

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

pay bribes and don't "stand in" they will have to pay blackmail and be kicked in.

Whatever their excuse is, here they are in the deal with the ring to get an extension for 75 years of their privilege to supply gas to Philadelphia.

Now it does not seem to me to matter what the terms of that deal are; that is Philadelphia's business. The only fact we have to consider, we rank outsiders, is that Philadelphia is against that deal.

I do not mean to say some Philadelphians are not for it. There probably never has been a deal, however corrupt and outrageous, that some Philadelphians have not been for it. The majority of the citizens of the city are for the ring.

But we may be perfectly sure that when Philadelphia, or some Philadelphians, are aroused to a pitch where they will take the trouble to go down to the city hall and see what is going on—when Philadelphia is driven to that pass, we can be sure there is something bad about that deal.

But even if the deal were a good one there still remains this fact, that the U. G. I. company is now one of the sources of corruption of that government. You can't be represented in the Philadelphia ring unless you are a source of corruption.

The government of Philadelphia represents the sources of its corruption.

And it doesn't represent the people of Philadelphia. So I say that when those people went to that City Hall (the monument of their disgrace) they were impertinent.

Why?

Because they haven't performed for some forty years the duties of citizenship.

Their neglect is older than that, and their corruption is older than that. I remember reading a history of Philadelphia by their ring United States Senator, Penrose. He was a scholar, then, and I think he pointed out that when Philadelphia was a little bit of a settlement, with only a few hundred people, the people of his class were grafting. They were governing the city then and there was very little graft—just a few boat landings and ferries down by the river. The aristocratic people had them and they kept them from generation to generation. They were public ferries, but they were private profit.

And from that time down to the old McManes gas ring the citizens of that city neglected the government of that

city, and the rulers of it grafted. And the citizens knew it.

There were periodic protests all through the first half of the last century, and along about war time the common politicians, who had been the agents of the good people, began to say to themselves: "Here, why can't we do this for ourselves? Let us take it away from these best people. It is a good thing; let's have it for ourselves."

That was the beginning of the McManes gas ring.

So, you see, it is a long story of graft, and the modern chapter begins where it is ending now—with gas. The city owned its gas works. It is one of the most celebrated cases in our history to prove that public ownership of public utilities is a failure, for the McManes ring wrecked that gas plant—wrecked the whole service.

But you ask any well-informed Philadelphian to-day who was back of those political wreckers. If he doesn't know, ask one of the old residents. You will learn that there was a gas deal then by which certain capitalists, designing to get control of the gas works, conspired with McManes to demoralize the lighting business of the city, so that the city would demand private ownership. And the citizens of that day knew this also.

When the reform came, the uprising against the McManes ring, the ring was smashed, but the gas scheme was saved. This was business graft and it went through.

And that is how the U. G. I. got hold of Philadelphia gas. It is theirs. They bought it, and they paid for it. And when I was in Philadelphia a couple of years ago, the citizens said that was all right: "We get better gas."

They didn't mind being cheated; they didn't mind the corruption of their government; they didn't mind that their government was not their government.

The Philadelphians have never asked since the revolutionary days, for self-government, nor for representative government. They have asked always only for "good government."

And when I went there they told me they had it; that they had good government from their ring, and therefore the ring was not so bad. Since they had good gas from the U. G. I. and good government from their ring, I can't see what they have to complain about. These two good things have got together and the result should be very good.

Philadelphia is learning what we all

are going to learn some day—that we can't get good government from bad rings; we can't get good government unless we first get representative government. But Philadelphians do not know how to go about making their government represent them. Why, two months ago Philadelphia wanted good government so badly that they went down on their knees and prayed for it, like a lot of Russians. They prayed to be saved from one particular outrageous evil which one branch of their government, the police, were permitting.

And to whom do you suppose they prayed? To the mayor? To the boss? No; they prayed to God. Why didn't they go to the polls and vote?

They had an election about that same time, and the results show that either they did not vote or that the ring voted for them, or that, if they did vote, they voted for the ring. Why?

I think I can tell you why they voted for that ring, and then prayed to Heaven to save them from the evil thereof.

You hear a good deal about the sleepiness of Philadelphia. It is not asleep. Philadelphia is wide awake. But Philadelphians are grafting. Not the ring alone, but Philadelphia, high and low. Take an example: The University of Pennsylvania gets land and appropriations from the State ring, wherefore the head of the University of Pennsylvania refused once to join a reform movement against the local ring. Take another example—the charities. There are fine old charities in Philadelphia, and fine old people direct them. These charities get support or protection or conveniences from the ring, wherefore the fine old people who are running these fine old charities will not fight the ring.

I believe you could analyze the citizenship of Philadelphia and show that a majority of its voters, either themselves or their relatives or their friends or their institutions or their interests are in on the corruption of Philadelphia, or of the State of Pennsylvania, or of the United States. For if they don't get anything else they are profiting by the protective tariff. There is always some form of graft that they do not want to see overthrown. They would willingly put a stop to your graft or my graft or the ring's graft, if they could do it without interfering with their own graft.

No, the trouble with Philadelphia is not sleepiness or apathy. It is the corruption of its people.

They want to stop the gas deal, but they don't want to throw out the ring.

that makes the gas deal. That might weaken the Republican party which protects that tariff graft.

Now, we do not care whether the U. G. I. beats them or not. That won't matter in the long run. What really matters is this: Their government is not their government, and the ring, to which the government belongs, will continue to insult and rob and disgrace those corrupt Philadelphians until they take not their lives, but their grafts in their hands, and vote and vote again and yet again, not for their rotten old party, but for their city; not for the ring, but for themselves; not for good government, but for that which their ancestors fought for—self-government.

And, till they do that, let the rest of us pray that their prayers, whether to Heaven or to the Councilmen, be not answered. For we are interested. They send to Washington to represent the rest of us, men who represent the Philadelphia ring and—the Philadelphia spirit.

Of all tributes to the late Gov. Boutwell, that paid by Col. T. W. Higginson is best: "When conscience bade him he could withstand even friends."—Boston Record.

It is to be hoped that the Japanese, having licked the Russians, will be on their guard against the Christian peril.—The Crown, of Newark, N. J.

## BOOKS

### A PENNSYLVANIAN CONCEPT OF COMPETITION.

It is difficult to understand how W. V. Marshall, in his "Competition" (Berlin, Pa.: Record Publishing Co.) could have reached his conclusion from his premise.

In his opening chapters he makes an excellent development of the principles of competition in their relation to business activities, showing as he proceeds that the economies of business organization have a limit beyond which greater intensity of organization becomes uneconomical and unprofitable. This principle he demonstrates by "facts disclosing such hostility to colossal aggregation of work and workers, as to stand of themselves as a vehement protest against undue concentration."

He is equally happy in his arguments and conclusions relative to the underlying principle of competition. "Competition, free and unhampered," he says, "would so affect all industrial pursuits as to make them yield the same ratio of profit in proportion to the labor, skill and capital employed. . . . With unhampered competition rewards would

be equalized with earnings." Nothing could be better.

Nor has the author arrived at these sound conclusions by accident, as the following comparison of competition and monopoly clearly shows: "Monopoly—and exaction, overproduction, industrial depression, wasteful development, penury, hardship and crime. Competition—and equalizing of profits, a just reward as to earnings, consumption at par with production, continued industry, general progress, universal plenty, happiness and peace." The statement could not be improved.

What, then, is the author's plan for restoring the competitive conditions he enumerates? We are ready to hear him urge unhampered competition. But no. It is more restriction, which really implies more monopoly. He would use taxation—which he describes correctly as an economic regulator—to interfere with freedom of business organization.

Probably Pennsylvania is the only State in the Union out of which could have come the inversion of ideas which is relied upon to support this conclusion. The author, as a true Pennsylvanian, adopts the postulate that the protective tariff saves us from foreign monopoly. He then manufactures the correlative postulate that a graduated tax against organization beyond some point of intensity to be ascertained by experiment would save us from home monopoly. It is on the basis of these two amazing economic postulates that he concludes that unhampered competition can be secured by maintaining the tariff against the coming in of foreign goods to compete with home goods, and adding a business tax, graduated according to value of plant, to prevent trust goods at home from competing with non-trust goods!

It seems to us that the author must either abandon his premise, the equalizing influences of competition, which we believe to be sound, or else his conclusion, the equalizing influence of tariffs in imports and taxes on home plants, which we believe to be unsound. If, as Mr. Marshall says, over-intensity of organization becomes unprofitable under unhampered competition, he needs not to tax this overorganization. To do so is to prevent efficient organization, if you underestimate the point at which unprofitableness begins; and it is supererogatory otherwise. And if, as Mr. Marshall also says, competition free and unhampered would equalize rewards with earnings, it is not restriction upon any one, but general freedom to compete, that is requisite.

The missing thought in Mr Marshall's processes is evidently this, that if government gives special privileges to any business, the privilege should be withdrawn if possible, and if not possible it should be taxed to death. It is not foreign monopoly but home monopoly that ever makes imports prejudicial to home

production; it is not over-organization, it is laws conferring privileges that make home trusts injurious to home industry.

L. F. P.

### THE DEMOCRACY OF RELIGION.

The spirit of Robert Whitaker's "My Country and Other Verse" (San Francisco: The James H. Barry Company) is indicated by the concluding lines of "Loyalty" on page 11:

Yet never nation has grown great and free  
But by the grace of an unfearing few,  
Whose love of country has not dulled their  
sight

To larger love of the eternal right.

They are the verses of an optimist who has hewed his way out of pessimistic moods and knows the difference between optimism and frivolity. What a true story of life, the moral of which is too little appreciated, is told in this one stanza:

It used to cloud the sunshine  
In my most hopeful mood,  
To see the folly of the wise,  
The badness of the good.  
But now when I am bluest  
It almost makes me glad,  
To note the wisdom of the fool,  
The goodness of the bad.

Of modern life, he says—

It isn't what it ought to be,  
Yet I am bound to say,  
Whenever I read history,  
I'm glad I live to-day.

And even if to-morrow  
Be a better day than this,  
And I was born too early  
To enjoy earth's rarest bliss,  
I'll do my best to hasten on  
The age of dream and lay,  
And, when the battle's sorest, sing  
"I'm glad I live to-day."

And that is no fool's song, for the poet knows what it truly means to be willing to live to-day. He tells it in his verses on "Courage:"

'Tis no trifling thing to die  
As one should,  
But to face life's sting and smart  
Day by day,  
And to play the hero's part  
All the way,  
Takes a stronger, braver heart,  
So I say.

"The Scorned Prophet," a series of poems included in the volume, is a noble plea for "that simple, practical, unselfish love toward God and toward man wherein is the substance of the body of Jesus," and which the author declares has been overshadowed in every church by "ritualism, traditionalism and mammonism, which are the essence of the Pharisaism that crucified the Christ." Reverently but vigorously he holds a mirror up to the churches which boldly attack little sinners while shielding big ones:

All wrong that is in disrepute,  
Or draws men from thy fold,  
Essays in vain to make thee mute,  
Or blow thy anger cold.  
But larger ills laugh loud at thee,  
And buy thy proudest pews.

Nor is it alone at the discrimination between sinners that the poet aims his