

The aching ages bid you rise,  
Your comrades under other skies  
Have fixed on you their eager eyes.  
Up, men, and do!  
The future ages' destinies  
Depend on you!

The world-old lethargy has fled,  
And Liberty long centuries dead  
For which your sires and grandsires bled,  
Must live again,  
Though Russia's rivers all run red  
To the crimsoned main.  
WALTER V. HOLLOWAY.  
San Francisco.

#### TAINTED GIFTS.

From the "Apostolic Constitutions," of the third or fourth century.

WHOSE OBLATIONS ARE TO BE RECEIVED AND WHOSE NOT TO BE RECEIVED.

Book IV., Lecture 6.

Now the bishop ought to know whose oblations he ought to receive, and whose he ought not. For he is to avoid corrupt dealers, and not to receive their gifts. "For a corrupt dealer shall not be justified from sin" (Ecclesiasticus 26, 29.) . . . He is also to avoid extortioners and such as covet other men's goods, and adulterers; for the sacrifices of such as these are abominable with God. Also those that oppress the widow and overbear the orphan, and fill prisons with the innocent, and abuse their own servants wickedly, I mean with stripes and hunger and hard service, may destroy whole cities; do thou O bishop, avoid such as these and their odious oblations. Thou shalt also refuse rogues, and such lawyers that plead on the side of injustice, and idol makers, and unjust publicans, and those that deceive by false balances and deceitful measures . . . and everyone that is wicked and opposes the will of God. . . . For those that receive from such persons, and thereby support the widows and orphans, shall be obnoxious to the judgment seat of God. . . . For the bread which is distributed to the widows from labor is better, though it be short and little, than that from injustice and false accusation, though it be much and fine.

#### MUNICIPALIZATION NOT SOCIALISM.

"Raymond's" letter from Vienna, in Chicago Tribune of May 26, 1905.

What impresses me so much in Europe in studying municipalization here is that nobody, even among the Socialists themselves, seems to think that public ownership and operation, either or both, can be classed as socialistic. The worthy burgo-master of Vienna wages never

ending war on the Social Democrats, and yet he calls his party the Christian Socialists, and he has been a successful leader of all municipal enterprises.

Everywhere I am told that the old, conservative civilizations of Europe recognize the absolute right, if not the duty of the municipality, to administer all its public utilities for the benefit of the people as a whole. The ones who are most doubtful about the success of municipal ownership in America base their objections on the peculiarity of our political system and not because of any fear of a socialistic taint. Aristocratic and autocratic Vienna, which has seen Marie Antoinette and Maximilian sacrificed, still shudders at the thought of the possible excesses of republican mobs. They have constructed their municipal electoral system for the express purpose of depriving the poorer classes of political power, and yet apparently it has never entered their heads that the municipal manufacture and distribution of electric light was in any way a concession to the masses.

If London, Brussels and Vienna, representing three distinct conservative civilizations, all consistently monarchical, can and do accept municipal ownership as natural, America might as well dismiss the fear of socialism once for all and deal with the subject as it should be dealt with, from the economic and political side alone.

#### GRAFT IN CHINA.

A letter written from Nanking to the Shanghai Mercury of April 26, 1904, by Dr. W. E. Macklin.

Another instance of grafting on a large scale has come to light. The new college Gao Yang or Normal College has collapsed, killing several of the students and wounding others, I hear. The building shows the worst kind of jerry workmanship and the builders should be severely dealt with. It is said that several thousand taels were made by the grafters. Lately several notorious plunderers among the officials have been cashiered and others will follow.

The mint is a great source of graft. If the assayer makes the analysis exact, the officers make the rollers roll thinner stubs. It takes less than two cash in weight to make the new ten cash coinage and this is good graft.

We have a locality like your Foochow Road, and this is a fruitful field for grafters as it is in American cities. It is said that military graduates make greatly out of this business.

A while back our magistrate, since degraded, took a great interest in this

form of robbery and had "heelers" beating up profitable lawsuits from this tenderloin district.

Soldiers oppress the people greatly. As two of us were riding along the main road we saw a little characteristic scene. Two soldiers had hold of a simple minded rustic. We stopped to inquire into the row and found that the soldier had kicked the countryman's donkey and the donkey had returned the salutation with compound interest and the soldier was trying to claim damage for his barked shin. The proceeds of the sale of the donkey's load of farm stuff would no doubt have satisfied the soldier, but seeing that a foreigner was interested in the case the soldiers pulled one another off, while the country fellow ambled away on his ass.

One said: "Pretty soon it won't be safe to take a load of anything to market at all." Certainly a very wise remark.

A proclamation in one place is out, warning soldiers against oppressing the people, buying things at the soldier's price, etc., etc.

This evening an offending woman was pulled on the road by two soldiers. Two soldiers of Chang Chi-tung had a very bad reputation for oppression and buying goods at low prices or no price at all.

Toughs and bullies hunt singly and in packs, levying blackmail on gamblers, small trades, men gambling, swindling, seducing wives and daughters away and selling them for evil purposes till the life of the honest man is a continual dread.

The bulder, that is the official who had the management of the building of the college that crumbled to pieces, has been cashiered and a special messenger sent to call him back to reckon the damages. He got his present very lucrative official position, on account of the merit acquired in building the college. Much merit is gained in this way by officials. He gained his office by this job, but no doubt a great price was paid his superiors. This capital invested in official business will be so much loss to him, as he will not have time to recoup himself by plundering his people of whom he is the "father and mother." It is to be hoped that some of the other college buildings in the city are of better construction. The new university building, for the three provinces have been built by foreign trained Ningpo builders and look to be quite substantial. I had occasion to see the method of doing official masonry. A wall was falling down and

the officials who owned it contracted for \$80 for the wall, but the boss who finally did the work paid out \$20 for labor and perhaps \$10 for material, leaving a very nice little "rice ball" of \$50 for the grafters. This tumbled down college building was managed in this way so that the builder had not really enough money for proper materials. The official put up a nice foreign bungalow, using some of the "remaining bricks."

We have just passed the Tsing Ming or the Chinese Easter period. It is not the commemoration of a resurrection, but of the incarcerated spirits of dead ancestors.

It seems that there are three ranks of "devils" or spirits of the dead in China. Poor devils or "orphan spirits" are "wandering ghosts." They are not wanted on earth and the devil, the great grafter or official of hell, will not take them in. "Those who have starved or frozen to death or have died of the ten evil deaths, drowning, murder, etc., the devil won't receive one of them." They must wait for the charity sacrifices of the late summer to get paper money enough to bribe the gateman of hell, just as in the yamens on earth.

The spirits of the common Chinaman who has children or relations manages to get into limbo, but falls into the hands of the devil's Yamen runners who pound him and put him in the cangue and use other tortures till the filial sons burn paper money enough to fill the "loin pockets" of the lictors.

The higher classes, our "best" citizens have lots of money and as they have got it by graft on earth they know how to use graft below. They do not pave hell with good intentions or good deeds, but with dollars and as they have bribed their way on earth into the august presence of the false eunich Pi Siao Li (Li Lien-yin) or even that of the old Empress Dowager they know how to smooth their way into the presence of Satan. Satan likes their paper money and returns the favor by appointing them expectant gods on earth with large Tse Yan or ancestral temples. Later some of these become gods with full official status.

Shen Wan-san was the Croesus of Nankin. He lived in the Ming dynasty and had a "treasure accumulating platter"—a magic dish that accumulated riches for him. All rich men have such a magic dish. In fact any old dish is such a magic dish if three charms are pasted on it. One is a "red title to land." This charm accumulates one-half of the crop of the poor farmers into the dish. The next is salt licenses. This makes the people

pay 40 cash for 4 cash worth of salt. The last charm is a license to open pawnshops. These accumulate the clothes off the backs of the people after their crops and money are gone. With such a magic dish full of the wherewithal the devil is not so fierce as he is to the poor. In fact he returns the magic dish with his benediction but in another form—an incense pot. When devil hums a charm and the people fear death the incense pot collects money as satisfactorily as did the landlord, salt monopolist or pawnbroker.

The Chinese will never be a free independent or wealthy people till both kinds of magic dish are destroyed. The romances of the Tang dynasty tell of a distinguished receiver of stolen goods from robbers. When he died the emperor appointed him god of agriculture. In this post he still receives in incense as much as formerly in plunder. "From his coffin" the dead official "puts forth a hand, dead yet he wants money."

#### THE GRAFT SITUATION IN PHILADELPHIA.

Lincoln Steffens in the New York World of May 21, 1905.

Every time a mob of American citizens goes to a body of its representatives to ask to be represented we have a spectacle which all Americans all over our country should look at, and look at hard. It shows what is so generally true in this country—that our representative government does not represent us. And it shows why not.

The citizens of Philadelphia who went before their Council to stop the gas deal were impertinent. They had no right to be there; those Councilmen were not their representatives. The citizens of Philadelphia did not elect those Councilmen. The ring elected them and, of course, they represented the ring.

Some two years ago I made a study of Philadelphia politically. It seemed to me then that the city was one of the most significant in the country, because it was the most American. The proportion of citizens born of native American parentage is larger than in any other of our great cities. I had heard foreigners blamed for our political corruption and ignorance, and the newness of our experiment in self-government. The Philadelphians are an old people. They are our people, they are aristocratic; and they are the most corrupted people (I am not talking about the ring now) in this country. The people of Philadelphia are to blame for everything that happens in Philadelphia. That is so,

of course, in every American community, but you can put it up to the Philadelphians more ruthlessly than any other community, because they are intelligent, they are native, they have traditions, and they have pride.

Philadelphia is like China. China is corrupt and contented. China has contempt for outsiders. China has ancestor worship.

This same ring that rules Philadelphia now ruled it when I was there. Everybody knew all about it. It seemed to me everybody knew the plans for this gas deal. At any rate it seemed to me it was common knowledge that there was a plan on, and I heard the details of it.

The common belief in Philadelphia was that the ring meant either to blackmail the United Gas Improvement Company at the expiration of its lease or take away the gas works and give them to another syndicate. And as an excuse the ring meant so to increase the debt of the city that the citizens themselves would see plainly that something had to be done.

Now the principal graft of the Philadelphia ring has long been public works. They have all other kinds of corruption, too, but their chief graft takes the form which Tammany has developed so highly since in New York, of, first, the rake-off on expenditures for public improvements, and, second, like our own Mr. Murphy, the "legitimate" profits of political firms of public contractors. So their plan of increasing the debt covered both their grafting ends—the immediate and the ultimate.

At that time the U. G. I. was against the ring, and I remember I was invited to go for information against the ring to some of the leading men in the U. G. I. I wouldn't go. I am perfectly willing to take information from grafters so long as they know I come as an enemy and mean to treat them as such. But to go to grafters as friends and to take help from them which would put me under obligations always seemed to me to be bad journalism. And I did not call on the U. G. I., for I believed the time would come when every decent newspaper man in this country would want to be free to speak his mind about them.

The U. G. I. might have told me a good deal about that ring. The U. G. I. hated it then—denounced it—leaned to the reform side. Now the U. G. I. is not for reform. It is in the ring.

The ring probably threatened to blackmail the U. G. I. That is the excuse business men give for bribery and corruption. They say that if they don't