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Dr. H. J. Woodhouse
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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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Ownership of air is a logical sequence to ownership of land, and a Jerseyman has in a suit against a telephone company asserted his title. Without his consent the company has stretched wires through the air over his land, from poles set in the ground on adjacent lands, and he brings suit, contending that he owns the space all the way up, and that the company is a trespasser in his air!

The criticisms of Mr. Bryan for calling his paper the "Commoner" would be hardly worth while, even if they were well founded. But they become mere exhibitions of spleen when, as in the case of the Philadelphia Ledger, they characterize as "gross," "coarse" and "vulgar" Bryan's reference to the designation of what Lincoln called the plain people as "common people." Common people is not only the more familiar, but it is the older, term for the intelligent masses. The name of the British house of commons is a verbal monument to the respectability of the word commoner.

When opponents of woman suffrage resort to their shopworn arguments, protesting that women are unfit to raise families and to participate in government too, they should be reminded of Queen Victoria. She was a woman. She raised a large family, which has proved to be as good as the average. Yet, according to Lord Roseberry, her fund of knowledge was "unequaled by any constitutional historian," and, "without disparagement of other monarchs, she was the chief of European sovereigns."

In the light of that part of the Taft report from the Philippines in which it is stated that with the exception of "the Moros, who are Moslems, and the wild tribes, who are pagans, the Philippine people belong to the Roman Catholic church," and that "the total number of Catholic souls shown by the church registry in 1898 was 6,559,998"—in the light of that official concession, we should like to know how President McKinley explains his "only one little tribe" theory of Philippine resistance to "benevolent assimilation."

Most sincerely is it to be hoped that Justice Harlan uttered the words attributed by the reporters to his speech at the annual dinner of the Loyal Legion. It is gratifying to believe that he regards the constitution as holding in check all the departments of the federal government, so that no power can be exercised anywhere by that government except under restraint of its letter and spirit. But greater gratification still is afforded by his reinvigorating declaration of the rights of man. As quoted, his words were:

This government is founded upon the rights of man—upon the theory that a man has rights as a man—and if we enter upon the world-power business with any other theory in mind we shall enter it for evil and not for good.

That sentiment, so admirably expressed, is a touchstone by which Lincoln republicans may be distinguished from McKinley republicans.

Gov. Nash, of Ohio, who could not see his way clear to protecting Dowieite missionaries from the fury of Mansfield mobs because the sheriff made no complaint to him, has found a way, it is reported, of interfering with a prize fight at Cincinnati. We have no more sympathy with Dowieite agitation than we have with prize

fighting; but believing as we do that the persistent suppression of free speech is more dangerously immoral than the toleration of a prize fight, we cannot quite shake off the conviction that Gov. Nash is one of those officials who compound for winking at crimes they are inclined to by suppressing those they have no mind to.

Writhing under the deserved lashings of the independent press of Pennsylvania—and there are independent and honest papers in that state, prominent among them being the Philadelphia North American and the Johnstown Democrat—the corrupt political machine is trying to secure the passage of two extraordinary libel bills. One of them would repeal the law prohibiting the recovery of damages for libel when the accusation complained of is a proper public statement and true. So it seems it is not false libels that the Pennsylvania ring would suppress, but the truth. The other bill would require the submission before publication of all possibly libelous matter to the person involved. Such a bill can have no other purpose than to enable public rascals to try and head off exposures with hush money.

With the recent acquisition of the Southern Pacific railroad, a little group of some half dozen men come into control of all the great highway systems of the United States. They not only own the railways of the country, but they absolutely control the entrance ways into all our large cities. Without the consent of these men, no one can make railway connections with New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, San Francisco, Portland, the cities of Puget Sound, Galveston, St. Paul, Minneapolis or Omaha, to say nothing of other important points. Controlling the ter-

minal facilities, they control the cities, and are thereby masters of the country. To regard this situation, as some newspapers and public men do, as being good or bad according to the manner in which the terminal owners may manage the property, whether for the better accommodation of the public or not, is sheer fatuity. The real question is not what use these potentates may make of their unprecedented privileges, but what use they can make of them. These men, with the privileges they possess, are stronger than an absolute monarch. And their power is not dissimilar. They are not business men uniting their business interests. They are owners of sovereign power, of governmental power, of power which originates not in business but in law. The cars, rails, station houses and other railway equipment—which belong to them as business assets—are trifles in comparison with their rights of way and terminal rights, which belong to them as creations of sovereignty. Indeed, the time is coming when they will retain no interest in rolling stock, but will lease to business men the business privilege of running trains, while they themselves retire upon the landlord's function of collecting rents for rights of way and terminals. It is evident now that the highways of the country will soon be directed by one master mind whose power, greater than that of any other man on earth, will control ballot box and cartridge belt as well as rail and tie, unless—and only this can prevent it—the people themselves resume the ownership of their highways and terminals. Such a man, holding the livelihood of all railway employes in the hollow of his hand, would be a spoilsman infinitely more dangerous than the worst boss that political spoils could possibly develop.

The celebration of Marshall day was in reality a tribute to the triumph of federalism—the triumph, that is, of Hamilton's policy of empire in contradistinction to Jefferson's policy of self-government. It was not so much

Marshall's greatness, and he was indeed a great man—so was Napoleon, so was William the Conqueror, so was Alexander,—that his eulogists praised, as his use of his powers in changing the constitution from a federal compact into an imperial charter. To read the speeches of the day is to realize that Hamilton's programme has revived in the American mind; or, at least, that the orators of the day thought it had. Even democrats, or men who so label themselves, applauded federalism in Marshall's name; while republicans, who once had learned from Abraham Lincoln to respect the name and principles of Jefferson, were swift to take advantage of the opportunity to belittle his name and to sneer at his principles.

Our corporate masters are becoming as reckless as cynical when they feel secure enough in their places of plutocratic power to do what Thomas W. Lawson, of Boston, one of the Standard Oil crew of pirates, but better known as the "copper king"—for having, in connection with Rockefeller, organized the copper trust—has done. Apropos of a gas investigation proposed by Representative McPherson, of the Massachusetts legislature, Mr. Lawson has issued an astounding address. He cynically advises Representative McPherson that—

the Massachusetts legislature, the present one or that of any of the four or five years past, is, or has been, as absolutely at the command of those who control it as those of either New York, Montana or Pennsylvania.

That—

when it is settled, as it is this session, that there shall be no investigation of gas corporations, or any other corporation affairs, there will be none.

That—

Mr. McPherson or other legislators of this kind may rant and fume, but they must, I repeat, take the medicine prepared by those who control legislatures.

And he asks Mr. McPherson if he knows that—

a certain enterprise paid \$30,000 to

simply shunt his investigating order from his committee to the one on rules.

That—

in the last day or two of the last session of the legislature it cost some one over \$100,000 to see that the work of his committee came to naught, and that in the one before that it cost over \$150,000 to see that the committee's work did not become real soul-stirring.

That—

if a real investigation was held by simple men like himself it would be demonstrated that this one enterprise has spent over \$2,000,000 to see that the Massachusetts legislature was properly educated as to its duties, and that on its books would be found a single item of \$1,000,000 paid for that laudable purpose.

Finally Mr. Lawson assures Mr. McPherson that it is a waste of time for him to try to get real gas investigations this year, for he cannot have any—

because it has been so decreed by those who have more to do with legislation than legislators.

The farcical character of personal property taxation is further exposed by the comptroller of the state of New York, who in his report to the present legislature shows that the proportion of state revenues from personal property taxation has fallen from 22 per cent. in 1870 to 11 per cent. in 1900. If the truth were known, this dwindling personal property tax comes almost wholly from widows and orphans and men of moderate means. The rich escape with comparatively light payments. It is because they escape that the proportion of revenues from personal property taxes diminishes. And that is the experience of the centuries. Personal property taxes cannot be fairly collected. Yet we struggle on, experimenting with more and more drastic and less and less effective measures, trying to make personal property values bear public burdens that ought to rest wholly upon other kinds of property. The values of monopolies such as railroad rights of way, and the values of especially desirable land—kinds of property that now contribute but little toward maintaining the institutions which

give them their extraordinary values—should in justice bear all taxation.

The theory of the organizers of the Jefferson-Jackson-Lincoln banquet, or symposium, to come off at Columbus, O., on the 12th, Lincoln's birthday, is that the democratic democrats of the country ought to do something democratic, and to do it in such a way as to give assurance that they are in earnest about it. This is a true note for the new democratic movement. Let the people clearly understand that the Buchanan democracy is a disagreeable thing of the past, and that Lincoln, as well as Jackson and Jefferson, is accepted as a genuine type of democracy, and a new era in politics will open. In competition with the Jefferson-Jackson-Lincoln celebration of Lincoln's birthday, the Hanna republicans are to celebrate it in like manner at the same place. It will be interesting to know what these degenerates can say of Lincoln. It is certain that they will quote from him only cautiously and meagerly. What representative republican orator with the slightest sense of humor would have the temerity to remind his party, in these days when it stands for "benevolent" government instead of self-government, that Lincoln believed in "government of the people, by the people, and for the people"?

Tammany turns loose upon the New York legislature another democrat of the degenerate species in the person of Wauhope Lynn, who has introduced a bill to compel the printing of newspapers in type of a specified size. He proposes this bill as a health law for the protection of the eyesight of readers. Mr. Lynn would probably resent being called a socialist; but in the narrowest meaning of the term, even as interpreted by its enemies, socialism proposes no more impertinent interference with private affairs. The theory that such a law comes within the scope of health regulations is absurd. These regulations are justified only as measures for the protection of the public

health; that is, for protection of the public against aggressively unhealthful actions of individuals; in other words, as laws against nuisances. No legitimate principle of health legislation can justify a law for the protection merely of one's eyesight against the effects of his own free actions. When legislatures get down to the work of prescribing the type in which papers and books may be printed, doing so in the interest of the eyesight of readers, they are perilously near to prescribing the words that may be printed, doing so in the interest, of course, of "good" morals, "good" religion and "good" politics.

Mrs. Hobart, widow of the late vice president, is credited with trying to benefit the mill girls of Paterson by receiving them at her home. Doubtless Mrs. Hobart does this in all charitableness. But there's the rub; it is charitableness, and charitableness though kind is neither motherly nor sisterly. Mrs. Hobart must realize that it is only charity. The association she invites is not an association of equality; it is an association which a social superior condescendingly permits social inferiors to enjoy for the purpose of doing them good and regulating their lives. The girls themselves know that it is only charity—only generous condescension. All of them realize and some of them say that these visits of impoverished slaves of the mill to homes where wealth waits upon leisure and underpaid labor upon both only make the poor feel their poverty doubly.

Said one of these charity visitors to Mrs. Hobart's home: "In one corner was a vase that would keep the family of a working girl for a whole year." Commenting upon that very human observation the Boston Herald, with less than human sagacity, exclaims: "Poor Susie! She couldn't figure it out how this very vase, in its day, had probably supported some other poor family." But she would be a marvel if she could figure it out, for it isn't

true. It is no more true that the leisure classes of our capitalistic regime support the workers who make their luxuries than it was true half a century ago that the luxuries of idle slave owners supported their drudging slaves. It is work, and work alone—not the work of grabbing privileges, but the work of making goods—that supports human life.

Not long ago the redemption of greenbacks at the treasury with gold started what was then called an "endless chain." Since the redeemed greenbacks were again put into circulation in exchange for other things than gold, and were then gathered up and again presented for redemption, and so on, the gold reserve was reduced below the "safety point" and the government was threatened with inability to redeem greenbacks with gold. What followed is well known. A cry arose from the banking interests demanding that the government go out of the banking business, and accordingly the government did go out of the banking business by a method which admitted banks into the governing business. That "endless chain" episode passed, preparations are making now for one very like it. In the lower house of congress the banking committee has introduced a bill which provides for the redemption of silver dollars in gold. Should this bill be enacted, it requires neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet to foresee the possibilities of another gold crisis, followed by issues of interest bearing bonds put out for the purchase of gold for the redemption of silver. And that is the aim and object of the whole matter. Since banks have got into the governing business, treasury financing consists in building up and maintaining a permanent interest-bearing debt.

The voluntary dissolution of the historic communistic village of Zoar, near Canal Dover, in Ohio, lends further confirmation to the rational theory that the common use of things, as distinguished from private propri-

etary or possessory rights, whether of land or products, is not a satisfactory system. With reference to land, the principle of private possession is manifestly superior to that of communal use, as is private ownership with reference to the products of land.

More prosperity news for workingmen comes from the Mahoning valley in Ohio, where a reduction of ten cents a day in the wages of fillers and helpers at the blast furnaces has been accepted.

But there is a silver lining even to the cloud of McKinley prosperity, and the Standard Oil trust has a mortgage on it. That flourishing combination of land pirates has just declared another prosperity dividend. This dividend is a quarterly of 20 per cent. In November there was a ten per cent. dividend; in July one of ten per cent. and in April one of ten per cent. So the stock of the Standard Oil trust has paid in dividends just half its face value in one year. Who said "poverty"?

A full account of the action of the New York chamber of commerce on the local option measure in taxation which it indorses, including the explanatory speech of George T. Seward, the chairman of the committee which made the report, appears in the February 2 issue of that able economic journal, Public Policy, of Chicago.

Protests are made in New York against the reappointment of Wilbur F. Wakeman as appraiser of the port. He appears to have been too undisguisedly devoted to the principle of protection. One of the protests accuses him of having acted upon the theory that the importation of merchandise is a crime. If Mr. Wakeman did act upon that theory he merely put in practice what protectionism essentially affirms. If importation is not a crime, protectionism has no justification; for its sole

object is to obstruct importation, and if importation is an innocent thing, why obstruct it? All hail Mr. Wilbur, hail! You are a protectionist with the courage of your theory.

President Hadley, of Yale, has been lecturing at Princeton university on government by public opinion. If fairly reported, his idea of what kind of opinion goes to make public opinion is unique. He thinks, for instance, that the objections of people who oppose trusts merely because they do not own interests in them, are no part of public opinion. We suppose he means by this that the aggregate of selfish opinions does not constitute public opinion, but only the aggregate of unselfish opinions. Had Mr. Hadley been preaching a sermon upon the spiritual qualities of public opinion, his distinction would commend itself. But as he was speaking of public opinion as a mode of government, the distinction can hardly be held to exist unless there is no social force in the aggregate of opinions that are prompted by self interest. Can that be true? It would not be asserted of such selfish opinions as make for wickedness. Monopoly is prompted altogether by the force of selfish opinions. Why then is it said of such selfish opinions as make for righteousness? Though it is true that holders of these opinions, like Mazzini's Italian reformer who found nothing requiring reform after a philanthropist had given him a new pair of boots, may reverse themselves; yet their opinions in the direction of righteousness must count for something in the aggregate while they last.

At the conclusion of Mr. Towne's notable speech in the senate on the Philippine question he received many congratulations. Chauncey Depew said: "I congratulate you, Mr. Towne. Your delivery was fine, your diction elegant, your peroration superb and your argument damnable." "Mr. Depew," replied Senator Towne, instantly, "I am delighted to know you approve of the only features of it you could comprehend."—Chicago Chronicle.

THE STREET CAR QUESTION IN OHIO.

Universal as is the agitation of the street car question, it may be said at present to center in the state of Ohio. In the capital city of that state, Columbus, the street car monopolists are passing through an experience with which they are wholly unfamiliar. They are in conflict with a street car magnate whose knowledge, energy and skill are turned against monopoly with an unrelenting determination to destroy it root and branch. In the first skirmish they have been forced to yield something which, until his advent, they protested they could not afford to yield. And the end is not yet. This Columbus case possesses instructive elements of general interest.

The street car monopoly of that city owns a collection of miscellaneous street car franchises. Some of them have four, eight and twelve years yet to run, under the fixed terms of the grants. The other grants are without fixed terms, and as to them the monopolists claim that they are perpetual. On the other hand it is more rationally urged that they are mere licenses, revocable at will; and the city, acting upon this theory, has taken the necessary steps to revoke most of them. Measured by earning power, the franchises so revoked comprise from 50 to 75 per cent. of all the street car franchises of the city.

Such being the condition of the franchises, the mayor, who, to put it mildly, is partial to the monopolists, has promoted an ordinance, evidently prepared by the monopolists, for a blanket franchise for a term of twenty-five years. This ordinance has just passed the council, though with important amendments. The ordinance originally went no further in the interest of the city than to provide for five cent cash fares with transfers and six tickets for a quarter without transfers. Subsequently the monopolists offered to sell seven tickets for a quarter with transfers; and they have ended by lobbying the ordinance through with an amendment giving the city still better terms. But that was not until Tom L. Johnson and ex-Attorney General Frank S. Monett appeared upon the scene with an offer which stunned the monopolists and drew from Mayor Jones, of Toledo,

the following characteristic telegram to Mr. Johnson:

Toledo, O., Jan. 26.

Tom L. Johnson, Cleveland, O.: Bully for you. Your proposition to Columbus is one of the epoch-making manifestations of the twentieth century patriotism that will find expression in methods of loving service to the people, rather than in teaching them to be soldiers to kill each other. You have proven that that despised capitalist has a high and holy mission to perform in bringing the world to a right social and political system.

SAMUEL M. JONES.

(Non-partisan believer in all the people.)

The proposition to Columbus, referred to in Mayor Jones's telegram, grew out of a speech which Mr. Johnson made before the Columbus council on the 25th of January. He had been invited by the citizens' Committee of Twenty-five, and by 16 of the 19 councilmen, to address the council in committee of the whole on the street car subject. His national reputation as an expert in street car service, together with the fact that in that business he has made himself a millionaire, was the reason for this invitation, which was suggested by the Press-Post, the only Columbus paper that has stood faithfully by the people in this street car contest. Mr. Johnson responded, and at the meeting of the Columbus council on the 25th he ridiculed the absurd pretensions of the monopolists to the perpetuity of their franchises, and made an argument in favor of straight fares and universal franchises, advocating as the price of fares not five cents, but three.

On the following day, at the solicitation of Mr. Monett, he clinched his argument with a formal and specific offer, in which Mr. Monett, who resides in Columbus, joined him. The offer is in substance in these terms:

We will accept a franchise for the acquisition, equipment, maintenance and operation of an electric street railway upon all the terms and conditions of the ordinance now before the council, except that the rate of fare shall be three cents cash, and that the ordinance shall provide for universal transfers without additional charge for one continuous ride. The duration of the franchise is to be not less than ten years nor more than 25. As a condition precedent we agree to purchase from the present owners all

their equipment at a fair cash value, to be fixed either by agreement or arbitration. We also agree to pay the value of their unexpired franchises, such value to be fixed by agreement or arbitration. If the present owners refuse to sell, we will accept the proposed franchise nevertheless; and if through such refusal it becomes necessary to build new roads, we will bid to carry passengers for a single fare of three cents, with universal free transfers for the full period of 24 hours each day, upon the terms of the pending ordinance or other terms not less favorable to the city, and also to procure the necessary consents of abutting property owners, such consents to inure to the person or company that shall offer to carry passengers for the lowest rate of fare. We further bind ourselves to enter into a bond, with satisfactory sureties, in any sum required for the faithful carrying out of the provisions of this offer.

Prior to the foregoing offer the street car monopolists were confident of 10 out of the 19 votes in the council, and intended unceremoniously to railroad the ordinance through at that time. But this offer called a halt. It could not be ignored. Johnson's record as a practical street railroad man, his positive assurances that his offer was not at all an eleemosynary one but would return ample profit on the legitimate investment, his great wealth, which enables him to give abundant security, to say nothing of the fact that the offer proposed to protect the present owners from every possible loss except future monopoly profits, all contributed to make the majority in the council pause. The subject was consequently and reluctantly postponed until the 4th.

Meanwhile Johnson and Monett added still further to the liberality of their offer. At a large public meeting on the 1st, they announced the submission of a supplementary offer, in substance as follows:

In addition to and as part of our former offer, we agree that—

I. All our books, vouchers, papers and contracts in any way pertaining to the construction, maintenance or operation of the road shall be open to the inspection of city officers. We will also publish quarterly for free distribution full financial reports, showing the number of passengers carried, the number of transfers issued, the total receipts from all sources, the total expenses of all

kinds, the profits, the amounts paid in interest, dividends and on account of debt, and for extension, betterments and additions, together with the disposition of profits and the rate of wages in the different grades and the salaries of principal officers.

II. The city may reserve the right to reduce fares from time to time below three cents, provided it does not thereby interfere with payment of necessary expenses, inclusive of six per cent. on actual cost of plant, and with the maintenance of a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish during the life of the grant any bonded indebtedness created to pay for actual cost of plant.

III. The city may also reserve the option to purchase the road at any time, by paying so much of the cost thereof as may at the time of purchase remain after deducting the sinking fund; the city not to be required in such purchase to pay for any betterments, additions or extensions theretofore paid for out of the surplus earnings.

IV. If the city shall not have purchased the road by the last year of the grant, it shall make it a condition precedent to a new grant that the new grantee shall purchase the plant at a fair value to be ascertained either by agreement or arbitration.

V. Provides for settlement of labor disputes by arbitration.

Nor did the Monett-Johnson proposition stop even there. A question having been raised as to rates of wages, the editor of the Columbus Press-Post, which, assisted by Prof. Edward W. Bemis, the well-known franchise expert, has been making complete and able expositions of the franchise question, telegraphed on the 2d to Mr. Johnson to know if he would agree to pay 20 cents an hour to employes. Mr. Johnson replied on the same day:

Twenty cents an hour in Columbus seems to me the right pay to secure good men for the places. I don't think wages should be included in an ordinance, but there is no objection to providing the number of hours constituting a day's work. The arbitration clause really covers this entire subject.

At the mass meeting of the 1st, at which the supplementary proposal of Monett and Johnson was first made public, Mr. Johnson explained his position very fully. He said that the proposal expressed his faith that "money can be made by three-cent fares with transfers," and his belief that he could finance the transaction at 6 per cent., and perhaps less. He was not a philanthropist in this mat-

ter, he continued, and did not go into it as a matter of charity. "I believe," he added, "that more can be done by simple justice than by all the charity in the world," a sentiment which, to the credit of the people of Columbus be it said, was received with enthusiastic applause.

In the course of this speech Mr. Johnson made it clear that he intends to fight the matter to the end. Referring to the well-grounded suspicions of corruption in the council, he said:

I don't care if they get every one of the 19 councilmen to vote for the blanket franchise, the street car company can never control your streets on their seven-for-a-quarter basis as long as there is a law in the land. I came in here at the request of your Committee of Twenty-five and I am not going to desert them until the battle has been fought to the last ditch. If your council should pass this ordinance in the face of the offer which I have made and which is infinitely better for the city, I will carry it into the courts and will appeal and appeal until there is some court which finds justice and law coincident and declares against its validity.

Mr. Johnson's challenge to fight the matter to the last has been accepted. When the Columbus council met on the 4th it adopted the monopoly ordinance. Before doing so, however, it amended it so as to require, in addition to the provision for straight fares at five cents with universal transfers, that seven tickets with universal transfers shall be sold for a quarter until the gross receipts reach \$1,750,000, and that thereafter the price of tickets shall be eight for a quarter with universal transfers.

That an extension ordinance, even with these concessions (and eight tickets for a quarter comes pretty near to three cents a ride), should have been passed hurriedly, toward the end of the term of the present city administration, when the time grants still have four years and upward to run and the companies claim that all the others are perpetual, and in the face of the bona fide and financially well-backed proposal of Monett and Johnson, is circumstantial evidence of a very convincing quality that some sort of corrupt understanding must exist between the monopolists and the city administration. The Press-Post

directly charges corruption. And in support of that charge it produces a cipher telegram from the mayor, which indicates, when translated, that the city administration is under a corrupt contract with the street car monopoly, part of the obligation of the latter being to support the former at municipal elections with the votes of its employes. It is to be hoped that Johnson will make good the threat of his Columbus speech to carry the Columbus street car question into the courts. If any tenable legal basis exists he is certainly a man who may be depended upon to do it. According to the Press-Post, acceptance of his proposal would save to the people of Columbus, as compared with extending the monopoly franchises, some \$15,000,000.

Cleveland is another Ohio city in which a radical street car franchise fight has begun. It is certain to be the issue in the spring campaign for mayor. Although the street car franchises of Cleveland have yet several years to run, the monopolists are stealthily but industriously trying to secure immediate extensions on the basis of a five-cent fare. This is Johnson's home city, and here, too, he has raised the issue of three-cent fares. He has not made a proposition to Cleveland like that which he and Monett made to Columbus, but he has convinced the Cleveland public that street car service at a three-cent fare can be furnished profitably.

This has brought about a result that cannot be wholly welcome to him. An immense popular petition urging him to run for mayor on the franchise issue has been rolled up in Cleveland, which forces upon him the alternative of asking the nomination or of seeming to shrink from one of the first consequences of his own agitation. Such an alternative could not be at all welcome as a personal matter. Whatever his political ambitions may be, they could hardly be satisfied or promoted by a term as mayor of Cleveland. But the possibilities that a campaign for the Cleveland mayoralty upon such an issue, whether politically successful or not, would afford to advance the public interests to which Johnson has devoted himself, may well tempt him

into the contest. He could not utilize his energies to better public advantage. We repeat with emphasis what we said of Johnson in this connection two weeks ago:

If the street car ring doesn't want him to be mayor, and evidently its feelings that way are very strong, the people of Cleveland could hardly do better than elect him whether he wishes to be elected or not. With a term in the mayor's chair and a council that would cooperate, Tom L. Johnson would come nearer than any other mayor to settling the street car question in Cleveland in favor of the people. He would also promote in other desirable ways that rational radicalism which is the only true and safe conservatism.

In response to the petitions for his candidacy Johnson has now decided to make the mayoralty contest. Under the primary laws in force in Cleveland, candidates are obliged to declare themselves, and Johnson has accordingly announced his name for the action of the democracy of his city. In his letter, given out on the 6th, he makes a definite declaration in favor of the principles of Henry George as the sound basis of government, municipal as well as state and national, and urges specifically the policy of municipal ownership of street railway and other public utilities.

It is unusual for men of wealth to dedicate themselves to the work of securing justice. Most of them are ready enough to contribute money for charity. But as regards justice, they are like the Irish convict—it is the one thing they wish to avoid. Tom L. Johnson is the only prominent man among them who looks upon charity as a makeshift, and justice as the only solution of economic evils. What he said on that subject in his Columbus speech was not a new thought with him.

Years ago he became a disciple of Henry George, and no more intelligent and devoted disciple has the genius of that preacher of social righteousness brought to the cause for which his name is a world-wide synonym. Three years or more ago Johnson publicly announced his intention of giving himself wholly to the propagation of George's doctrines

of justice. During most of the time since then old business connections and complications have obstructed his purpose. But with his recent withdrawal from the Detroit street car system, he became free of business entanglements for the first time since boyhood. It was soon after this that in a speech he renewed the declaration of his genuinely patriotic purpose, coupling with it a statement of his withdrawal from business.

The speech was not widely published, but it came to the attention of William J. Bryan, whose interest in it drew out from Mr. Johnson a declaration which is not only authoritative in origin, but deliberate in expression. This telegraphic correspondence, brief as it is, explains fully the activity of Mr. Johnson in connection with street railroad issues in Ohio.

Mr. Bryan telegraphed as follows:

Lincoln, Neb., Jan. 29.—Hon Tom L. Johnson: Is it true, as reported, that you have closed out your business and intend to devote the remainder of your life to social and political reforms?

W. J. BRYAN.

Mr. Johnson replied:

Cleveland, O., Jan. 30.—Hon. William Jennings Bryan: It is true that I have retired permanently from business and intend to devote all of my time and energies to social and political questions, primarily in defense of the principle of equal and exact justice to all, special privileges to none.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

Pursuant to this purpose, Johnson is making the street railroad fight in Columbus and Cleveland. He has thus already vitalized an issue in Ohio which means death to street franchise monopoly everywhere. The monopolists and their corrupt defenders in city councils cannot long stand up against such unveiled tactics along purely business lines as Johnson has met them with in Columbus. Whether they win there or not in this particular fight, their business secret is now out. Through a street railroad manager of large and varied experience and ample fortune, who is willing to back his judgment with his money, it is now made certain that three-cent fares in the street

car business will yield a profit on short term franchises.

No one understands better than Johnson must that street car reforms will not yield any permanent benefit to the people as a whole. As a student of Henry George's economic philosophy, he knows that the pecuniary benefits of low fares will be reaped not by the patrons of street car systems, but by the owners of land so located as to be served by those systems. What the patrons save in fares they will pay in rents. But those reforms are a step in the direction of a reform more radical and lasting. The street franchise monopoly, since it now concentrates public attention, must be overthrown before the people can clearly see that there is another monopoly which absorbs every surplus. Toward that reform Johnson's face is turned in his crusade against special privilege and for equal rights.

His career in this expedition of a retired monopolist against monopoly will be watched with more than common interest. He will, of course, be regarded suspiciously as an Egyptian taskmaster planning novel ways of imposing further burdens upon weary bondsmen. He will be suspected by those who suffer, and he will be misrepresented to them by the newspapers and politicians of those who make them suffer. And truly it is unique enough to be suspicious, for a retired monopolist to lead a crusade against monopoly. Yet he who in old times led the children of Israel out of Egyptian bondage came out of the palace of the Pharaohs. And after all, the question that Johnson raises is at bottom one of method. Only the light-minded will be influenced by the slings and flings of franchise monopolists and their hirelings. The real point is not what they think of Johnson, but what it is that Johnson proposes. This is the point from which the monopoly press of Ohio is trying to divert public attention. But it is the point that should decide, and which must be grasped and never let go of. To read his Columbus proposal is to realize that what he proposes is, without being monopolistic, utterly destructive to street car monopoly.

NEWS

The Queen Victoria funeral ceremonies began at Cowes, Isle of Wight, at 1:35 in the afternoon of the 1st. Notwithstanding the well-known repugnance of the queen to war, these ceremonies consisted almost entirely of naval and military displays. Hidden completely from view with splendid royal standards, topped with crimson cushions supporting her jeweled crown and sceptre, and draped with her coronation robes, the bier bearing the queen's body was carried out of Osborne house and lifted by men-of-war men upon a khaki covered gun carriage. Six beautiful bays drew this improvised military hearse through the gates of Osborne house grounds and between lines of soldiers to the pier, muffled drums beating Chopin's funeral march as it passed. The procession was led by a company of Highland pipers with pibrochs, and following the body were the queen's own company of grenadier guards and the royal mourners. At the pier a squad of naval sailors lifted the draped coffin from the gun carriage to the funeral yacht Alberta, which at once steamed slowly across the strait to Portsmouth, between a double line of ships of war which marked its progress by firing minute guns. The Alberta was preceded by eight ugly-looking torpedo boat destroyers, and was followed by yachts carrying the royal family. As the warlike sounds of the minute guns of the warships died away with the arrival of the naval cortege at Portsmouth, it was renewed with minute guns in the forts, varied by the tolling of all the church bells of the city. The queen's body remained on board the Alberta over night, guarded by 100 marines, and on the 2d the naval ceremonies from Cowes to Portsmouth were succeeded by a magnificent military display from Portsmouth to Windsor. At 8:53 in the morning the body was carried from the yacht to the funeral train, which transported it to London, 80 miles away, along what seemed like an endless line of black-clad and head-bare people; and at 11:20 the military march through London from Victoria station to Paddington began. For this display 30,000 troops were massed. The king, who closely followed his mother's coffin, was flanked on one side by the duke of Connaught and on the other by the emperor of Germany. At Paddington station the body, accompanied by the royal mourners, was

placed upon the train of funeral cars that bore it to Windsor. Here it was carried into St. George's chapel, where, after a period of military salutes and military band playing, the religious service was performed. This service, concluded at 4:10, was followed by proclaiming King Edward VII., who stood at the time beside his mother's coffin, as king and emperor, after which the queen's body was taken to the Albert memorial chapel, where it lay in state until the 4th. It was then removed to the mausoleum at Frogmore and deposited beside that of the queen's husband, who died in 1861.

The burial of the queen clears the way for more vigorous action in prosecution of the British war in South Africa. On the 6th the war office announced its decision to reinforce Lord Kitchener with 30,000 mounted troops, in addition to those already landed and to the recently enlisted local forces.

South African news emphasizes the necessity for this enormous reinforcement. Lord Kitchener reported on the 31st that Gen. Knox had engaged De Wet in a battle lasting several hours, but said nothing of results. As he told, however, in the same report of De Wet's having subsequently eluded Hamilton and crossed the railroad line between Bloemfontein and Ladybrand, it is to be inferred that Knox did not score a victory. Subsequent newspaper reports indicate that he suffered heavy losses. It is further inferred from Kitchener's report that De Wet is making his way into Cape Colony, where it is believed he will be able to arouse the Dutch inhabitants to the support of the Transvaal cause. This inference was confirmed by a report of the 2d, which placed De Wet at Dewetsdorp, some 50 miles south of Ladybrand; but on the 5th Kitchener reported De Wet as still to the north of Thabanchu. Three other engagements are reported by Kitchener. In one of them Gen. French was in conflict with 2,000 Boers, who were driven back. In another, also, the Boers were driven back. But in the third a force of Boers captured the British post at Modderfontein, southwest of Krugersdorp. Gen. Kitchener was reported from London on the 3d as having begun a great offensive movement designed to sweep the

Boers out of the eastern Transvaal. Seven columns, moving in wide fan-shaped order between the Pretoria and the Ladysmith railroads, and keeping in constant communication with one another, were to advance along a battle front of 100 miles or more, driving everybody before them and denuding the country of everything that might serve to support the Boer troops.

One of the Afrikaner envoys from Cape Colony, J. D. Merriman, has arrived in England. His purpose is to ask the privilege of appearing at the bar of the house of commons to explain the evils that must result from unconditional annexation of the Boer republics. For a precedent he refers to like permission granted a century and a half ago to Benjamin Franklin in behalf of the American colonies.

Philippine legislation by the commission appointed by President McKinley as commander-in-chief has gone to the extent of providing for the organization in the archipelago of municipal government. The bill was passed and became operative on the 31st. It assumes to disqualify from voting and holding office any person who is in arms or aiding those in arms against the United States after April 1. The commission contemplates making these municipalities the units of the general government to be hereafter constructed. It has also framed a system of provincial government, and is about to make a tour of the provinces to put it in operation.

Meanwhile the war goes on. In a fight 16 miles from Manila on the 30th Capt. Cameron, with two columns of native cavalry in the American service, killed 20 Filipinos and captured 36 rifles. The report makes note of neither wounded nor prisoners. Several skirmishes in southern Luzon are lumped in the reports, and from the island of Cebu comes a report of an American disaster. Lieut. Hicken and a detachment of 30 men from company M of the Forty-fourth regiment were ambushed on the 29th while crossing a river. Six were killed and four wounded. Two are missing.

The old established Manila newspaper, the *Diario*, started in 1848, was arbitrarily suspended on the 1st by Gen. MacArthur, acting as governor general, because it has persisted in objecting to the deportation of Filipinos

to the island of Guam, and in criticizing the newly argonized federal party which the American authorities have taken under their patronage. Gen. MacArthur has also arrested the editor, Senor Salas.

Another political party has been organized at Manila, chiefly by Americans. Its organization is upon the model of the republican party in the United States and it adopts the name "republican." The intention is to act entirely independently of the federal party, of which its organizers are jealous because the American authorities are devoting so much patronizing attention to the federals.

American casualties in the Philippines since July 1, 1898, inclusive of the current official reports given out in detail at Washington to February 6, 1901, are as follows:

Deaths to May 16, 1900 (see page 91)	1,847
Killed reported from May 16, 1900, to the date of the presidential election, November 6, 1900.....	100
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period.....	468
Total deaths to presidential election	2,415
Killed reported since presidential election	36
Deaths from wounds, disease and accident, same period	145
Total deaths	2,596
Wounded since July 1, 1898.....	2,410
Total casualties since July, '98....	5,006
Total casualties last week	4,989
Total deaths to last week.....	2,590

The work of the Cuban constitutional convention, referred to last week, has come to a deadlock in one respect. It is over the qualifications for president of the new republic. One faction insists that the president must be of native birth; the other, having in view the election of Gen. Gomez, a Puerto Rican by birth, proposes that naturalized citizens shall be eligible if they served ten years in the wars for Cuban liberation. Each ballot on this question resulted in a tie. Finally, by a vote of 15 to 14, the matter was postponed until the last session of the convention. The only other subject of general interest to come under consideration was the question of the choice of provincial governors. It was decided not to allow the president to appoint them,

but to make them locally elective by direct vote of the people.

Chinese news begins again to demand attention. The Chinese plenipotentiaries, Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching, have been in session during the week with the representatives of the foreign powers, and have submitted preliminary propositions which the powers have accepted. Under this arrangement the three principal leaders in the anti-foreign outbreak—Prince Tuan, Duke Lan and Tung Fuh Siang—escape the death penalty. They are to be sentenced to decapitation, but the emperor is allowed to commute the death sentence to banishment. Six executions are to take place, which are to include Yu Hsien, governor of Shansi province, chief among the minor leaders; and three officials already dead are to be sentenced to death posthumously, which works confiscation of their property and cuts off their children from office and honor. A note embodying the foregoing agreement is now being prepared by the foreign representatives for the signatures of the Chinese plenipotentiaries.

NEWS NOTES.

—The new Austria-Hungarian parliament assembled at Vienna on the 4th.

—President McKinley on the 5th appointed Gen. Miles to be lieutenant general under the new army law.

—Steve Brodie, who came into notoriety in 1885 as the first person to jump from the Brooklyn bridge into the East river, died at San Antonio on the 31st.

—It was positively reported on the 5th that J. Pierpont Morgan and his associates have purchased the interest of Andrew Carnegie in the Carnegie steel company.

—John Marshall day was celebrated on the 4th in Chicago at a public meeting in the Auditorium at which Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, was the orator of the day.

—Fukuzawa, editor of the leading independent paper of Tokio and reported as the most influential private citizen of Japan, died on the 3d. Repeatedly he refused offers of a place in the ministry. He was known in Japan as "the great commoner."

—In Washington John Marshall day was celebrated on the 4th by the three departments of government and the American Bar association in representatives hall. Chief Justice Fuller presided. The Rev. Dr. William Strother Jones, of New Jersey, a great-grandson of Marshall, made

the prayer. Wayne MacVeagh delivered the oration.

—Gov. Allen, of Puerto Rico, telegraphs Senator Foraker that the legislative session ended on the 31st; that everything was orderly; that 38 bills were enacted, among them one for trial by jury, and a first-rate tax bill; that the statute book will stand without a bad law upon it; and that the legislators have been honest and careful, and tried to do their best.

—The monthly statement of the treasury department for January shows on hand January 31:

Reserve fund	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash balance.....	143,012,973.08
Total	\$293,012,973.08
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1900.....	306,705,654.73

Decrease

—The treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the federal government for January shows the following:

Receipts for January:	
Tariff	\$21,673,915.77
Int. Rev.....	23,379,003.61
Misc	2,467,367.60
	\$47,520,286.98

Expenses for January:	
Civil and Misc.....	\$12,525,068.93
War	9,388,649.64
Navy	5,169,577.82
Indians	840,902.57
Pensions	10,219,352.58
Interest	1,970,165.86
	\$40,109,707.40

Surplus	
Receipts July 1 to Jan. 31:	
Tariff	\$140,456,019.55
Int. Rev.....	180,024,571.88
Misc	18,901,270.25
	\$339,381,861.68

Expenses July 1 to Jan. 31:	
Civil and Misc.....	\$74,271,135.66
War	98,848,501.21
Navy	34,774,069.92
Indians	6,700,885.34
Pensions	82,174,992.33
Interest	21,407,036.93
	\$313,176,642.39

Surplus	\$26,205,219.29
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IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, and closes with the last issue of that publication at hand upon going to press.

January 28-February 2, 1901.

Senate.

After listening on the 28th to a cable message from the federal party of the Philippine Islands (page 1708), and to the eloquent speech of Senator Towne (page 1710) on his Philippine resolution, the senate resumed consideration of the Indian appropriation bill, which was continued on the 29th when the bill was passed. On the latter day the senate received the president's message (page 1747) as to purchase from Spain for \$100,000 of all Philippine islands lying outside of the lines described in the treaty of Paris. Upon passage of the Indian appropriation bill the ship subsidy bill came up as unfinished business, and Senator Frye gave notice (page 1751) that he would not allow this bill to be displaced or further delayed by other business. On the 3rd the conference report on the army bill was considered until the hour for unfinished business, when consideration of the ship subsidy bill was resumed. The conference report on the army bill was again considered on the 31st and agreed to, and at the regular hour for unfinished business the ship subsidy bill again had the floor, which it retained on the 1st and 2d.

House.

After the bill on Spanish war claims (printed at page 1690) had been read on the

28th the house resumed consideration of the bill for the codification of the postal laws. Further conferees on the army bill were appointed on the 29th, and their report upon being made was agreed to. The president's message on the purchase of additional Philippine islands for \$100,000 was read and consideration of the agricultural appropriation bill begun. The agricultural appropriation bill was on the 30th reported favorably from committee of the whole and passed. On the 31st the house agreed to a concurrent resolution (page 1886) for counting the electoral vote, and then went into committee of the whole on the fortifications appropriation bill. This bill was reported back with amendments and passed, after which the house went into committee of the whole on the post office appropriation bill. A speech by Congressman Dick, of Ohio, containing voluminous war department details relative to the war with Spain and in the Philippines, is printed on the 1st at page 1923. On this day the house went into committee of the whole on private bills, having first passed a bill (page 1998) to further regulate Chinese immigration. The 2d was devoted to the post office appropriation bill and memorial addresses on the late Senator Davis of Minnesota.

MISCELLANY

By an oversight which we greatly regret, and for which we here tender apologies to the Chicago Chronicle, we neglected to credit the article on "Roosevelt in Colorado," in the last Public, to that journal.

UNCROWNED QUEENS.

For The Public.

What has she done, this woman lying dead,
That all the world should call her great
and wise,
And tributes flow from every tongue and pen
To swell her praises to the listening skies?
What has she done, that round the whole
earth's span
The flags of nations not her own should bend
To do her honor and attest her fame,
Now that for her has come the solemn
end?

For over sixty years she reigned a queen,
With every want and need more than
supplied;
No blessing possible to womankind
From her was e'er withheld, no wish de-
nied.
From cradle unto grave, o'er fourscore
years,
She lived environed safe from every ill—
A stately castle here, a palace there—
And lapped the cream of life unto her
fill.

"A loving mother and a faithful wife?"
Why, there are thousands such o'er all
the globe,
With hearts as tender and with faith as
true,
Who ne'er have worn a crown or ermine
robe,
Who ne'er have wielded high imperial
power,
Nor tasted of life's sweets with which
her cup
Was filled through all the years, packed
full, pressed down,
As though to her all good was yielded up.
From off her wreath of fame I would not
pluck
One leaf, nor rob her of her due, this
queen

Who rests in peace, mourned by the great
and good.

She'll nothing miss; to keep her memory
green
Statesmen and peers will eulogize her
name,

The bard will sing, the poet chant her
praise,
And wise historians laud her glorious
reign
From age to age through endless coming
days.

I would not take from her, but I would
speak

For those who ne'er have heard earth's
plaudits sound;

For whom no bells peal out, no cannons
boom,

No soldiers stand in ranks to guard them
round;

Who have no castles grand, no equipage,
No miles of sward, no plate, no jewels
bright;

No subjects bowing low, no lackeys trim,
No scores of servants waiting day and
night.

'Tis easy to be good when all goes fair;
But tangle up the lines, and jar the soul
With rough inharmonies, take Love away,
And shackle one to Poverty's hard dole;
Add pain's grim grasp and Worry's wast-
ing power,

The pang of hunger and the debtor's
fear,

The grind of daily effort fruitless still,
Month after weary month—year after
year.

Such burdened souls there are who drink
the cup

Of bitterness unto its bitter end;
Whose lives flow on a leaden stream of
woe,

Whose trials never cease, whose backs
must bend;

Who ne'er will know from birth to Death's
cold touch

One hour of joy unmixed with grief and
pain,

Yet trust that God somewhere in space is
Love,

And hold their faith, and count their ills
a gain.

To such I bow, uncrowned, unscattered
queens,

Who through the long hard years work
bravely on,

Deprived of all that makes life sweet and
dear,

Yet hope 'gainst hope for Heaven's red-
ning dawn—

The patient Hindoo woman starving slow,
The Boer frau desolate on arid sands,

The foredoomed victim of the city slums,
The lonely pioneer in distant lands.

Such hold my pity and esteem. Aye, such
Are watched by God's own angels bend-
ing low.

Their record in the Book of Life is kept,
Their tears are weighed, and all their
hours of woe.

She who lies dead may envy your estate,
Oh, hard-trying souls, where e'er your lot
is cast;

All earthly crowns must surely fade and
fall.

Fight bravely on; Heaven's crown will
come at last.

TOWNSEND ALLEN.

Jan. 30, 1901.

LORD COLERIDGE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN WAR.

Telegram from London to the daily press,
dated January 11, 1901.

Lord Coleridge, in a letter excusing
his nonattendance at a political meet-
ing, says: "I loathe and detest this
war and the policy that has brought it
about, the mode in which it is conduct-
ed and the undignified excitement over
the defeat of a handful of peasants de-
fending their country at the hands of
ten times their number of trained sol-
diers, backed by the wealth of Eng-
land."

A DEMOCRATIC DEMOCRAT.

A democratic democrat is a man seek-
ing an opportunity to do something
for everybody. A degenerated democrat
is a man seeking an opportunity to do
everything for something.

For many centuries the world has
heard too much of the divine rights of
kings and the vested rights of prop-
erty. If there is to be a future of
democracy in this trust-ridden country,
it will be because the leaders of men
have secured a following of a majority
who are determined to devote some
considerable time to the consideration
of the divine rights of being men and
women fashioned after the image of
their Maker in their moral and intel-
lectual stature. If there is to be a fu-
ture of the democracy it will be be-
cause the leaders of men in this repub-
lic have educated a majority of the
voters of the land to a belief in the
divine and vested right of labor as
well as the vested right of property.—
Hon. J. J. Lentz, at Jackson Banquet
at Columbus, O., Jan. 23.

THE LAND THAT GOD GAVE.

This is the land that God gave.

This is the landlord that stole the land
that God gave.

This is the farmer that pays the land-
lord that stole the land that God
gave.

This is the laborer that helps the farm-
er that pays the landlord that stole
the land that God gave.

This is the tailor that clothes the labor-
er that helps the farmer that pays
the landlord that stole the land that
God gave.

This is the baker, white with flour, that
has to knead for many an hour to
feed the tailor that clothes the lab-
orers that helps the farmer that pays
the landlord that stole the land that
God gave.

This is the collier, black with grime,
that has to work on overtime to
warm the baker, white with flour,
that has to knead for many an hour

to feed the tailor that clothes the
laborer that helps the farmer that
pays the landlord that stole the land
that God gave.

The single tax, of which we speak, will
catch the landlord, fat and sleek,
whose place in society is unique, who,
always grasping and never content,
on nature's bounty fixes a rent, and
sweats the collier, black with grime,
that has to work on overtime to
warm the baker, white with flour,
that has to knead for many an hour
to feed the tailor that clothes the lab-
orers that helps the farmer that
pays the landlord that stole the land
that God gave.—The Liberator of
Auckland, N. Z.

HALF-MASTING AMERICAN FLAGS FOR FOREIGN SOVEREIGNS.

Mayor Van Wyck, of New York, is be-
ing hotly denounced among a certain
class for refusing to half-staff the flag
over the city hall in evidence of public
mourning for the death of Queen Vic-
toria. "Prig," "boor," "dullard," are
among the least offensive epithets ap-
plied to him, and one or two English
papers, having their attention attract-
ed to the matter, have shown the ex-
tremely bad taste of joining in the
cry.

Now the mayor's position is more de-
fensible than these rather obstreperous
public mourners appear to recognize.
It has not been the practice in the past
for the city hall in New York to recog-
nize in this way the death of foreign
sovereigns. If the English queen is
thus honored, then in the future the
deaths of other European rulers must
be recognized likewise or the German
or French or Italian or Russian popu-
lation of New York might feel offended,
and justly so.

A case somewhat in point comes up
at Washington. The flag over the white
house has been placed at half-mast,
something never done before on the
death of a foreign sovereign. It has
accordingly caused a disagreeable stir
among the diplomatic representatives
of other nations. They say that a fail-
ure to pay a similar mark of respect in
the future when a foreign ruler dies
would be a significant breach of eti-
quette, to which offense might justly
be taken. And why is this not so? It is
said that some of the ministers and am-
bassadors have made the matter a sub-
ject of special report to their govern-
ments.—Springfield Republican, of Feb-
ruary 1.

IS BUSINESS ABOVE MORALS?

An extract from a sermon delivered at
the Vine street Congregational church in
Cincinnati, by the pastor, the Rev. H. S.
Elgelow, during the recent consideration

of the question of having a prize fight in that city.

One aspect of this question is suggested by the argument that the proposed contest will bring business to the city. This may be so. But men who look at a question from that standpoint are apt to shave down their principles to fit their pockets.

One gentleman is reported as offering in extenuation of the fistic art that he once met a prize fighter who was a perfect gentleman. This pugilist, he pleaded, practiced his art only as a business venture, as though that altered the character of the business. This pugilist had over \$100,000 in government bonds. Of course, if a man has \$100,000 in government bonds he must be a gentleman. Those bonds, no doubt, lend a respectability to everything he does.

It is hard for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. It is hard for a man who is looking for business to see a moral principle.

Business! Fort Thomas brings business to Cincinnati, but that does not argue that standing armies are necessarily a good thing.

If the state were to locate an insane asylum here it would bring business; are insane people, therefore, a desirable class of citizens?

Business! Some men would be ready to whitewash the character of Satan himself, if they saw the prospect of a little business.

I am not saying that business men deliberately wink at wrong for the sake of increasing their trade. But I am saying that their interest and their training, and their habit of mind, make it difficult to look at a matter of this kind from the standpoint of ethical ideals. These men seem to be in for a prize fight, or any other kind of a fight, when they see an opportunity to open up new markets and extend their trade. It seems to make little difference to them whether they trade in the morals of a city, or barter away the liberties of a people. Business, at any cost, let us have business. He is the modern God for whose passing smile we surrender the pearl of great price.

WHAT DEMOCRACY IS TO DESTROY.

An extract from "The Religion of Democracy," by Charles Ferguson. See review in the department of Book Notices in this paper.

Democracy stands to-day at the grand junction and crossroads of history. The world autonomy now announces itself in unescapable contradictions. The old order and the self-

made man have now at length to reckon with the new order and the man of the modern spirit. We can postpone the issue no longer. Democracy now at length, the world over, takes in the last man; and that is fatal to the old way of the world. For the last man is a million—the hitherto bulked, estimated multitude. It was something that the masses should get themselves enumerated, and should become a multitude. But that is nothing to what is in store; the counters are going to take a hand in the play.

This is the very whirlwind of moral revolution. The world has never seen anything like it up to this date. Always heretofore revolutions have meant merely some wider distribution of privilege, more top hats and togas, and that 10,000 instead of ten should mulct the multitude. But now at length it has been decided that the multitude should not be mulcted any more; and this resolution, adhered to, will turn the world around and set the foundations of society on new and hitherto undiscovered bases.

The bottom fact of social philosophy, ranging wide through literature, the amenities and courtesies, religion and the fine arts, is an economic fact. The books and pictures, the etiquettes and rituals, are what they are, according to the terms of the settlement of the bread question. And this, not because flesh is God, but because God is flesh.

Now the broadest, the basic fact of the old world, which democracy comes to destroy, is that it has got its bread with injustice. The old world has been, by the witness of all the wise, a vain world and a liar, a world of dreams and inveterate illusions. And the spring and source of all its lies is theft. Speculative mistakes in the theory of morals may be got along with; it is the practical lie that kills. And theft is the root of all abstraction—the very substance of vanity, the stuff that dreams are made of.

Always one class has preyed upon another class. The strong, from the beginning, have stolen their bread; and, what is worse, they have despised their bakers. They have discredited the natural facts of alimentation, and they have sponged upon the poor. What hope of wise, deliberate science, of joyous, perennial art and permanent civic glory in a world that is ashamed of its stomach, flches its food, and despises the souls of laborers? What hope of religion if you flout the central sacrament of the body of God?

To be sure, there has always been a man that would not lie—an artist, a poet; there have been true books and

pictures, and perfect deeds, an unbroken tradition of democracy. Nobody ever wrote, ruled, carved or painted, and left anyone out, without leaving himself out, and being forgotten. The torch has been carried on, but flickering, like a candle in a cave. And the prophecy is still waiting its fulfillment.

Do you wonder that the fine arts are overfine or underfine; that their beauty is wistful; that the literatures lapse and die, and the great scriptures of the world, given for joy, sound in our ears only of judgment; that history swirls in dizzy, bewildering cycles; that science is full of panic and terror, and philosophy is only a wan surmise? It is to be written on the sepulchers of the old cities: They took the bread of the poor, and they despised the souls of the laborers.

THE FARMER AS A CITIZEN.

From an address delivered by Mrs. George B. Rounsevell at the annual banquet of the Alleghany County Farmers' club, at Belmont, N. Y., December 4, 1900.

The only dereliction of duty which I ever feel like seriously bringing home to farmers is in connection with their duties as citizens. It is a stupendous, and will in the end prove a fatal, mistake to assume that government of the people and by the people will act for the people automatically. It will never do so. No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent, and it is almost equally true that no man is good enough to govern another without that other keeping an eye on him. In this matter of keeping an eye on our public agents, our representatives and governors of high and low degree, a peculiar obligation devolves upon the farmer on account, first, of his financial independence—not his wealth, observe, but his financial independence, which is a very different and much better thing—which affords him sufficient leisure for study and thought and a fuller degree of freedom in political action than is enjoyed by any other considerable class of citizens; and on account, second, of his precarious and obviously temporary hold upon the outskirts, as it were, of the domain of privilege, which gives, or should give, a vital concern in just and equitable industrial conditions.

I will not waste your time and insult your intelligence by arguing that evils and dangers exist in our social and governmental systems. I need only urge you to accept their existence as a fact, for which no party is

peculiarly responsible and no individuals or classes peculiarly blamable, but a fact which must be studied, accounted for and remedied by the ablest, most free and most conscientious thought of our citizenship. And I solemnly believe that this means farmers, men who work their own land with their own hands, as much as it means ministers of the Gospel.

The savage roaming in his native wilds might perhaps reasonably claim that it is not his business that his fellow savages are corrupted, by unearned wealth or tempted by undeserved poverty, that they are tortured by want or hampered by ignorance or degraded by intemperance and other vices. But aside from religious and ethical considerations the civilized man has an interest and responsibility in human conditions about him that he cannot with safety neglect or disclaim. If the undevout astronomer is mad, so also is he who can behold without a solemn and heart-filling sense of divine love and care how the human family in its highest earthly estate is linked together in a common destiny for weal or for woe, how the evils and wrongs that fester in the lowly places do and inevitably must spread to the higher strata, so that no class can be truly and permanently prosperous and happy until and unless all are so. Thus it is brought to pass that even when a long course of individual and national wrong-doing has weakened the ties of brotherhood and deadened the higher motives, then selfishness itself must, if sufficiently enlightened, prompt the strong and the wise to place their gifts and their advantages at the service of the weak and the degraded.

There are things that we farmers can do, and begin now. We can honestly seek and ascertain the truth regarding our condition as a nation and people. We can lay aside class and party prejudice, and give open minded, single hearted attention to all sides of all public questions. We can fearlessly reexamine our laws and institutions, and determine for ourselves which are just and right, which tend to equal rights and opportunities, to moral strength and upbuilding on the one hand, and which involve wrong and injustice, the temptation of the weak and the denial to the young and innocent of their fair and rightful chances for free, useful and happy lives. And when we find a wrong, however ancient and respectable, however powerful and strongly

intrenched, we can attack it, in God's name, in behalf of the defrauded, the oppressed and them who have no helper but Him who hath called us.

Let no one fear and no one hope that this nation or any nation can go on indefinitely in the path of wrongdoing. That is demonstrably impossible. God will turn us back, as many a time in human history He has brought to naught the proud structures of cruelty and oppression. "Except the Lord build the house, their labor is vain, that do build it." However high our national tower may be reared, if its foundations be not laid in justice its height and greatness will but bring it the sooner and more completely to ruin.

It is ordained from the beginning that some day God's will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven. Since history began, a countless host of his instrumentalities, human and divine, have been preparing the dawning of that great day. And what earthly privilege is to the faithful soul so worthy, so exalting, so supremely satisfying, as to try to repay, in part, by our labors and sacrifices, the debt we owe to the great, sorrowful but glorious procession of the labors and sacrifices of the past—even from Gethsemane and Calvary down through scaffold and stakes and racks and dungeons, past the storms of Plymouth rock and the snows in Valley Forge, down to our own comparatively happy time. The work is not done; it is going on now, this day and hour. Let us reach out willing hands to its furtherance and help to hand on to the future the glorious but uncompleted structure of liberty and happiness received from the past, but improved, God willing, and enlarged and beautified by our own toil and struggle and loving sacrifice.

FROM A VICE PRESIDENT'S STAND-POINT.

We have a new vice president. He is a most strenuous man. He has been whipping wild cats, and a menagerie of other animals.

It is a pretty story, and thrilling. Knowing that after he raps the United States senate to order on the 4th of March next, he will have small opportunity for strenuousness, that he will be compelled to sit and look wise, not even being permitted to talk back to saucy republican senators or to squelch a belligerent democrat, he determined to have a last big fling. Therefore he went out to Colorado, where there are

others. It is one of the last hiding places in America for that class of animals which are too strenuous to get on with advancing civilization.

Here the vice president turned loose the "dogs of war and a newspaper reporter." The hounds soon struck a trail. It was hot, as hot as the trail at the Philadelphia convention. The dogs got right down to business and made as much noise as if a master of political ceremonies was ordering them to whoop it up. In 15 minutes, more or less, they had the game up a tree. That was where the governor wanted it. He got Boss Platt up a tree once, and enjoyed the experience. It was a wild cat, and this stimulated the governor's strenuousness. Here was a chance to get even with the old cat tribe for all the discordant serenades that had disturbed the slumbers of his whole strenuous life. The cat also had his back up about something, and his tail was spreading out like an expansion policy.

"He shows fight," said the governor to the guide; "I wonder if he knows who I am?"

"I don't believe he does," replied the guide. "If he knew that you were the original Rough Rider and had whipped the Spanish army, he would hunt for his hole."

When the cat heard this remark he began to look sick.

"I am Col. Roosevelt," shouted the strenuous hunter.

Then the cat wilted.

"You are scaring him to death," said the guide. "You better shoot before he drops to the ground and breaks his neck and spoils the fun."

The vice president pulled the trigger just as the cat was leaving his limb, and the bullet and the beast met in mid air. The bullet had the best of it, and the animal was catalogued first in the list of victims. The reporter made a bee line for the railroad station and telegraphed to the newspapers of the country and the principal journals of Europe, Asia and Africa. The colonel sat down on a projecting crag, took out a pad of paper, unbuckled a fountain pen, and began to write a book on "How I Killed a Wild Cat."

The dogs, not having much literary taste, got tired and went off into the woods. Then there was a yelp, followed by the bellowing answer of the whole pack of hounds. It was big game this time, a mountain lion, and the lion was scared. He ran like a republican candidate for congress in a Pennsylvania district. But the strenuousness in the rear was too much for him. He had to come to bay. When

the governor approached, the lion showed his teeth. So did the governor. The lion looked foolish. He was beaten at his own game; he had never seen such a show of teeth, not even at a midnight meeting of lions.

"How are you going to do him up?" asked the guide. "With a speech or with your gun?"

"I think I'll try a speech on him," replied the governor. "That is what I used on the Tammany tiger."

"I don't think you better," said the guide; "bullets are more persuasive out here in the Rockies."

The lion was distressed, like others when there is a big majority against them, and he uttered a long, wild, weird wail, so weird and sad that the vice president declared he hadn't heard anything so sad and plaintive since Grover Cleveland wrote his article on the "Plight of the Democracy."

"Don't keep him waiting," said the guide; "if he has got to go get him off before he dies of a broken heart."

The colonel fired, and the mountain lion joined the red man. Then the jubilant hunter sat down to write another book, but the guide said it was time to go to the lodge and get supper. After supper the colonel told thrilling stories until midnight, and then the rest went to bed. But a strenuous man does not sleep away precious opportunities, and when the cook was getting the table ready for breakfast the next morning he found a pile of manuscript. There was another volume ready for the press. It will appear under the title, "How I Killed a Lion, or A Strenuous Day in the Rockies."

"We must have more spice in to-day's fun," said the rough rider, when they faced the woods again. "Let's hunt up a cinnamon bear. The bears didn't know that the colonel was in the woods, and were out of their holes. The dogs soon had their noses in the tracks of an old customer as big and tough as some of the bears that Joe Leiter ran against in his famous wheat deal. The old fellow was not long in realizing that he was in a corner and short on futures. A glance at the strenuous colonel made the chills run up and down his back.

"I hate bears," said the colonel, "there isn't a square foot of room for a bear in this country. It's all prosperity, but I should just like to have a heart to heart talk with this old fellow. I think I could bring him around."

"I wouldn't try it," said the guide. "Interviews with bears are very dangerous. I've seen fellows die of heart

failure after that kind of an experience. Use your gun."

The colonel hesitated, and the guide blazed away. So did the colonel. The bear passed to his ancestors, but nobody could tell whether it was the governor or the guide who killed him. The governor will probably settle the question in his third volume of thrilling adventures.

It was a monster bear. The reporter said that it measured 40 feet from the end of its nose to the tip of the right ear. Not having a surveyor's chain he did not measure the rest of the body. But it was bigger than any bear ever before seen in the Rocky mountains or on the Chicago board of trade.

When the news of these mighty feats of the new vice president reached Washington, there was a commotion in the United States senate. The more fractious members looked troubled, and some of them glanced uneasily toward the cloak rooms. Others were heard expressing the wish that they had not spent so much money on their election. However, none offered to resign. But they voted for a standing army of 100,000 men. They want to be sure of protection in case of too much strenuousness in their immediate vicinity. Senators see further ahead than wild cats and mountain lions.—Chicago Advance, of Jan. 24.

WHY WE SHOULD WITHDRAW OUR ARMY FROM THE PHILIPPINES.

An extract from the speech delivered in the United States senate, January 28, by Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, speaking to the following resolution:

Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That justice, the public welfare and the national honor demand the immediate cessation of hostilities in the Philippine islands upon terms recognizing the independence of the Philippine people and conserving and guaranteeing the interests of the United States.

These people are united in defense of an ineradicable belief in their sacred right to self-government. They are banded together against a policy of subjugation. Almost as one man they are answering the cry of "extermination or surrender" with another cry—a cry that has come echoing down through all our history, a cry which, to Americans of the olden faith, is as sacred still, even on the lips of the poor Filipino, as it was to our fathers when above a century ago, it ascended, trumpet tongued, from the soul of Patrick Henry—the cry of "liberty or death."

Mr. President, the resolution I have offered declares that this prayer for liberty ought to be granted. It is ad-

dressed to the reason, the conscience, the patriotism of this body. It predicates its demand, first, upon justice. I say that it is just to give independence to the Philippine people. It is just that we should give it to them, because, at least in intent and form, we took it from them after they had won it. It is just, because men deserve liberty who so love it as to be ready to die for it. It is just, because a nation is a moral personality holding its life from God, and to take the life of a nation is to commit an infinite homicide.

The resolution next invokes the public welfare. The recognition of Philippine independence would vastly lessen the burdens and sorrows of our people. It would cut off the prodigal waste of revenues raised by growing taxation. It would save thousands of lives. It would tend to stop the present headlong tendency toward the magnification of the executive. It would help to preserve the constitution. It would vindicate the declaration of independence.

It would restore the old ideals of the republic. It would permit us to turn out attention toward the solution of social and economic questions with which the ultimate happiness of the human family is concerned. It would give assurance of the final triumph of democratic institutions by demonstrating them to be able to resist the fatal allurements of empire, the rock on which every previous great experiment in self-government has finally been wrecked.

The resolution voices the sentiment of national honor. If we have wronged the Filipinos, we should hasten to make acknowledgment and reparation. Sir, I fail to see how any man, solicitous not only that his country should not suffer in fair repute, but also and especially that she should not deserve to do so, can review the history of our conduct toward the Philippine people without feeling an instant shame.

To take advantage of their confidence in our self-proclaimed championship of human liberty; to entertain designs against their freedom at the very time when they were aiding us, even with 5,000 of their lives, in our contest with Spain; to traffic in the character of liberator in order the more securely to plan and execute a treachery and a tyranny; to smile upon our allies and speak them fair and then turn our arms against them for the prize, won by our joined valor, which, though we might make of it a bauble to hang at the belt of a barbaric empire, was still to them "the immediate jewel of their souls."

Senators, is this act to stand as the deed of the great republic? Shall it be confirmed in fullness of knowledge and in cold and cynical deliberation? Is it ever too late to be just and honest? Can a wrong become respectable from sheer persistence in it? Is there a greater grace or a nobler strength in man or nation than to make generous atonement for an injury? "To treat at all," exclaims an eloquent administration senator [Mr. Beveridge] "is to admit that we are wrong." To be sure it is, Mr. President. I propose to treat because we are wrong. It is nobler to get right than to remain wrong. Let us get rid of the creed of weak men and puny nations who fear a loss of prestige from an act of reparation and of justice. Let us do now what we should have done two years ago. Thus only may we regain the unwisely forfeited affection of the Filipinos; thus only shall we receive the plaudits of all friends of freedom everywhere; thus only must we restore the ancient honor of the republic that never knew a stain till this.

Sir, the resolution proposes that the recognition of Philippine independence shall be upon conditions "conserving and guaranteeing the interests of the United States." There is no one, so far as I know, that wants this consideration omitted. No difficulty would be experienced in obtaining all needful cessions of naval and coaling stations, with rights of fortification, and ample guarantees for the protection of our commercial interests. The petition [a petition signed by more than 2,000 inhabitants of Manila, presented to congress by Senator Teller] declares that if the United States recognizes the independence of the Philippines—

They could offer her a part of the revenues of the Philippine state, according to the treaty which shall be stipulated, the protection in the country of the merchandise of the United States, and a moral and material guaranty for American capital all over the archipelago; finally, whatever may bring greater prosperity to America and progress to the country will, we doubt not, be taken into account in the treaty which shall be celebrated.

This undoubtedly expresses the feeling of all those whose views would be influential in such negotiations. Says Sixto Lopez:

Do you want means to secure protection to life and property? Then take whatever means are necessary. Do you want to secure rights in lieu of services rendered to us? You shall have all that you demand. Do you want to see a stable government established in the islands? So do we. Come and help us, or come and supervise while we establish it for ourselves. Do you want repayment in whole or in part for the \$20,000,000 too hastily paid to a de-

feated foe? Do you want trade concessions? Do you require a basis of operations in the far east? Do you want coaling stations or any conceivable thing which we are able to give or find? Come and take all these things.

Sir, what more can we demand? Is it not clear that the way of duty is equally the path of profit? Do we need to own people in order to trade with them? Is it not better to allow our customers to live, to have their good will, and to leave them the means of payment, than to kill the strongest of them, to earn the hatred of the survivors, and to impoverish all by desolating war?

Do we sincerely wish to be of service to these people? Are we honest when we profess a consuming ambition to civilize them? If so, how better shall we do it—by policing upon them 65,000 or 100,000 keepers of the peace, forcing a sullen unwillingness into slavish compliance with some of our customs, and subjecting them to the pressure of an arbitrary and exterior government, or by trading liberty to them for security for ourselves, awakening the play of their natural forces by winning their regard, appealing to their self-respect, and relying on their appreciation of mutual advantages; and by developing their capacity of self-government through unfettered practice in the stimulating atmosphere of independent responsibility.

A subjugated nation that has fought to be free is like a proud-spirited man broken by cruelty and bound with fetters; either morose and revengeful or listless and hopeless. Both must be given liberty to find either happiness or progress.

Mr. President, the alternative is to me an object of disturbing contemplation.

Persistence in our present course involves, I fear, a plain renunciation of the mission of this country, an adoption of the methods of the empire—the sure precursor of the downfall of free governments in every age of the world.

THE MAN THAT PAYS THE TAX.

For The Public.

When the cannon's thunder ceases,
And the foe is overcome,
And no more the army marches
To the beating of the drum,
Oh, the bond will not have perished
In the fury of the strife;
But the debt will have been funded
Into everlasting life.

Soon the foe will yell for quarter,
And the butchery will cease;
Silent will become the mortar
In the coming time of peace;
And our armies will have conquered
All the oriental blacks;

But the bond will cry: "No quarter,"
To the man that pays the tax.

Oh, the fools that rivet shackles
On the men of other lands!
Oh, how blindly they are binding
Their own children's children's hands,
Who will fall beneath the burden
Of the army on their backs!
For the bond will give no quarter
To the men that pay the tax.

Oh, the bond with magic fingers,
Reaching down through coming years,
Will appropriate the pennies
That are wet with orphans' tears,
And the children of the masses
Yet will poor and poorer wax,
For the bond will show no mercy
To the man that pays the tax.

When the powder smoke has settled
In the valley foul and dank,
And the soldiers' damp graves molder
Where their swords have ceased to clank,
And the bold red-handed warrior
Swings no more his battle-axe,
Still the bond will press the hard
On the man that pays the tax.

WILL SCOTT.

Johnstown, Pa. .

Edward of England wants to be called both emperor and king. He has drawn a full hand of titles, although he waited a long time for the lucky cards. Now he desires to be addressed as "Your imperial majesty." How would "Your royal flush" do as a substitute?—Kansas City Times.

The following was actually overheard on a street car yesterday:

"Who is this man Marshall they're making so much fuss about anyway?"

"Chief justice of the United States."

"Go way! Fuller is chief justice."

"Oh, Marshall isn't chief justice now. He's dead."

"When did he die? I didn't see anything about it in the papers."

"Oh, it was a good while ago, I guess. I don't know just when."

"Funny what fellows they pick out to make a fuss about, isn't it?"

And then they began talking about something else.—Chicago Evening Post of Feb. 5.

The Colonel—My good man, I congratulate you for slaughtering that Filipino scoundrel. Did he creep up behind you and attempt to assault you with a bolo?

Private Perialist—No, sir; he did something far more ignoble, sir. He refused to say that George Washington was the father of his country, sir.

G. T. E.

She—I know we have everything we raly nade, but there's manny a wan thot's better off.

He—Ye shud 'be satisfied. Iverybody thot has their health an' strin'th an' thot's able to kick about what doesn't suit thim shud be satisfied.—Puck.

AMERICA.

For The Public.

Dear land, we cannot see in wildest dream
Thy hand upraised to menace, not to
bless.

Thy heart must beat to succor, not op-
press;

Thy bannered stars with peace, not war,
must gleam.

Tho' clouds and darkness swirl about thy
feet,

Thy brow is aureoled with Heaven's light,
Thy feet are planted on the rock of right,
And from that rock shall nevermore re-
treat.

Tho' alien greed with blatant mouth bow
down

To calf of gold confessed its only god,
Thou hast with bleeding feet His high-
way trod,

And felt the pressure of a thorny crown.
A heart of light in time's rough breast we
feel thou art,

Struck from the altar fires, which light
shall not depart.

GRACE ADA BROWN.

Mount Lebanon, N. Y.

Long before the year 2,000 taxation
will have been so adjusted as to en-
courage, not discourage, the fullest
improvement of land; public fran-
chises will be so universally operated
direct by the public, that a street
railway company or private water-
works for public supply will seem as
archaic as personal government by
royal charter, or the farming of
taxes.—Hon. John De Witt Warner, in
Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat.

Jasper—Young Rocky spends his
money in lumps without enjoying it.

Jumpuppe—Well, that's all right.
His father made it in lumps without
earning it.—Life.

"Yes, Ching Lee," said the Russo-
German, "the Caucasian surpasses the
Mongolian in all things."

"Alas!" answered Mr. Lee, "I begin to
realize the truth of your statement
when I see what an insignificant ex-
hibition our atrocities make in com-
parison with yours."

G. T. E.

"Mornin' paper, sir?" sang out the
newsboy. "One penny, sir."

"Here's three cents, boy," replied
the facetious customer. "Keep the two
pence, buy a cake of soap with it and
give your face a washing."

The newsboy handed back the money
with great dignity. "Keep the change
yourself, sir," he said, "and use it to
buy a book on etiquette, sir."—Tit-Bits.

Student—Why do you object to an-
swering the questions asked of you
by earnest seekers after truth?

Philosopher—My son, if these people
knew enough to understand the right
answers to the questions they ask they
would know too much to ask them.—
Puck.

BOOK NOTICES.

In "The Religion of Democracy," by
Charles Ferguson (Funk & Wagnalls Com-
pany, New York and London, 1900), we have
something better than the "epoch-making
book," which, according to the reviewers,
appears about once a month; we have
rather an epoch-recording book. Mr. Fer-
guson believes that "only once can the
world turn prodigiously on its axis, shift-
ing its center of gravity from the tem-
poral to the eternal," and that at this very
time "the old order is passing, and the
new is swiftly preparing."

With the startling boldness of a Carlyle,
and the spiritual optimism of a Sweden-
borg, Mr. Ferguson brings us face to face
with the ideals that democracy has been
blindly groping toward through the ages
when all that was mighty, all that seemed
to be wise, and all that claimed to be re-
ligious, was arrayed against it.

Of your own need to be an absolute dem-
ocracy he says:

If you pass by the least considerable man,
you pass by all the humanities and the di-
vinites, and set your heart on what is
transient and cheap. There is a wide ocean
of difference between taking in the last
man and leaving him out. It is not a ques-
tion of one man, but of humanity. If you
leave anybody out, you must leave your
own soul out, and must live thenceforth by
the butler's standard.

Of the absolute verity of the God of dem-
ocracy he says:

The churches of the past might conceiv-
ably have been the inventions of priests
and princes; it is possible to imagine that
they might have existed even though there
were no God. But the church of the mod-
ern expectation is frankly impossible if
there be no God. It is possible for men to
get together on the basis of a sacramental
theory or a proposition in divinity, whether
the theory or the proposition be true or
false; but it is not possible for men to get
together on the ground of the eternal rea-
sonableness and justice, unless indeed
there be an eternal Reasonableness and
Justice to whom they all alike have access.

And this he calls the creed of democracy:

To say that the sovereignty is in the
people is the same as to say that the King-
dom of God is within you.

What old ideals must be rejected if we
are to play our parts in opening the doors
of the world to a new spiritual life? Mr.
Ferguson tells us that we must turn away
from a sham world "wherein religion is
made a question of credulity and of being
baptized;" we must turn away from the
fallacy that we are put into the world to
improve our own individual minds, and
better our own individual conditions. The
ideal of the "self-made" man, beautiful,
intelligent, moral, turns now to dust and
ashes.

If he is nothing but the Finest Thing
Made, then it is all over with religion and
great art, and it is all over with magnani-
mity and valor.

The new faith, he tells us, is that "the
free spirit of man is uncreated, is not made
by God, but begotten of Him."

This faith fears not materialism.

It is not so bad to be a materialist. If
you keep to the facts you will not get away
from God. The moral laws are not sep-
arate from matter. They are wrought into
the fiber of the material world. You can-
not dig anywhere without striking them.

This faith will lead us to believe in this
world:

The faith of the Bible is not a conviction
about God, a conclusion stubbornly stuck
to, or dictated by authority. It is not a
conviction at all; it is a willingness, a reso-
lution, to take risk that this world really
is at bottom what it ought to be, and that
it can in its very nature fulfill the heart's
longing.

It will lead us to believe in the unity of
the universe.

The way of valid science is the way of
the modern spirit. It begins with an act
of faith—an immense assumption—to wit,
that the whole world is constitutionally at
one with itself; that it is a universe; that it
has no alien elements, no unassimilable
fate, no intrinsic contradictions. This as-
sumption is the great adventure of the age.
We are committing ourselves to it without
calculating the consequences. It distin-
guishes this age from all other ages as,
par excellence, the age of faith.

And this faith will lead us to appreciate
"the vast orderliness of the moral uni-
verse."

Nor does Mr. Ferguson stop with faith.
Such faith as this of the new day impels
to labors—to labors which, like the faith,
partake of the character of divine advent-
ure. "It is a rugged, narrow path through
the world-crisis; but it is a highway of
great discovery."

The first work is destructive.

The broadest, the basic fact of the old
world which democracy comes to destroy,
is that it has got its bread with injustice.

Always one class has preyed upon
another class. The strong, from the begin-
ning, have stolen their bread; and, what is
worse, they have despoiled their bakers.

Mr. Ferguson tells us what needs to be
destroyed:

America shall be the crossroads of the
world. The nations shall flow into it, and
pass through it. We renounce old habits.
We have no patent on democracy; we
will not make the abolition of privilege
itself a privilege.

We will make here a clearance of every
law-made privilege and monopoly, and we
will make it intolerably hard for other
countries to maintain privileges and mo-
nopolies.

And again:

The programme of the new era is to put
the people in possession of the earth—to
put the whole people in possession of the
whole earth.

In settling the economic question we shall
settle all the rest:

It has been supposed that we could first
settle the bread question and then proceed
to finer issues. But there are no finer is-
sues—there is nothing finer than common
bread, unless it be bread of a finer kind; or
than a cup of water, unless it be a cup of
wine. The palpable, real world is unfath-
omable, mysterious, spiritual, and there is
room in it for the most magnificent advent-
ure of the ideal. It is not necessary to go
apart from it in order to think or to aspire;
the dignity of thinking is in labor, and the
dignity of labor in thinking. The sphere of
economics is without bounds; it takes in all
the fine arts and the unnamed finer arts,
and there is no magnanimity or love that
cannot be expressed somehow in terms of
bread and wine.

And we are to do all this putting of this
world in order, "not because this world is
all, but because it is not all." More than
all others, our spiritual ideals must be ab-
solutely democratic. Perhaps the greatest
word of this remarkable book is to this
point:

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The religion of democracy takes in all the people without exception, not because it is indifferent to moral and spiritual distinctions, and not because it holds that men are naturally good or even that everybody is sure to be saved. It is not because it makes light of the eternal and tragic issue between Jerusalem and Babylon, but because it would give its whole soul to that issue, that it has written upon its doorposts and the footpace of its altar: Judge not; Unto this last; and, He was made sin-

"The Religion of Democracy" leaves the spirit with the feeling that it is standing out in a world of moving waters and free blowing winds, in the sunshine of the presence of God, with a new faith, an awakened love, and a great desire to help in the re-creation of the world.

ALICE THACHER POST.

JANUARY MAGAZINES.

—The New Christianity (Ithaca, N. Y.: S. H. Spencer, editor and publisher), a non-ecclesiastical and popular exponent of Swedenborg's spiritual philosophy, leads with an editorial discussion of faith-healing and contains, besides other editorials and a poem on the new century by Adolph Roeder, a paper on the relation of the sexes in Scripture interpretation.

—The Political Nursery (New York: Isaac H. Klein and Boudinot Keith, 141 Broadway, room 1008. Price \$1 a year; 10 cents a number), now in the tenth number of its fourth volume (notwithstanding that its declared object is "to tell the truth"), is a four-page publication edited by John Jay Chapman. Its three articles, one on Herbert Welsh's Other Man's Country, another on What Is a Principle? and the third on Conciliation, are certainly worth the price.

FEBRUARY MAGAZINES.

—The Arena (New York: The Alliance Publishing Co.; London, Gay & Bird; Paris, Librairie Galignani. Price \$2 per year), offers theological views of a layman, discusses the political aftermath, considers the relations of merchant seamen to the ship subsidy bill, lays foundations for a higher civilization, describes vibrations, waves, and cycles, continues the subject of the criminal negro, and brings forward the subject of city ownership and operation of street railways. In his editorial department B. O. Flower writes upon a variety of subjects, including an explanation of the failure of cooperative experiments.

—The North American Review (New York, London and Paris. Price, \$5 per year; 50 cents per number), edited by B. M. Harvey, is a notable issue. Mark Twain writes a piercing article on the Philippine question, ex-President Harrison reflects upon current topics, Henry Cabot Lodge finds a congenial subject in Chief Justice Marshall as a statesman, and, without enumerating other articles, W. D. Howells weighs Mark Twain in the literary balance and finds him not wanting.

—The American Monthly Review of Reviews (New York: The Review of Reviews Co., 13 Astor Place. Price \$2.50 a year; 25 cents a number), makes Abraham Lincoln its principle subject, illustrating it with caricatures of a generation ago, and contains a presentation of both sides of the shipping subsidy bill question. A character sketch of Armour, an article on the south and the pension bureau, and one on Japanese immigration are included in the contents.

—The Open Court (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd. Price, \$1 a year, 10 cents a copy), of which Dr. Paul Carus is the editor, leads with an article identifying Christianity with the Egyptian worship of the foreign deity Seth and that of the Egyptian deity Anubis, which is followed by one from the pen of Moncure D. Conway, on "Ethical Culture versus Ethical Cult."

—The Criterion (New York: The Criterion Publication Co., 41 East Twenty-first street. Price \$1 a year, 10 cents a copy). Includes in its variety of illustrated matter the story of the darkest hour just before the dawn in the literary life of Stephen Crane, the period between the failure of his first venture, "Magpie: a Girl of the Streets," and the success of "The Red Badge of Courage."

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ATTORNEYS.

Chicago.

CHARLES A. BUTLER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Suite 616, Ashland Block, CHICAGO.
Telephone, Main 2711.

HARRIS F. WILLIAMS,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
806 Chamber of Commerce Building,
CHICAGO.

WALTER A. LANTZ. T. G. McELLAGOTT
Telephone Central 234.

LANTZ & McELLAGOTT,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
1025-1030 Unity Building, 79 Dearborn St., Chicago.

NELLIE CARLIN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
1202 Ashland Block, Chicago.
Telephone Central 925.

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