayor and City Council of Chicago:

Whereas, in response to an overwhelming vote of the people of Chicago in favor of municipal ownership of street railways, the legislature passed the Mueller law; and, whereas, this law is not in force in Chicago, and the council cannot act under it until adopted by a vote of the people; therefore, we, the undersigned, citizens of Chicago, respectfully petition your Honor the mayor, and the city council, to submit to the vote of the people the Mueller law enabling the city of Chicago to own the street railways, and to do so before making any settlement of the traction question.

Illinois is distinguished for the first serious prosecution of a Negro lynching mob. In this case the lynching, which was attempted at Danville (p. 347), did not succeed and the prosecution was for rioting and attempted murder. Twelve persons were convicted—10 men, 1 boy and 1 woman. All the men and the woman were given indeterminate sentences in the penitentiary and the boy was sent

to the reformatory. In passing sentence on the 8th, Judge M. W. Thompson said:

You may thank God that you are not here on a charge of murder instead of an attempt to murder, and that I am not sentencing you to be hanged instead of to the penitentiary. For, as sure as you live, had you gained entrance to the jail that night you would have committed murder, not once but probably a dozen times. And if the right man had not been sheriff you would have succeeded.

On the 3d the British-American yacht race (p. 347) was decided in favor of the Reliance, the American yacht, which won over Shamrock III. the third successive race in a series of five. The Reliance was ahead at the turn by 11 minutes and 10 seconds. She finished the course in 4 hours, 28 minutes and 6 seconds. The Shamrock did not finish. Speaking of the race, Sir Thomas Lipton, proprietor of the Shamrock, said:

I have been beaten by a faster boat. I have done everything humanly possible to bring the best boat to the contest that could be produced in Great Britain. I am much disappointed at the result and the showing made by the Shamrock III., but as a faster boat beat me I can't complain. I have no fault to find with any of my crew. I am deeply grateful to the cup committee and the New York Yacht club for the exceedingly kind manner in which they have done everything for me. In all the world I know of no kinder or fairer lot of sportsmen. I also wish to express my thanks to the government for the excellent manner in which the course has been kept clear. If I had the choice of any course in the United States I would choose the Sandy Hook course. There is no other place where I could find a better course. I would challenge again tomorrow if I felt I had a chance of winning, but who can design the boat? Mr. Wife has done his best.

In Great Britain the protective tariff policy proposed by Secretary Chamberlain has come before the Trades Union Congress now in session in Leicester, the official visitors to which, from the United States, are Mr. Lawlor, of Bethel, Conn., and Max Hayes, of Cleveland, Ohio. Chamberlain's policy was discussed by the president in calling the congress to order, and on the 8th the following resolution was adopted with only two dissenting votes:

That this congress strongly condemns the suggested change by Mr. Chamberlain in our present fiscal policy as most mischievous and dangerous to the best

interest of the people of the country, and hereby pledges itself and urges all other labor bodies to make every effort to prevent such a change being brought about.

A further step of importance to English politics was taken by this congress on the same day. It declared in favor of an independent labor movement in politics. The resolution was in these terms:

That this congress heartily endorses the policy of direct labor representation, as decided upon at the last annual conference of the labor representation committee, and urges upon all trades unions not yet affiliated with that body to join forthwith, so that the entire labor movement may be consolidated for definite political purposes.

This resolution was carried by a delegate vote representing 506,000 in the affirmative and 285,000 in the negative.

This action of the British labor congress derives especial importance from the fact that at the bye-election in the Barnard Castle Division of Durham, held July 25 last, a labor candidate was elected to parliament in place of the late Sir Joseph Pease, a Liberal. The labor representative, Mr. Arthur Henderson, J. P., was described at the time by the London Mail as being—

of the best type of labor representative. Born in Scotland, he was apprenticed to his trade of ironmolder in Newcastle and worked at his trade there for some time. Since then he has been prominent in trade unionism, politics, and public life in the north. He acted as Sir Joseph Pease's political agent in the constituency he now represents, is a prominent Wesleyan, a teetotaler, a capital speaker, and a man of all-round high character and ability. He is 40 years of age.

The vote by which Mr. Henderson was returned to parliament as a labor member distinctively was as follows:

Henderson (Labor)	3370
Vane (Conservative)	3323
Beaumont (Liberal)	2809

The total poll was larger by 730 than ever before. The Liberal vote was less by 2,528 and the Conservative by 525, than ever before. At the last previous election the Liberal majority was 1,491; at the present election the combined Liberal and Labor majority over the Conservatives was 2,856. Both the Labor and the

Liberal candidates pledged themselves against Chamberlain's protective tariff policy.

Turkish atrocities in Macedonia (p. 346) continue. The reports that reach Sofia indicate that from 30,000 to 50,000 Bulgarian inhabitants of the province of Monastir have been killed, and that every Bulgarian village in the province has been destroyed.

The Turkish sultan has broken his long established rule of reticence and made a public address to representatives of the several religious creeds in his empire. This address was made on the 1st, upon the occasion of the anniversary of his accession to the throne. As reported from Constantinople on the 3d, the Sultan said, in his reply to the congratulations of the ecumenical patriarch, who referred to conditions in Macedonia:

All my desire is for the welfare of the population, without distinction of race or religion. As to the detestable and regrettable deeds to which the patriarch alluded, I am convinced that the movement does not proceed spontaneously from the population, but is instigated from abroad. I hope the measures taken will insure tranquillity. I call God to witness the sincerity of my declaration, and that all my aspirations and work are for the welfare and prosperity of all my subjects.

Turning to the Bulgarian patriarch, continues the report—

the Sultan bade him communicate his words to his flock. Next addressing the Greek patriarch, the Sultan said he regretted that the Greek population had also suffered from the recent troubles, and declared he would be pleased to contribute to the subscriptions being raised in the patriarchate in behalf of the sufferers. The Sultan further remarked that he was sorry that some of the soldiers had been guilty of acts contrary to his orders and desires. The Sultan personally assured Mgs. Ormanian, the Armenian patriarch, that his words applied to the Armenians as well as to the people of other nationalities.

Regarding the anticipated dangers to American interests in Turkey, an official report was received at Washington on the 8th, from Rear Admiral Cotton, who had been ordered (p. 347) to proceed to Turkish waters. Admiral Cotton's report, dated on the 7th

at Beirut, where his squadron had arrived on the 4th, is as follows:

Violence and bloodshed between Mohammedans and native Christians occurred at Beirut Sunday. Six Greek Christians, two Mohammedans and one Turkish soldier killed; three Greek Christians, three Mohammedans and three Turkish soldiers wounded seriously. Other murders reported. Flag lieutenant and United States consul were present Sunday and Monday in the disturbed quarter and verify detailed statement. Turkish government willingly afforded facility for their investigation and guard; promise 1,000 more Turkish soldiers. Turkish soldiers present sufficient if properly disposed of to handle situation at Beirut. Well patrolled and all quiet Sunday night and to-day, Monday. Turkish governor promises to do all in his power to restore authority. Many houses closed and business suspended. I have prepared to land force for protection of property of American citizens if situation demands. Will act with caution. Present trouble due to animosity between Mohammedans and native Christians and failure to control crimes.

A dispatch of the 10th from London reported that the foreign consuls at Beirut had united in a request to Admiral Cotton to land marines for the protection of the foreign consulates, and that the admiral had cleared the decks of his squadron for action.

The report on the supposed assassination of the American vice consul, Mr. Magelssen, which was the occasion for sending Admiral Cotton to Beirut (p. 347), reached Washington on the 1st. It was from the consul, Mr. Ravndal, and read:

The attempt on Magelssen's life failed utterly. A narrow escape, but the vice consul suffered no injury.

NEWS NOTES.

—King Edward VII. returned from Austria (p. 347) on the 4th.

—The Prohibitionists of Maryland nominated a State ticket on the 3d, with William Gisriel at the head as candidate for governor.

—A South polar expedition which sailed from Germany, August 11, 1901, on board the Gauss, returned on the 29th. The expedition was a failure.

—The first session of the international Alaska boundary commission (vol. v, 730) was held at London on the 3d. Chief Justice Alverstone, of England, was elected president of the commission.

—At the convention of the National Lyceum association, held at Chicago, it

was decided by a vote of 20 to 14 on the 4th that in the membership no discrimination on account of color shall be made.

—Oskar Mester was reported on the 1st from Berlin as having given a successful exhibition there of a combined phonograph and moving picture machine, producing speaking and moving photographs.

—Helen Wilmans-Post, of Seabreeze, Fla., whose right to receive letters by mail has been cut off by the post office department, without judge or jury (p. 227), has appointed Mrs. A. W. Powers, of Seabreeze, Fla., as her agent. Letters for Mrs. Wilmans will therefore reach her if sent under cover to Mrs. Powers.

—Margaret Haley speaks at the Henry George association, Handel Hall, Chicago, on the 10th, at 8 o'clock. Her subject being "Democracy in Education." Raymond Robins speaks at the same place and hour on the 17th, on "The Social Spirit." John Z. White speaks on "The Single Tax" at the same place on the 13th at 3:30.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 300) for August, shows on hand August 31, 1903:

Gold reserve fund	\$50,000,000.00
Available cash	233,450,710.94
Total	\$383,450,710.94
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902	334,394,275.58
Decrease	\$ 49,056,435.36

PRESS OPINIONS.

OHIO POLITICS.

The (Minneapolis) Irish Standard, Aug. 29.—The Democrats of Ohio have done well in nominating Tom L. Johnson for governor. Johnson stands for something. His opponent stood for nothing except opposition to Johnson. If the Democratic party expects to recover its former position of the leading party of the nation, it must put forward men who stand for principles and who when elected to office accomplish something. Johnson has a remarkable record of accomplishment behind him.

(Pendleton) East Oregonian (dem.-Dem.) Aug. 27.—Tom Johnson enters the Ohio campaign this year stronger than ever before. He has made valuable accessions to his ranks since the last fight in that State, and has learned more of the tricks of his opponents. The common people of Ohio, the great masses that depend on daily toil for sustenance, are interested in wresting the state from the hands of the spoilsman, and are learning that such men as Hanna, the millionaire Republican, and George Baer, the millionaire Democrat, are natural enemies to their welfare.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem.-Dem.) Sept. 7.—The grief of the Hanna organs over the lamentable situation of the Democratic party in Ohio is almost too great for utterance. It is with mingled pain and indignation that they contemplate Democratic defeat as the penalty of refusing to follow Zimmerman and to stand on a platform dug up from the grave of Allen G. Thurman. Some of them weep bitter tears over the scandalous betrayal of silver in the endorsement of Clarke and all of them are plunged in gloom over the prospect that a party from whom they had

hoped so much will go to the demeriton bow-wows.

Cleveland Recorder (dem.-Dem.) Sept. 2.—Such a campaign as will be waged from now out has never been seen before in Ohio. The Republicans will be placed on the defensive and the war will be pushed into Africa. It will be an appeal to the common man and his rights will be clearly stated. The indications are plain that the same sort of thing is working in the State at large as has been so effective here in Cleveland. The voters seem to be interested in the issues and they are going to rise above petty partisan considerations and vote for their own interests. The Republican spell binders are going to have hard times to hold them in line for "stand pat."

San Francisco Star (dem.-Dem.) Aug. 29.—Ohio is to have a Democratic campaign this year that will be energetic, honest, and able. Tom L. Johnson is the candidate for governor, and with him the Buckeye Democracy has named a ticket that is described as "the best for many years—all of them great campaigners as well as men of high standing for capacity and honesty." Tom Johnson is a whole ticket. . . . The platform is largely devoted to local issues, but renews allegiance to the Democratic party of the nation, and avows devotion to the principles of the last national platform. It condemns colonialism and imperialism, denounces trusts and trust-fostering tariffs, repudiates government by injunction and opposes financial monopoly.

Southern Mercury (Dallas, Tex.), Sept. 3 (Peo.)—The "reorganizers" found their Waterloo at the Democratic State convention at Columbus, O., on the 26th inst., when Tom Johnson and his crowd fairly wiped the earth up with them and named the State ticket from top to bottom and re-endorsed the Kansas City platform of 1900 in toto. Daddy Zimmerman, though aided by McLean, failed to make a single point in the convention. Tom Johnson, the popular single-tax mayor of Cleveland, was nominated for Governor by acclamation and a State committee selected consisting of nineteen Johnson men and two opposers. This assures a delegation from Ohio to the National Democratic Convention next year that will combat vigorously any effort by the "reorganizers" to capture the nomination for the presidency.

The (Independence) Kansas Populist (Peo.), Sept. 4.—In view of the result of the contest between the real Democrats and the reorganizers in Ohio last week, it is safe to count that State against Cleveland and his crowd in the national Democratic convention next year. And Ohio is by no means the only State the Johnson-Bryan wing of the party will control, even in the northeast. The outcome of that convention is not yet settled, as so many of our Populist friends are assuming. Probably the reorganizers will be convinced, before the convention meets, that there is no possibility that they can carry things with a high hand and turn down the Bryan-Johnson element, and will devote their energies to a compromise as the best thing attainable. It seems most probable to me that "get together" will be the watchword of those fellows, and that what the democratic Democrats will need to do will be to stand out for a candidate and a platform that will mean something.

The Commoner (dem.-Dem.) Sept. 4.—The platform contains inherent evidence of the handiwork of Hon. Tom L. Johnson, the nominee of the convention for governor. It not only puts the party in that State squarely on record in favor of the Kansas City platform, but commits the party to the taxation reform measures which Mr. Johnson has been urging. . . . The McLean element endeavored both to defeat the nomination of Johnson and to make the platform colorless, and in the campaign that element will throw

every possible obstacle in the way of success; but with a platform that is honest, definite and fearless the party can appeal to those honest Republicans who are becoming tired of corporation rule in their own party. If the Democratic party expects to win the confidence and support of earnest men it must show itself earnest. Every reader of The Commoner will bid Godspeed to Johnson and those on the ticket with him.

Nashville (Tenn.) Daily News (Dem.) Sept. 1.—Though the criticism of Tom Johnson and his Ohio victory by the entire Cleveland press is severe, it nevertheless reveals a settled conviction in the minds of observant men in that section that the reorganizers will have to give up the fight. Of course, the little Cleveland toadies in the South had no way of knowing what the Ohio convention indicated until they got expression from the Cleveland judgment seat. But when the news from the East reached this section, the American, the Banner and the rest of the disconsolate reorganizers, though somewhat beated, sagely admitted that the South was against Cleveland, at the same time sadly lamenting that a terrible calamity had befallen the Democratic party. These newspapers, like the Brooklyn Eagle, thought, if they did not say, that "there was a minority of real Democrats who were unable to get the name of their candidate for governor before the convention. It was expected that the reorganizers would raise a howl and try to break the force of the Democratic victory in Ohio, but nothing can stop the onward march of the Democrats.

Springfield Republican (Ind.) Sept. 4 (weekly ed.)—It is apparent from the comment called forth that the Ohio outcome has fallen upon the so-called reorganizers of the Democratic party with crushing effect. There are those among them who have lost all hope and count now only upon the satisfaction of being further revenged upon the radicals in their overwhelming defeat. There are those who still see a possibility of success through the nomination of a candidate inoffensive to the Bryan element on a conservative platform, with promises of future consideration for Bryan himself. But there are left none, apparently, who longer entertain the notion of going ahead regardless of the feelings of Bryan and his faction. . . . The only re-organization that can come to anything must proceed from a genuine acceptance of the general thought in the radical mind and upon its reduction to specific, reasonable, workable and effective demands. It must work through the Bryan and Johnson Democracy for a more intelligible program of reform and change; it can never make anything out of the effort to work over against the Bryan faction for nothing save another chance at the offices.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind.) Sept. 5.—The Republican convention slurred over State matters and spread itself verbosely over national issues. In striking contrast, the Democratic convention dismissed national questions with a brief indorsement of the last national platform of the party—all reference to free silver being omitted—and immediately followed this by an urgent appeal "to consider the transcendent importance of State over national issues at the coming election," as "national policies are not at stake." What the State issues were set forth at length. In the 2,700 words, or thereabouts, of the platform, the national issues are disposed of in about 100 words, the remainder are used in stating and clearly defining exclusively State and local issues. The vital questions of the campaign are declared in the Democratic platform to be "home rule and just taxation" in both "municipal and State affairs" In his speech of acceptance of the nomination for governor, Mr Johnson proclaimed his purpose to make the fight on the principles of "home rule and equita-

ble taxation" The chief battle, as every one in Ohio understands, is for the possession of the legislature, because it is only through the legislature those ends can be attained. The governor of Ohio has no constitutional voice in making laws that will affect either object, favorably or adversely.

IMPERIAL CENSORSHIP.

The Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Aug. 22—It is, perhaps, not startling that the Philippine authorities have undertaken to muzzle the American teachers in the islands. The American people have become quite accustomed to press censorship, tampering with the mails and lese majeste proceedings since they embarked upon the Philippine expedition. They are no longer surprised at Russian measures in their "new possessions." It has come to be accepted as a matter of course that anyone that undertakes to tell the truth about conditions in the islands will be muzzled if he is within reach of the imperial authorities.

PAGAN ATROCITIES.

The Columbus Daily Press (Dem.), Aug. 22—If these things are atrocious in the Balkans almost to bringing on international war, what shall we say of the water cure and rice robberies and kill and burn horrors and other atrocities resorted to to "benevolently assimilate" the Filipinos, to civilize them, Christianize them and Americanize them?

MISCELLANY

FRUITION.

September, must thou with the meteor's fall
 Proclaim sweet summer's eventide and end?
 Spread reverently and lingeringly her pall
 With loltering blossoms, as a faithful friend.
 The glory of the morning hallows still
 The misty land, and though the birds depart,
 The cadent waterfall, the stirring mill,
 The reaper's song re-echo on the heart.
 Nature extends her own enchanted art
 To thy white arms, spring promise to fulfill,
 And from beginnings round the perfect whole.
 O joy of all the year! Earth's harvest-time;
 Thou fair foreshadowing whisper of sublime
 Eternal life—the harvest of the soul.

GERTRUDE COLLES.

THE DEAD WILL.

An English minister, who several times preached at the Dartmoor prison, says that the first time he faced his congregation he saw stamped on each vacant immobile countenance Dartmoor's notorious and awful brand. "Not vice, not despair, nor yet cunning or indifference, but something appallingly worse—decay of volition and death of free will. For five, ten or fifteen years every convict hangs up as it were to rust in disuse his inalienable birthright as a man—his will. No exercise is provided for it; every act he performs—dressing and undressing, eating, waking, making his bed, putting out his light, marching to

the basket-making shop, the farm, or the peat-cutting on the moors—he does at the word of command."—The Churchman.

AN ENCROACHMENT OF IMPERIALISM.

When the Queen was permitted to assume the title of Empress of India, a positive pledge was given that this title, expressive of autocratic rule, should not be assumed in the constitutional dominions. That pledge is now being disregarded. The King, in the constitutional dominions, signs himself "King and Emperor." It is evident that for some time past there has been an assiduous endeavor, by dazzling the people with pageantry and stimulating the worship of royalty in all its forms, to restore the personal power of the court. In the present state of British society, due largely to the ascendancy of vulgar wealth, there is no saying how far this reaction may go. But its ultimate fate is not doubtful. Great unquestionably are the difficulties and perils of democracy; long probably and arduous will be the effort required to make a government of the people a government of patriotism and intelligence, not of faction or a mob. But the world, having once emancipated itself from hereditary rule, is not likely to go back to the middle ages, or even to George III. It may, nevertheless, be seasonable to remind ourselves of the fact that Edward VII., though he may be an Emperor in India, is in a free British colony not an emperor, but a constitutional King.—Goldwin Smith, in the Toronto Sun.

WHY THE KAFFIR WON.

In the gold mines of the Rand, before the great war, there were some 90,000 black men working, and these men were paid the wage of £2 10s. a month. When the war was over the great mine owners of the Rand all agreed that in the future they would only pay these natives £1 10s. a month. Then, too, like the Denaby miners, these ignorant Kaffirs refused to work, and they stayed in their homes. . . . At last the mine-owners of the Rand, the millionaires, the multi-millionaires, submitted. They raised the wages of the black miners to £3 a month, and the black miners, getting all they asked for, poured into work.

So ended the strike of the black miners.

And now, what was the reason the ignorant Kaffir succeeded in maintaining his freedom, while the free-born Englishman has to acknowledge himself a slave?

This it is.

When the Kaffir struck work he returned to his kraal. There he was part owner in the tribal lands. He grew maize and pumpkins to eat, there was milk and beer for him to drink, and a roof to shelter him. He did not starve, for he had access to the land on which he could support himself till he cared to go back to work.

The free-born Englishman, the Denaby miner, had no land of his own to go to. From that on which he lived he was ejected by the owner. He had to work in the mines, on the mine-owners' terms, or starve.

The land of the Kaffirs belongs to all of the Kaffirs.

The land of the English belongs to only a few of the English.

That is why the English miner was beaten in the strike and the Kaffir succeeded.—The Johannesburg Tribune.

POLICY ADVOCATED BY THE ANTI-IMPERIALISTS.

A statement furnished to the Springfield Republican of August 7, by Erving Winslow, secretary New England Anti-Imperialist league.

Perhaps the opinions of the great Republican statesmen at the time when the treaty with Spain was made by Mr. McKinley's administration may be considered to be only of academic interest at the present moment. It is well known that ex-President Harrison, Carl Schurz, Speaker Thomas B. Reed, ex-Gov. George S. Boutwell, John Sherman, George F. Edmunds and many other prominent Republicans stood with all the leading Democrats of the country and with Senator Hoar in opposition to the imperialistic policy (which seems to have had really only one responsible author, President McKinley himself), and especially to the retention of the Philippine islands and to the reversal there of our policy in Cuba.

But at this moment the policy of the administration is condemned, and the declaration to the Filipinos of our intention to give them independence as speedily as possible is advocated by hundreds of thousands of anti-imperialists of all political parties represented by the anti-imperialist league, which is devoted to the carrying out of the following resolution, one of many of a similar sort adopted at public meetings throughout the United States:

Whereas, The Philippine islands belong of right to their inhabitants, and the inhabitants belong to themselves, all treaties and bargains and sales among outside parties to the contrary notwithstanding; therefore,

Resolved, That Congress, at its ap-

proaching session, ought, in the most unambiguous and unqualified terms, to acknowledge this absolute right of the Filipino nation, invite them at once to reorganize their independent republic under our protection and with our friendly help, and thereby put an end forthwith to a wicked war of conquest by which this great American republic is digging its own grave.

The Democratic party, which polled 6,351,008 votes at the last national election against the Republican vote of 7,215,696, and which is girding up its loins for a struggle which may not improbably be successful for the next campaign of 1904, is still committed to the cause of Filipino independence. Its views are expressed in the substitute for the "Philippine bill" adopted by the Republican majority last year, this substitute being supported by the Democratic representation, both in the Senate and the House of Representatives. The preamble to this bill is as follows:

That, subject to the provisions hereinafter set forth, the United States of America hereby relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to the archipelago known as the Philippine islands.

Section 2. That the United States shall continue to occupy and govern said archipelago until the people thereof have established a government in accordance with the provisions of this act, with sufficient guaranties for the performance of our treaty obligations with Spain, and for the safety of those inhabitants who have adhered to the United States, and for the maintenance and protection of all rights which have accrued under the authority thereof, as hereinafter provided.

Four out of nine of the justices of the United States supreme court, the final court of appeal, have ruled as follows:

Congress has no existence and can exercise no authority outside of the constitution. Still less is it true that Congress can deal with new territories, just as other nations have done or may do with their new territories. This nation is under the control of a written constitution, the supreme law of the land and the only source of the powers which our government, or any branch or officer of it, may exert at any time or at any place. Monarchical and despotic governments, unrestrained by written constitutions, may do with newly acquired territories what this government may not do, consistently with our fundamental law. To say otherwise is to concede that Congress may, by action taken outside of the constitution, engraft upon our republican institutions a colonial system such as exists under monarchical governments. Surely such a result was never contemplated by the fathers of the constitution. If that instrument had contained a word suggesting the possibility of a result of that character, it would never have been adopted by the people of the United States. The idea that this country may acquire territories anywhere upon earth, by conquest or treaty, and hold them as mere colonies or provinces—the people inhabiting them to enjoy only such rights as Congress chooses to accord to them—is wholly inconsistent with the spirit and genius as well as with the words of the constitution.

In the near future the composition of the supreme court may not improbably find itself so changed that this decision would be that of the majority of the court, discrediting the usurping status of the present administration in the Philippine islands.

Archbishop John Ireland, one of the most prominent ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic church in the United States, has recently declared: "Abiding appendices cannot be the appanage of a republic." Andrew Carnegie, a representative of the greatest manufacturing interest of the United States, is on record as follows:

All communities, however low they may be in the scale, have the germ of self-government. Without this they could not exist; there could not be communities. No tribe, not even the Afridis, the most warlike of all, but has its governors, orders and degrees. Whether a people are fit for self-government according to our standard is unimportant. They are fit to improve if they are permitted, and in no other way has man improved in this domain than by experience. . . . I submit that we made a grave mistake in not following in the Philippines the American policy which has triumphed in Cuba. . . . Let us hope the American nation is to repeat this sublime act of self-abnegation with the Philippines, and establish under her protection the first republic of the Orient. This accomplished, what a position for the future is ours—the greatest of republics, the mother of other republics. Here lies true glory, which no other nation can attain.

Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell university and of the first Philippine commission, declares that "any decent kind of a government of Filipinos by Filipinos is better than the best possible government of Filipinos by Americans."

Charles A. Towne, official orator at the Democratic celebration of the Fourth of July of this year in New York, speaks for his party in the following testimony addressed to the Republican administration:

In August, 1898, you signed a solemn compact, the peace protocol, by the third article of which you bound yourselves to occupy and hold the city, bay and harbor of Manila until the conclusion of a treaty of peace, which should determine the fate of the Philippines; that treaty was not ratified and did not go into effect until the following April; why, therefore, in early January, before there was any treaty in force, and while your restricted faith, as evidenced by the protocol, restricted you to Manila city, bay and harbor, did you issue a proclamation taking possession by alleged right of conquest of the entire archipelago, and threatening force in case your usurpation should be resisted? Why was war thus declared without the action of Congress, in whom alone the constitution vests the power to declare it? Why did you denounce as traitors millions of people not born under your jurisdiction, and who had never vowed you allegiance? How can the descendants of the American

revolution purchase the bodies, the country, and the allegiance of 10,000,000 of unwilling people for \$20,000,000? If you had already got them by right of conquest, why did you pay \$20,000,000 for them? If you had agreed to buy them, why did you state in your proclamation that you had won them already by the sword? Why did you not treat the Filipinos as you treated the Cubans?

Ah! Americans, these questions cannot be answered consistently with our national character and honor. We must not, indeed, leave them to be asked by future generations. We must set ourselves right while yet there is time. We who have done the wrong must repair it.

These are simply examples of recent formal and representative utterances of organizations and individuals in the United States, such as have been made by persons like ex-President Cleveland, President Eliot, of Harvard university; Bishop Spalding, of Peoria; Bishop Huntington, of Central New York; William J. Bryan, Bishop Hall, of Vermont; Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; Richard Olney, Ernest H. Crosby, Dr. Felix Adler, Bishop Conaty, Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain), Fiske Warren, William D. Howells, Edwin Burritt Smith, Edward M. Shepard, W. Bourke Cockran, Herbert Welsh, Alfred H. Love, Benjamin F. Trueblood, William J. Palmer, Louis R. Ehrich, Henry B. Metcalf, Moorfield Storey, Judson Harmon, Rufus B. Smith, Charles B. Wilby, David Starr Jordan and hundreds of others.

The question of Filipino independence can therefore be discussed by your debaters, not as a theoretical or academic or even a remotely future question, but one in the righteous settlement of which they may hope to take an immediate and active part.

THE TAXATION OF THRIFT.

A portion of an address delivered by C. O'C. Hennessy, of New York, at the annual convention of the U. S. League of Co-operative Building and Loan Associations, held in Boston in June. The meeting was remarkable in respect of the fact that all the great States were represented by delegates, and by the fact that the report of Secretary H. F. Cellarius, of Cincinnati, showed that the co-operative savings and home-building movement is growing rapidly in most of the States; the only decrease of assets worth noting being in the States of Illinois, New York and Missouri. The report showed membership in these associations aggregating 1,530,707, holding assets chiefly consisting of small mortgages upon homes, amounting to \$57,223,014. Mr. Hennessy's argument for untaxed small dwellings created a very active discussion, and it is believed that at the next annual convention of the League it may be possible to get action looking to the taking up of this matter for active consideration by many of the State leagues which are represented in the national organization.

Thrift, as the dictionary defines it,

is frugality, prosperity, success in the acquisition of property. To you, as representatives of a vast organized movement for the promotion of thrift, the word is identical with the object of the associations you represent, which is to practice as well as preach among men, the virtue of the accumulation of savings and the building of homes. That the savings feature of our cooperative societies is in itself a good thing, no one may deny, because

Those save who never saved before,
And saving ones—they save the more.

Most of us will agree, nevertheless, that the accumulation of savings is not the object, but rather the means of co-operative financiering; the end, crown and glory of the system being the creation of small homes.

A government dedicated to the promotion of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, ought to encourage thrift. But strange as it may seem, it is a fact that we have progressed so little toward the concrete realization into law of the principles of liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that nowhere in the United States is there a government which fully offers encouragement to thrift, or guarantees to the citizen the full enjoyment of the rewards of his labor. On the contrary, we find that there is no State of the union which does not impose some fine upon thrift and frugality, some burden upon success in the acquisition of property.

While the theories of taxation that find expression in law are substantially similar in all the States, and while these laws are, generally speaking, unjust and burdensome to the man who would save, and especially to the man who would own a home, nevertheless it is a hopeful sign that many of the legislatures, to the extent, as it seems, of their limited view of the burdens upon thrift, have sought to lift these burdens by relieving savings institutions and their depositors from taxation. Although some States are still so benighted as to encourage thriftlessness by pursuing with taxes every phase and form of savings, an enlightened tendency is exhibited by nearly all the larger States, in the more or less valuable tax exemption favors extended to co-operative building and loan associations and their members.

But while disposed to contend that all personal property taxation is wrong, both in principle and in practice, and that taxes upon deposits in savings banks and building loan associations are especially unjust and unwise, I am not convinced that these

are the most serious burdens that government imposes upon industry and frugality. It is the methods of real estate taxation in the neighborhood of large cities, which, by putting unjust burdens upon home-owners and heavy penalties upon home builders while making home sites artificially scarce and dear, that offer the greatest discouragement to that splendid form of thrift which you are organized to promote. That the present methods of real estate taxation operate, particularly against the man of small means who would own his own home, should be obvious to everybody, and when we reflect upon the evils that arise from it, we ought to be amazed at the perverse stupidity of governments which will persist in a system whose fruits are so poisonous to the growth of national as well as individual character. It would seem that no argument is needed to demonstrate that a wise government, bent upon the moral and material welfare of its citizens could adopt no more profitable policy than that of encouraging the building and owning of small dwellings. Already we find philanthropists organizing societies to consider in the great cities the solution of the question which for years has agitated the civic reformers of England, and which in that country is known as the "housing problem." The housing problem, in brief, is how in great cities the great masses of people may be provided with houses to live in without exposure to the horrible conditions of moral and physical deterioration which are naturally incident to life in filthy, unsanitary and overcrowded tenements. The density of population per acre in the Polish quarter in Chicago is three times that of the most crowded portions of Tokio, Calcutta and other Asiatic cities, and yet Chicago's densest quarters are not as thickly populated as those in New York; and two years ago a pamphlet issued by the Twentieth Century club of Boston declared that the slums of that city were as bad as any to be found in the country. A commission consisting of some of the most respectable citizens in New York, after an exhaustive examination of the problem in that city, declared:

"The tenement districts in New York are places in which thousands of people are living in the smallest space in which it is possible for human beings to exist—crowded together in small, ill-ventilated rooms, in many of which the sunshine never enters, and in most of which fresh air is unknown. They are centers of disease, poverty,

vice and crime, where it is a marvel, not that some children grow up to be thieves, drunkards and prostitutes, but that so many should grow up to be decent and self-respecting. And the most terrible feature of tenement house life is the indiscriminate herding of all kinds of people in close contact; the fact that mingled with the drunken, the dissolute, the improvident, the diseased, dwell the great mass of the respectable workmen of the city with their families."

If the character and perpetuity of the governmental institutions which we cherish and are proud of, are to be determined, as they must be, by the character of the individual American citizen, surely it ought to be among the first concerns of enlightened government for its own preservation to seek to abolish those conditions which in the great cities of the land degrade men, women and children to the level of the brutes. If it may be said that I am enlarging the scope of this discussion and departing from my text by raising the vast, vexed question of the cause of poverty in our cities, I would for this occasion disclaim such an intention, but would, nevertheless, contend that the poverty question and the taxation question are most intimately related and that in the last analysis it will be found that the taxation of thrift is the fruitful cause of most, if not all, of our social ills. To you, who represent the largest number of associated home-builders in the world, I would say that while you should contend strenuously against all forms of taxation that restrain the free growth of cooperative savings and home-building associations, your most persistent efforts should be made in the now neglected direction of lifting tax burdens from the home-owner, and removing from the pathway of the home-seeker the governmental fines and penalties which now discourage him.

In England, where the housing problem in the great cities has reached an acute stage, short-sighted law-makers see no better way of correcting the congestion of the tenements than by building municipal tenement houses which are but as a drop in the bucket of amelioration. And in some American cities, so-called model tenements supplied by private capital, are offered as a remedy. To the man who will look beneath the surface of things these efforts of public and private paternalism must seem not only utterly wrong in principle, but utterly inefficient in practice.

Only a little reflection, it seems to me, is necessary to convince one that in a reform of our taxation systems so as to remove the burdens that bear heavily upon home-owner and home-seeker, is to be found the true solution of the housing problem and the true encouragement of that form of thrift, the practice of which would greatly improve the character of citizenship and greatly diffuse human happiness. Make a thing difficult for men to do, and fewer men will attempt to do it. Tax the village dogs and you will have fewer dogs. Put tax burdens upon the business of home-building and you will have fewer homes. In France, the extraordinary debt caused by a great war made many indirect taxes necessary, and one curious form of taxation there consists in levying tax upon the owners of all buildings for every door and window which the buildings contain. As a result fewer buildings have been constructed, and in buildings constructed to be rented or sold to poor people, as few openings as possible are made. It is certified by a responsible writer that over 200,000 houses in France have not a single window, all the light and air having to enter through the doors.

In this we see an extreme illustration of the destructive power of foolish taxation; and I suppose it is hardly necessary to point out that the way to increase the number of windows in French houses of the future is to modify or abolish the tax upon the construction of windows, just as in America the way to encourage the multiplication of small homes is to modify or abolish the tax upon house construction. If Boston, for example, should adopt the policy of exempting from taxation, to the extent of \$2,000, all dwellings exclusive of land value, what an enormous stimulus this would give to the business of small home building! And supposing that the deficiency in public revenue created by such an exemption was made up by larger taxes upon vacant land in and about Boston suitable for home sites, but now held out of use by speculators who have forestalled the home-seeker, would not that be a new encouragement to thrift, another boon to the home-seeker? For as it is an axiomatic proposition that as you increasingly tax things, you tend increasingly to diminish and finally to destroy them, so it is beyond dispute that if you tax land values which are speculative in their nature (in the sense that they are based upon prospective future demand rather than

present use), you tend by such taxation to diminish and ultimately to destroy the speculative value and leave only the economic value for the present use. Such would be the tendency of increased taxation upon land suitable for home sites in the neighborhood of great cities where the market value of to-day is largely based upon the demand of the future. The certain end of such a system would be that wholesale speculators in home sites, unable to evade taxes, would by competing with other speculators for immediate customers make home sites more plentiful and cheaper than ever before. Is it not obvious that the reform in the methods of real estate taxation which I suggest, would, if adopted, do more for the kind of thrift that you are organized to promote than any other policy that could be adopted by government? With cheaper home sites fairly taxed and partly or wholly untaxed buildings, there would be offered to the earnest home-seeker an incentive that would take tens of thousands of men out of the wicked environment of cheap flats and tenements into the blessed and stimulating atmosphere of independent homes.

I have not, because of the limits that time and propriety have set upon me on this occasion, attempted any elaboration of an idea which is not an entirely new one. My object is to induce thought and discussion here and hereafter among the thoughtful, unselfish and liberty-loving men, who guide the growth of the great cooperative home-building movement in the United States. It is my hope that the enlightenment which shall come from a general discussion of this subject may ultimately lead, in the interest of organized thrift, to an irresistible demand for the adoption of taxation reforms along the lines that I have been able, in a poor way, here to suggest.

THE MANNERS OF AN ANCIENT CIVILIZATION.

The two Sarto sisters, who kept house for the pope at Venice, will come to live near him in a convent in Rome, but not as nuns. He has not spoiled them by worldliness. They kept no servants, hired no *faccino* to bring home what marketing they wanted, never appeared in his patriarchal gondola, and were lauded by their neighbors as simple, pious, charitable women. Another sister is wife of an inn keeper in her native village. One of the pope's two brothers is a carabineer and the other the postmaster of a district in which he served as letter carrier for 20 years.

We should not jump to the conclusion that the pope is vulgar and his family dreadful people. English folk born and reared in such lowly conditions would be. The Anglo-Saxons are the youngest children of European civilization, and have not yet had time and opportunity to throw off the dross of barbarism. Italian civilization has its roots almost in prehistoric times, for history knows little of the Etrurians. Modern Italy has always in various ways kept up a high standard of culture. If her robe in the Renaissance was bloodstained, it was of magnificent brocade, and she valued the sweet virtues of the humble class. Most of the sixteenth century virgins and all those of Raphael are contadine.

France, in point of far-back origin and culture, stands next to Italy, and that is why she can be a republic. These Sarto women are content with the costume their mother wore before them, as Mme. Loubet "mere" is satisfied with the close white *colf* neckerchief, coarse wide apron and plain full skirt of the south of France farmer's wife. The pope's sisters were pointed out to Mr. Chaumie, the minister of public instruction, and his secretary when they went to Venice to be present at the laying of the Campanile foundation stone. These gentlemen saw them sitting at a distance on folding stools in the square of St. Mark, making lace and chatting with other women who might have been *gondollers'* wives. Their brother had been on the far-off platform blessing the foundation stone and surrounded with civic dignitaries and court personages whom the king had sent to represent him.—London Truth.

City Editor—See here, Hurlbut, did you write this interview with Mayor Patmos?

Unsophisticated Reporter—Yes, sir.

City Editor—Why in thunder did you make him talk like that?

Unsophisticated Reporter—I didn't make him talk like that, sir. That's what he said.

City Editor—The deuce it is. And who told you to write what he said? You were told to interview him.

S. O. P.

"Do you know, young man, that this country is on the verge of ruin?" asked the pessimist old party with the shiny sleeves.

"Do I?" replied the bright young man with the notebook. "Well, I guess yes! Why, I'm carrying around a camera all the time to get a *snap* shot at it as it goes over. It will be the greatest scoop ever!"—Indianapolis News.

THE FOREST GREETING.

Good hunting!—aye, good hunting,
Wherever the forests call;
But ever a heart beats hot with fear,
And what of the birds that fall?

Good hunting!—aye, good hunting,
Wherever the north winds blow;
But what of the stag that calls for his
mate?
And what of the wounded doe?

Good hunting!—aye, good hunting,
And ah! we are bold and strong;
But our triumph call through the forest
hall
Is a brother's funeral song.

For we are brothers ever,
Panther and bird and bear;
Man and the weakest that fear his face,
Born to the nest or lair.

Yes, brothers, and who shall judge us?
Hunters and game are we;
But who gave the right for me to smite?
Who boasts when he smiteth me?

Good hunting!—aye, good hunting,
And dim is the forest track;
But the sportsman Death comes striding
on:
Brothers, the way is black.
—Paul Laurence Dunbar, in *The Century*.

"Why is it," asked a curious citizen,
"that in Stockholm a conversation by
telephone costs only a fraction over
a penny, while in New York it costs a
dime?"

"Um—er—well, you see," said the
telephone man, "the language there is
different from ours."—*Brooklyn Eagle*.

"Is the Rev. Mr. McMan orthodox?"
"No; he wears light colored trousers
and he talks politics."

G. T. E.

BOOKS

ONE RESULT OF MODERN CIVILIZATION.

London's slum, that festering sore in England's body public, that crowning proof of the benefits of present economic conditions, has from Dickens down attracted the attention of many a novelist. Dickens described without reasoning, without tendency of any kind, and his audience was not yet alive to the possibility of a meaning behind the description. But the description itself, as a work of pure genius, left haunting memories of horror in the minds of those who read, and paved the way for the work of the writers of to-day, who tell of the London slums with a purpose.

Many books of this kind, some good, others less so, have passed in review these last few years. The most recent addition to the ranks is a novel which makes very little pretense of being a novel so-called, of telling a story, but which tells the story of London's slums with the power of deep sympathy and aroused reason. "The Samaritans," by an English writer, John Alexander Stewart, (Fleming H. Revell & Co., Lon-

don and New York), is the second picture of London's slums its author has given us. But while the first book, "Wine on the Lees," brought but fleeting glimpses of Gehenna, in the present volume the Slum dominates the book. The Slum, the monster that swallows men, women and children, and casts them forth, broken, despairing wrecks, seeking only the Great Silence; the man-made horror, that, like the Frankenstein of the poet's imagination, holds its creator shuddering with fear at the feet of the Thing he has created—this Slum is the subject and the hero of "The Samaritans."

The human figures are but puppets, fighting valorously, but vainly, against the monster's growing strength, or falling helpless and hopeless into the open maw, where so much hope has already gone down in tragedy. The writer leads us down through gradations as easy as those of Dante's Inferno, down to the uttermost hell, where all feeling is lost, all sense of honor and decency gone, all semblance of humanity torn from the beings that dwell there. We watch the downward progress, step by step; we can see the Inevitable, so unavoidable, and yet so unnecessary. For herein lies the strength of the book, that the writer does not in any way believe this horror to be God's work, or God's intention. He recognizes in it the effect of man-made laws, of centuries of legislation for a class, and he touches the rock bottom of Truth when he hints at what must come if the mass of mankind be cut off from access to the soil.

The baneful shadow of the slum landlord hovers over the deeps whence comes the money that enables him to live in brightness. But with rare artistic discretion, and a still greater perception of truth, Mr. Stewart does not for a moment blame even this figure of evil. He shows the slum landlord to be merely a man like other men, taking with greedy hands full measure of what his country's laws allow him, careful ever to keep within the law.

Mr. Stewart's book is a magnificent arraignment of man-made law, and of the results developing logically from the doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity, as understood and practiced by the powers that be in business and politics to-day.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

THE GREAT APOSTACY OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

The Rev. Dr. Thomas Scott Bacon, Buckeystown, Maryland, has published in pamphlet form an essay, or rather a prophecy, of 42 pages, bearing the above title. It is written with sincere and convincing earnestness. Dr. Bacon has been a clergyman half a century, and during these years he has evidently thought deeply on the great problems of humanity. His words are not those of impulsive youth or of one seeking the sensation of idle notoriety.

What he says is the profound conclusion of a long life of thought and observation. This conclusion is in brief that our great apostacy consists in our lack of obedience to the first and great commandment.

J. H. DILLARD.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Mazzini: "The Prophet of the Religion of Humanity." With a Biographical Sketch; Also Mazzini's Oration "To the Young Men of Italy." By Louis J. Rosenberg, author of "Sociological Studies," etc. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

The Labor day edition of the American Federationist is in handsome magazine form, with richly printed covers, and presents a varied list of contributions on Labor Day, among the contributors being John McMackin, John Lennon, T. V. Powderly, Frank K. Foster, George E. McNeil and Henry George, Jr.

The Booklovers' Magazine for September makes a feature of a collection of portraits in tint of "rulers" of American cities. Most of the portraits are very poor likenesses, and all are inferior specimens of art. The article accompanying them, "A Review of Municipal Politics," by Talcott Williams, is strikingly superficial and perfunctory. In "A Gallery of Modern Art," the collection of pictures is up to the excellent results in color printing which this unique magazine has thus far accomplished.

Life's leading editorial of August 27, as so many leading editorials have been during the past fortnight, was about Gen. Miles's snub. "No regret," says Life, "was felt by the administration, and everyone knew it. . . . It is at least debatable whether, under all the circumstances, the course followed was not in better taste." Life and The Public are the only papers, so far seen, that have been inclined to praise the administration for preferring honesty to a convention which in this instance could not well have avoided hypocrisy.

J. H. D.

Bishop Huntington contributes a timely and thoughtful paper to Hammer and Pen for August, on the subject, "Society and Character." He calls attention to what perhaps we may call the increasing pre-eminence of "society" over the individual. "The moment," he says, "a new object or subject strikes two or three people, they must run and talk with each other about it; straightway there must be a new 'society'—the twentieth in the neighborhood—meetings' by all means, and the oftener the better." While he sees a good side to this, he makes the serious comment that the individual cannot thus get away from himself or his accountability.

J. H. D.

There are more kinds of slavery than the genuine article that goes by that name. One kind against which national sentiment is not yet sufficiently aroused is contract labor. An editorial on the subject in The New York Nation of Aug. 27 ought to be widely read. "Behind contract labor proposals," says the Nation, "with all their assurance of an increase of national wealth, there lie boundless greed and the readiness to sacrifice human beings to the desires of a few wealthy men or syndicates." When, for example, Prof. Jenks, of Cornell University, proposes to take contract Chinese laborers to the Philippines, is he thinking most of the Chinese, or of the Philippine natives, or of the exploiters of Philippine lands?

J. H. D.

Mr. H. Foster Bain has a letter in the Chicago Dial of August 16 on "Some Changes in Graduate Studies," going to show that "from being courses primarily designed to stimulate investigation, the graduate courses have become professional." Whether or not the change should be made a matter of protest, the writer leaves open. Of one thing it is an undoubted sign, that social conditions are driving young men more and more to think only of the "bread and butter" side of education. Many, Mr. Bain holds, enter these courses because of being uncertain what

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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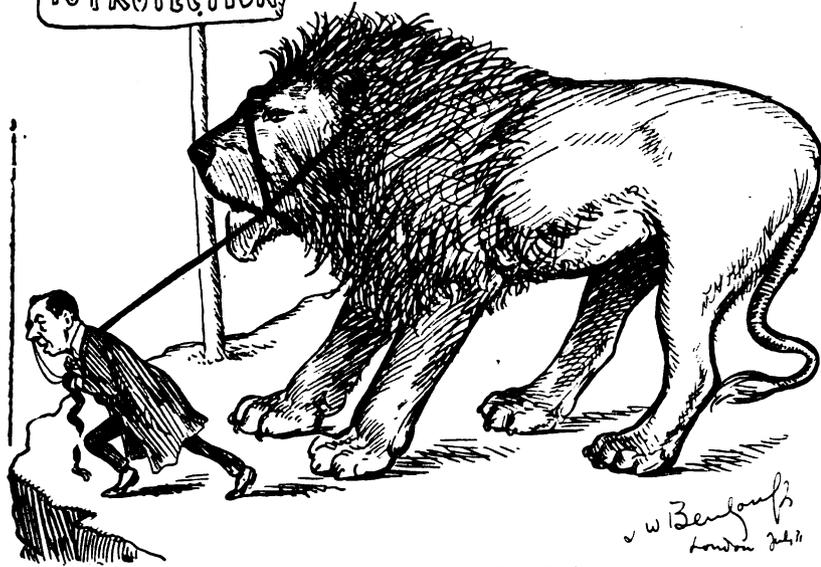
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JOE'S BIG CONTRACT.

to do, and because "college graduates are proverbially, at a loss for an opening upon graduation."
J. H. D.

All honor to the Pullman porters who have started out to abolish tips. Commenting on their effort, the New York Independent of August 27 well says: "The tip is essentially degrading. It is twice curst; it curseth him that gives and him that takes. It gives to the one a feeling of patronage, and to the other a feeling of sycophancy." But even this is not all. The tip, as all know, has become a sly means of enabling employers to keep down wages. This is what the Pullman porters seem at last to have discovered. Other noteworthy articles in this number are "The Enfranchisement of the Negro," by J. W. Hood, D. D., a striking short story by Mrs. L. H. Hammond, and an editorial on "Liberal Socialism."
J. H. D.

Dealing with the question, Are the Republicans sure to elect the next President? Harper's Weekly of August 29 calls attention to some interesting facts. "The Republicans," it says, "do not feel to-day a whit more certain of electing the next President than the Democrats did in 1839; than the Whigs did in 1843; or than the Democrats in 1847." It asserts that Mr. Roosevelt is very much less popular in New York, New Jersey and Connecticut than was McKinley. It shows that Roosevelt has never run well in his home State, pointing to the fact that he was elected governor in 1898 by less than 18,000, whereas McKinley had carried the State two years before by 268,469. It also recalls the fact that when he was candidate for mayor he ran behind both Hewitt and George. The question is also raised whether he will have the enthusiastic support of the Grand Army of the Republic and of many expert wire-pullers in certain close States.
J. H. D.

"Decay of the Consciousness of Sin" is the heading of an article in the Literary Digest of August 22, based upon a chapter from a recent book by Prof. George A. Coe, of Northwestern university. "The sense of sin," says the article, abridging from Prof. Coe, "has declined (1) because it arose from conceptions of human depravity which no longer exist; (2) because it made 'personal salvation' the end of all religion, and appealed to selfish motives; and (3) because the modern tendency is to emphasize not evil, but good, in every sphere of life." This is all very true, and Prof. Coe has done well to state the case. But the present age, in reaction from exaggerated notions of human depravity, and from excessive narrowness of doctrines of salvation, is now in danger of

swinging to the position of minimizing sin. Indeed, as we know, some would go so far as to abolish altogether the idea of sin. It is a most comforting abolition. How delightful it must have been to kings to know that they could do no wrong.
J. H. D.

The Nineteenth Century for August is at hand, and many readers will turn first to the article on "Free Trade and Protection from the Workman's Point of View." Whether the writer, Mr. M. Maltman Barrie, is a workman or not—workmen do not usually part their names that way—he has managed to produce the most painfully reactionary protectionist platform that has been set up lately. Here are the three planks, which, in bare outline, are not unfamiliar to us in America: (a) exclude all foreign labor; (b) exclude all foreign products that we can ourselves produce; and (c) shorten the labor day by law. It must be confessed that, while Mr. Barrie is so wrong-headed in his conclusions, he is more thoroughgoing and honest than American protectionists. He is an uncommonly good writer, and gives much entertaining information, by the way. He calculates that the surplus labor at present in the British market, not entering into the question of the labor of women and children, represents from one to one and a half million full grown men. It is interesting to speculate whether Mr. Barrie ever heard of the fact that the largest portion of the British Isles is not cultivated! Somehow, one feels that he is too good a man to think as he does, if he had any knowledge at all of the teachings of genuine free trade, with all that this implies.
J. H. D.

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