

The Public

Fourth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1901.

Number 185

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post-office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last column of last page.

Upon the occasion of the nomination of Seth Low for mayor of New York, we expressed our views (p. 385) of the impropriety, from the Democratic standpoint, of regarding a nomination such as his as nonpartisan.

Mr. Low is not a nonpartisan, either personally or as a candidate. Personally, he is a pronounced imperialist Republican. As a candidate he has not merely been indorsed by the local Republican machine (as corrupt an organization as Tammany Hall), but he was forced by the "boss" of that machine (as conscienceless a political huckster as Croker), upon the local nonpartisan movement which nominally first presented his name.

Were New York a Republican city, and Mr. Low in the field to oust from local office the corruptionists of his own party, Democrats might properly and vigorously support him. In such circumstances the fact that he is an imperialist Republican should not count against him; for whatever use in national politics he might make of his office would be in harmony with the political sentiments of the Republican city. The only question in that case, which Democrats need raise, would be whether he would make an honest and efficient administrator of local concerns; and to Mr. Low's qualities in this respect there is probably no objection.

But that is not the case. The case as it actually exists is the reverse of that. Instead of being a Republican city, New York is overwhelmingly Democratic. Instead of being a Dem-

ocrat, in the field to oust from local office the corruptionists of his own party, in a city where the principles of his own party are dominant, Mr. Low is an imperialist Republican, professedly in the field to oust from local office the corruptionists not of his own but of the opposite party, in a city where the principles of the opposite party are dominant. In this adventure he not only has behind him the corruptionists of his own party, but it was by them that he was forced upon the non-partisan movement, to the exclusion of Democrats, much as prestidigitators force particular cards upon the unsophisticated. Were he to make any use of the office of mayor in connection with national politics, this use, instead of being in harmony with the political sentiments of the Democratic city, would be flatly hostile. He would act as an imperialist Republican in the name and with the power of an anti-imperialist Democratic city. Even in itself, that situation would raise a serious question as to the propriety of giving to Mr. Low any Democratic support. Though he were opposed by a candidate of the objectionable Tammany type, Democratic voters might well hesitate about securing through him a good local administration at the expense of encouraging and promoting vicious national policies.

Fortunately, however, the situation raises no such embarrassing question. For, in the person of Edward M. Shepard, the regular Democrats of New York have nominated a Democrat whose democracy is more profound than that of a mere partisan, and a man whose qualities as an administrator, both moral and intellectual, are conceded to measure quite up to those of Mr. Low. The actual question, therefore, is not whether the

honest Democrats of the overwhelmingly Democratic city of New York shall vote for an imperialist Republican, as Hobson's choice, in order to get a good local administration. It is whether they shall choose as local administrator for their Democratic city a satisfactory mayor who is an imperialist Republican or a satisfactory mayor who is an anti-imperialist Democrat.

Edward M. Shepard is a Democrat by party affiliation, and a democrat from political conviction. He is a radical democrat—as radical, that is, as a man with the personal surroundings in which he as well as Mr. Low find themselves can be expected to be. If his business and social associations, together with a temperamental dislike for some of the characteristics of radicals, have made him shrink somewhat from identification with radical democracy, his voice has nevertheless rung true in public speech and letter whenever radical democratic principles have been clearly at issue. Though he opposed Bryan in 1896, that was because, in common with many other genuine democrats, he regarded the issue as purely economic, and Bryan as representing the wrong side of it. But when in 1900 the conflict which began in 1896 over a superficial economic issue had struck deeper, Shepard threw his professional interests to the winds and took his stand by Bryan's side. His opening speech in that campaign is pronounced by radical democrats who heard it to have been alive with the spirit of elemental democracy. Besides his political faith as so displayed, and his marked abilities in representing it, qualities which make Mr. Shepard an eminently fit candidate for the chief magistracy of a Democratic metropolis, it is admitted by his adversaries, as we have already

indicated, that he has the business aptitude, the intellectual qualifications, the experience in public affairs, and the disposition to administer the concerns of the city ably and faithfully. In the latter respect no one pretends to regard him as inferior to Low. To the nonpartisans he would have been as acceptable as Low on their ticket. Why, then, should any Democrats of New York vote for Low and against Shepard? Why should Democrats of a Democratic city cast aside such a Democratic candidate for an imperialist Republican?

But one reason is advanced, though that takes many forms. It is said that Mr. Shepard is Croker's nominee. This objection may be offset by the fact that Mr. Low is Platt's nominee. Another form of the same objection is that Mr. Shepard represents Tammany Hall. Without bothering to retort that Low as truly represents the Republican machine, Tammany Hall's side partner in municipal corruption, let us consider briefly what that objection by itself involves. Why do New York Democrats oppose Tammany Hall? Is it not because this Democratic organization has misrepresented and degraded the Democratic party by putting unfit men into nomination for local office? Why should any Democrat in New York vote, under any circumstances, for an imperialist Republican for mayor? Could there be any other reason than the unfitness of the Democratic candidate? Why should Democrats in New York join a non-partisan movement in local politics? Is it not for the purpose of forcing their own party either to put forward representative Democrats of personal and political integrity, or, in default of doing that, to suffer defeat by way of discipline? What other legitimate reason could there be? But if those are the reasons for Democratic hostility to Tammany Hall, then the reasons fail when Tammany Hall makes fit nominations, as in the case of Shepard for mayor. If other Tammany nominees are unfit, that may well

serve as a reason for voting against them, but not for voting against Shepard.

The very objection that Shepard is a Tammany nominee, he being the man his adversaries concede him to be, is an argument not against Tammany Hall, but for Tammany Hall. It is a marked indication of a tendency in that body, doubtless caused by the new and better and more radically democratic elements that have recently come into it, to raise the Democratic party of the metropolis to that higher plane in politics upon which the democracy of the country have a right to require it to stand. When Tammany Hall names a candidate for mayor who is admittedly in every respect the equal, as a local administrator, of his adversary, and who, moreover, is a Democrat of radical tendencies, it would be queer politics for Democrats to rebuke Tammany Hall for its other sins by voting against that candidate and in favor of an imperialist Republican.

Mr. Shepard is not the only candidate of Tammany whose irreproachable personality, eminent qualifications, and democratic radicalism testify to the beginning at least of a new departure in the Democratic politics of New York. Charles W. Dayton, one of the candidates for judge of the supreme court, was the candidate for comptroller in 1897 along with Henry George, who ran that year for mayor but died upon the eve of the election. Mr. Dayton is a lawyer of high standing. In Cleveland's administration he served, with credit and more than ordinary usefulness, as postmaster of New York. And for many years he has been known as a democrat of the Jeffersonian order. The other nominees, though creditable in the main, are of the Tammany or conventional party type. But with Dayton as candidate for a leading judicial office, and Shepard as the candidate for the highest administrative and most influential political office, the Tammany ticket affords no rea-

sonable excuse, to good government Democrats or to radical Democrats, either for voting against Dayton for the judgeship, or for supporting an imperialist Republican for the important political office of mayor.

Nor are we content to allow the selection by Tammany Hall of Mayor Van Wyck, for a supreme court judgeship, to be denounced as characteristically vicious, without a protest. Of Mayor Van Wyck's career as mayor we have no intention of speaking. His administration, for good or bad, is sufficiently familiar to New York Democrats. We recognize him, moreover, as a Tammany man, an organization man, a machine man. Perhaps his long and courageous but futile fight against Tammany Hall, without the support and against the strenuous opposition of some of the independent gentlemen who are now accustomed to attack him but who then had axes to grind at Tammany's stone, may have taught him a lesson in politics. However that may be, it is his record on the bench as a judge, and not his record at the city hall as mayor, that should determine his fitness for the judicial position for which he is now a candidate. Before becoming mayor, Van Wyck served several years as a judge. While on the bench he was industrious, expeditious and intelligent; and with his long and successful preliminary experience at the bar, he came to the bench exceptionally well equipped. No whisper was ever uttered against him as a judge, either for moral delinquency or mental incapacity. It is true that the Bar Association of the city of New York condemns him, basing its condemnation, however, upon his record in the political office of mayor and not upon that which he made as justice and as chief justice of the city court. This condemnation is misleading because the Bar Association of the city of New York is supposed to be the Association of the New York city bar, whereas it is merely an exclusive social club of lawyers, embracing in its membership but a fraction of the New York

city bar. Most of the lawyers who belong to it are members only for the sake of its library facilities. Some are there for the purpose of taking part in judicial politics and using the club for a weapon. Others are of the sycophant type. No lawyer can become a member if a few members dislike him enough—for personal, race or other reasons alien to lawyership—to blackball him; and many reputable members of the New York city bar refuse to allow their names to go through this blackball ordeal. Such an organization may be very useful, and its opinions very worthy of consideration; but it does not and cannot speak for the New York city bar. It speaks only for its own limited and exclusive membership. It does not speak even for the members. So perfunctorily are its manifestoes usually adopted, it can hardly be said to speak with authority for more than the little group of members who attend its meetings, ballot for members, elect its officers, and in political campaigns give the sanction of its pretentious name to their political and personal likes and dislikes with reference to candidates for the bench.

It is the Cleveland police who are now trying to make capital out of Emma Goldman, by preventing her speaking in public. This was done in Chicago by Mayor Harrison upon the flimsiest and most anarchistic of pretexts. There is not so much as the shadow of an excuse for denying to this woman the right to speak. Such denials are on the contrary flagrant breaches of the law, which policemen are sworn to enforce and not to defy. Miss Goldman has the same right as any other person to speak freely in public, subject to a lawful prosecution for abusing the right. It is the duty of the police to attend her meetings for the purpose of preserving the peace. It is their duty while there to preserve the peace by suppressing physical violence of all kinds. It is not their duty, but quite the contrary, to censor her utterances. If the prosecuting attorney of the locality has

reason to believe that she may say things calculated to promote crime, it may be his duty, it certainly is his right, to have her words authentically reported and either to prosecute her at once before a magistrate or refer the matter directly to the grand jury. This may also be the duty of the police. But no one can prevent her from speaking, no one can censor her utterances in advance, no one can interrupt her while she speaks, without thereby himself committing a breach of the peace, without thereby, if he be an officer of the law, violating his oath of office, and without thereby threatening the exercise by others of their guaranteed rights of free speech.

Whatever may be thought of the unjudicial manner of the special sessions judges of New York city who have sentenced John Most to a year's imprisonment for republishing an extract from an essay written half a century ago by Carl Heinzen, a distinguished German patriot and American abolitionist, the proceedings appear at any rate to have been legitimate under the law. Most was held criminally responsible for what he had printed; not by way of censorship in advance, but in a prosecution for crime. Of the question of the criminality of the extract we need not speak at this time. The tribunal of petty justices which tried Most has decided that it was criminal, and he himself must have accepted that tribunal or his trial would have been by jury. He probably believed that a jury would have convicted him upon the same facts, and in this he was doubtless right. In the present disordered state of the public mind a jury would be as likely as a mob to punish a man suspected of systematically advocating assassination. And when juries or mobs are in a state of mind to punish even legitimate and lawful acts, there is no recourse under any possible system of government or no-government, except as government may possibly afford it through reviewing tribunals. It is to

be borne in mind, also, that John Most is not a peaceable agitator of opinions. He is what is known as a physical force anarchist. He makes a practice of advocating assassination. This affords no excuse for convicting him as for crime upon facts which do not constitute a crime, if that has been done; but it does raise a reasonable presumption in the minds of men who believe in law and order—not merely those who use these words as cant, but those who believe in law and believe in order—that he has not been unlawfully or improperly dealt with.

How ridiculously demoralized the public press, if not the public itself, has been by the recent anarchy hysterics, is illustrated by the way in which a sermon by Heber Newton is reported. Mr. Newton delivered this sermon last Sunday from the pulpit of All Souls Protestant Episcopal church, New York city, of which he is rector. According to the report which came over the wires to Chicago, it "amazed his congregation" by its "radical utterances on the subject of anarchism." Mr. Newton's views, the report proceeds, "came as a surprise to many, while some, who knew the trend of his mind, were astonished at the rector's bluntness." After that introduction one should be prepared for an explosion of rhetorical dynamite. Less than a hair-raising, blood-curdling, law-defying incitement to assassination would hardly fill the bill. Yet the worst extract the reporter was able to cull was this:

Anarchism is in reality the ideal of political and social science, and also the ideal of religion. It is the ideal to which Jesus Christ looked forward. Christ founded no church, established no state, gave practically no laws, organized no government and set up no external authority, but he did seek to write on the hearts of men God's law, and make them self-legislating.

If that utterance were capable of "amazing" church people by its "bluntness" as a plea for anarchy, the fact only goes to show that the revengeful pulpit utterances of recent days have benumbed their religious

sensibilities and made them unable to distinguish Christian doctrine.

The latest industrial bulletin issued from the census office (No. 93) relates to the manufactures of Rhode Island. Its immediate predecessor in the same general field (No. 87) related to the manufacturing and mechanical industries of Montana. The two previous ones on the industrial subject, relating respectively to the coke industry in general, and to manufacturing in Delaware, we commented upon at page 148 as to the coke industry and at page 260 as to Delaware. The Montana report (No. 87) we summarize as follows:

1890.—Value of products.....	\$5,507,573
Cost of Materials and miscellaneous expenses.....	2,539,996
Net Product	\$2,967,577
Net product per wage earner (2,386 wage earners).....	\$1242
Individual wages (\$1,652,413 for 2,386 wage earners).....	691
Surplus	\$551
Profit on capital, namely, gross products, less cost of materials, etc., and wages.....	\$1,315,164
Percentage of profit (\$4,293,794 invested capital).....	30 per ct.
1900.—Value of products.....	\$57,076,824
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses.....	35,209,106
Net product	\$21,866,716
Net product per wage earner (10,117 wage earners).....	\$2161
Individual wages (\$7,969,886 for 10,117 wage earners).....	787
Surplus	1374
Profit on capital, namely, gross products, less cost of materials, etc., and wages.....	\$13,696,830
Percentage of profit (\$40,945,846 invested capital).....	34 per ct.

Thus we see that in this case, unlike the previous ones, individual wages have risen. From \$691 in 1890 they have gone up to \$787 in 1900. But when we compare wages to net product, we find that whereas the manufacturing and mechanical wage workers of Montana received 56 per cent. of the net product in 1890, they received only 35 per cent. in 1900. Consequently, though there is a rise in absolute wages, there is a fall in wages relatively to net product. With reference to invested capital, the profit has risen from 30 per cent. in 1890 to 34 per cent. in 1900. In Rhode Island (No. 93), also, individual wages appear to have risen. And in this case the percentage of wages to

net product has remained unchanged—58 per cent. With reference to invested capital the profit is the same now as ten years ago—19 per cent. Following is the Rhode Island summary:

1890.—Value of products.....	\$142,500,623
Cost of materials and misc. exp	85,078,430
Net product	\$57,422,193
Net product per wage earner (81,111 wage earners).....	\$708
Individual wages (33,239,313 for 81,111 wage earners).....	410
Surplus	\$298
Profit on capital, namely, gross products, less cost of materials and wages.....	\$24,182,890
Percentage of profit (\$126,483,401 invested capital).....	19
1900.—Value of products.....	\$184,074,378
Cost of materials and misc. exp	108,592,003
Net product	\$75,482,375
Net product per wage earner (96,528 wage earners).....	\$782
Individual wages (\$41,114,084 for 96,528 wage earners).....	426
Surplus	\$366
Profit on capital, namely, gross products, less cost of materials, etc., and wages.....	\$34,368,291
Percentage of profit (\$183,784,587 invested capital).....	19

Tabulating the census bulletins so far issued on manufacturing industries, namely, 63, 69, 87 and 93, we get the following comparative results for the decade:

	1890.	1900.
Coke Industry (1889 and 1899):		
Net product per wage earner.....	\$554	\$396
Individual wages.....	\$453	\$417
Percentage of wages to net product.....	81	46
Percentage of profit on capital.....	2½	16
Manufacturing in Delaware:		
Net product per wage earner.....	\$711	\$747
Individual wages.....	\$421	\$417
Percentage of wages to net product.....	59	56
Percentage of profit on capital.....	18	13
Manufactures of Idaho, Nevada and Wyoming:		
Net product per wage earner.....	\$1108	\$1113
Individual wages.....	632	617
Percentage of wages to net product.....	57	55
Percentage of profit on capital.....	29	31
Manufacturing and mechanical industries of Montana:		
Net product per wage earner.....	\$1242	\$2161
Individual wages.....	\$691	\$787
Percentage of wages to net product.....	56	35
Percentage of profit on capital.....	30	34
Manufactures of Rhode Island:		
Net product per wage earner.....	\$708	\$782
Individual wages.....	410	426
Percentage of wages to net product.....	58	53
Percentage of profit on capital.....	19	19

In a very able and generally sound article in the September number of the Journal of Political Economy, Mr. George C. Sikes opposes the principle of farming out street car fran-

chises upon the basis of high fares and compensation to the city. He favors low fares without compensation. In other words, he objects to levying taxes upon street car passengers as such. But Mr. Sikes makes the mistake of adopting, as the basis for an ethical argument in support of this thoroughly sound contention, the untenable fiscal doctrine that "persons should contribute to the support of government according to their ability." There is no logical relation between that doctrine and just taxation. This logical step has been taken advantage of by James R. Galloway, in a letter to the Chicago Chronicle of the 13th. Mr. Galloway points out, correctly, that with taxes as with everything else, men should in justice pay not in proportion to the length of their purse, but in proportion to what they get. And he brings to his support no less weighty an authority than Judge Cooley, whom he quotes as laying down the principle that "if it were practicable to do so, the taxes levied by any government ought to be apportioned among the people according to the benefit each receives from the protection the government affords." In fact, notwithstanding Judge Cooley, it is possible to do that very thing. It would be possible, that is, but for the opposition, as yet effective, of just such men as Mr. Galloway. That gentleman can hardly realize what he is doing when he assails the doctrine to which Mr. Sikes refers. While this doctrine does not support Mr. Sikes's argument—which is an argument for equitable adjustment—since taxation according to ability to bear it can by no possibility be equitable, yet it is a far safer doctrine for the unproductive classes to cling to than the one which Mr. Galloway unguardedly advances.

It is gratifying to know that special arrangements are being made by the census bureau to furnish statistics of actual wages in mechanical establishments for the decade 1890-1900. Moreover, it is refreshing to be in-

formed that the reason for these arrangements is that all the census statistics of wages heretofore published are false and misleading!

With her military prestige gone—lost upon South African veldts—Great Britain, under the lead of the Salisbury-Chamberlain ministry, is now earning a ghastly reputation for inhumanity and violation of the laws of war. She has abolished civil law in South Africa, and in the name of military law but without its sanction, is killing off the women and children of her enemy in reconcentrado camps and hanging prisoners of war and civilians sentenced by drumhead courts-martial. Her good name is swiftly following her military prestige. As no warlike nation fears her now, no civilized people can much longer respect her. The one redeeming fact about it all is the brave protest and the strenuous opposition of a truly patriotic remnant of her people.

Secretary Gage has at last disclosed the inward meaning of the "sound money" agitation. He did it at the Bankers' convention at Milwaukee on the 16th. Thoughtful men who do not believe in government by a banking ring have long foreseen this outcome, but their prognostications have been laughed to scorn by the thoughtless and the conniving. It is a relief, therefore, to have the purpose of this plutocratic agitation authoritatively revealed. It is nothing less in substance than the reestablishment of the United States bank which once had the American government by the throat and was only shaken off by the vigorous policy of President Jackson.

It is natural that special admirers of one who in dying leaves behind him happy memories of personal virtues, should dwell affectionately upon those characteristics of their departed friend. Though his virtues be in no wise unique, but are exemplified almost universally in the common life

of his time, to his friends he seems to have been their peculiar exemplar. This trait in human nature explains the enthusiasm with which Mr. McKinley's admirers dilate upon his sterling qualities as a friend, a neighbor, a son and a husband. But these admirable virtues cannot keep the late president's memory green in history. Most friends are true to their friends, most neighbors are good neighbors, most sons love their mothers, most husbands are devoted to their wives. Such virtues are too common to distinguish any man permanently. Mr. McKinley's reputation as a character in American history must have a more enduring basis. Future generations, even his own generation at no distant day, will ask, not what kind of husband Mr. McKinley was, but what kind of statesman he was. That is the point toward which Mr. McKinley's admirers should begin to turn their attention.

CLASSES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The crusade against free press and free speech which the recent assassination has set on foot, has for one of its declared objects the suppression of discussions proceeding upon the hypothesis that the people of the United States are divided into classes.

That hypothesis is asserted to be false, because there are no classes here; and the discussion to be dangerous, because it raises class against class. How class can be raised against class in a country where there are no classes, is a riddle which stranglers of free discussion may find it politic to unravel.

While they are thus engaged, it may be profitable to the rest of us to consider this question of classes in our country, with some serious sense of responsibility for the future of the republic. Is it true that we have classes here? That is a question which cannot be lightly dismissed.

Pinchbeck patriotism, resting as it does upon the barbarous doctrine that men must stand by the government of their country not only when it is right, but as well when it is wrong, may ignore this vital question of classes. But true patriotism, to

which national glory is of less concern by far than national righteousness, is rooted too securely in the principles of human equality to be indifferent to the possibility of class differences in a republic where all are nominally equal.

That conditions in this country are fostering classes, is one of the signs of the times so plainly written that none but a fool can honestly err if he tries to read them at all. It is true that our class distinctions were more marked in the past. We have had a slave class and a master class. We have had a plebeian class and an aristocratic class. We have had a tenant class and a landlord class. But those distinctions were a satanic inheritance, of which we were ridding ourselves. If classes did exist more distinctly and with harsher edges than than now, they were not fostered. The tendency of conditions and events was, on the contrary, in the direction of obliterating them.

In our time, however, that tendency is reversed. Though slaves, as a class distinguished by birth marks and bills of sale, were swept away in rushing currents of human blood; though there is no plebeian class (save the freedman and his descendants) so unalterably differentiated from the aristocratic class that the line of demarcation is impassable; though tenants now become landlords as plebeians become aristocrats; though the humblest boy may rise to the most conspicuous station—though all the conventional class distinctions of a former age have passed away, essential class differences remain. And events are developing these differences into distinctions not less potent, even if more subtle, than the class distinctions of the past.

This is one of those evident truths which require no argument, with men willing to reflect upon the facts that confront them; but in support of which hardly any argument would be effective, with the unwilling. "If a man oppose evident truths," remarked Epictetus, "it is not easy to find arguments by which we shall make him change his opinions."

Whoever says there are no class differences in the United States is either deceiving himself or trying to

deceive others. If there are none, how shall we account for the expressions of fear already mentioned, that class may be incited to rise up against class? If there are no classes, how could that fear be possible? And what of the perennial chatter about upper class, lower class and middle class? What is the significance of the frequent appeals to the interests of the "business class," meaning the financial class? How shall we explain the constant allusions to "moneyed classes," to "working classes," to the "leisure class," and so on? In these expressions there is an unmistakable even if indefinite recognition of the existence of classes. If classes did not exist, such phrases would not be current.

When it is considered that the same persons who thus recognize classes vehemently deny that there are classes, the only inference consistent with respect for their intelligence and honesty, is that they mean not that there are no classes, but that there are no class distinctions; that they mean merely that status has been abolished, and that men may lawfully pass from one class to another by paying the initiation fee.

As a distinguished financier puts it: "Under our government it is possible for every man to succeed, and those who fail to do so are the ones who have neglected to work for that which they desire to possess." He implies that there are no classes because men of a lower class may work their passage into upper classes. But even this abolition of status is more nominal than real. Success is indeed possible, as the financier we quote asserts, for every man who works for what he desires. But only in point of legal form. It is not possible for everyone in point of fact.

Would not the financier from whom we have quoted begin to "hedge," were he asked if it is possible under our government for every man to succeed who works for what he desires, if what he desires is the presidency? Everybody can't be president, no matter how faithfully everybody may work for it. Yet this financier's words imply the contrary. And success in minor degree, in the sense in which he uses the term "success," is only somewhat more possible than

success in winning the White House chair. Indeed, for everybody, it is not more possible. While fortunes consist in part of tribute, as fortunes now do, it is no more possible for everybody to be rich than for everybody to be president.

When analyzed, the sapient remark of our distinguished financier is equivalent to the absurd proposition that it is possible for everybody who runs fast enough in a race to win. The truth, and all the truth, that his remark contains is that in the race for success in life it is possible in this country for every man to enter. Not only is it not true that everybody who enters can win, but it is not true that everybody who tries to win is allowed to start fair. Our laws give advantages in the race to some, which in greater or less degree they deny to the others. This makes class differences. And those differences are differences still, though members of the privileged classes often fail and members of the unprivileged sometimes succeed.

The notion that everybody can win success if he works for it is only a version of the theory that there is plenty of room at the top. Yes, there is plenty of room at the top; that is true. There always has been and always will be. But room at the top can never rid us of classes. We shall not be rid of classes until there is plenty of room at the bottom.

It is the moiling crowd at the bottom, fighting for a bare chance to live, that makes class differences. So long as the right to make a living is reduced by law to a privilege which some are permitted to control, and for which others must work—working not alone for their living, which is according to nature, but for the right to earn it, which is against nature—there will still be plenty of room at the top with no room at the bottom. Upper servants like Mr. Schwab, will be in steady demand; but of the hopeful Schwabs who fail and of plodders ambitious only to live in comfort, there will always be a superabundant supply. And the struggle of some to get to the top, and of the great mass to keep from sliding off their slippery little ledges down into the yawning gulf of pauperism, will keep up the

sociological action and reaction which maintains a rich class of leisure and power and a poor class of ignorant drudges. Between these extreme classes, there must of necessity be a series descending from highest to lowest, and larger in number the nearer it approaches the bottom class. That is indeed the condition in our country even now.

If we would realize that there is in truth already a separation into distinctive classes, we have only to consider some of the statistics of poverty.

The official statistics of Italy, which report that 100,000 people go mad in that country every year from hunger alone, and that thousands upon thousands are so poor that their principal food is acorns boiled in a broth of clay, may be passed by without comment, since Italy is a class country where the masses are expected to work and starve for superior classes.

But Great Britain is more like our own country. Yet in London we find upon the authority of Charles Booth, who recently made a sociological census of that city, that only 18 per cent. of the inhabitants are in easy circumstances, while 31 per cent. are in some degree dependent upon charity. Some 51 per cent., though self-supporting, maintain themselves upon the verge of poverty. And taking the population of the British isles, we have the authority of the Financial Reform Almanac of Liverpool, upon the basis of official reports, for saying that 92 per cent. of the population possesses less than one-third of one per cent. of the wealth.

Though these startling figures of class differences come from a European country—one, however, which boasts almost as freely as we do about the possibilities of success—our own country makes but a sorry showing, so far as encouragement to believe that we have no classes is concerned. Our official statistics indicate, according to Shearman, Holmes and Spahr, that about 90 per cent. of our population possess only about 25 per cent. of the wealth. And Mr. Spahr, one of the editors of the Outlook, testifies that in the state of New York, out of every four men who die

above 25 years of age, only one leaves property enough to get his estate into the probate court.

Standing alone, those statistics might be doubted, as all statistics should be. But they confirm the results of common observation, and are in harmony with the reports of charity organizations. The splendor of our charity is thrilling. But let it not be forgotten that there cannot be splendid charity unless there is appalling poverty.

That a large poor class exists, in this country as well as in Europe, is simply indisputable. And while it may please the vanity of the rich class, and of that class of parasites who have been irreverently though not inappropriately labeled "penniless plutes," to blame the poor themselves for their poverty, this explanation is not consistent with the facts. Intemperance, for one thing, is no more a characteristic of the poor than of the rich. For another, the poor are as thrifty as the rich. And they outdo the rich in useful industry. Measure them up, side by side, per cent. by per cent., and personal reasons accounting for the wealth of the wealthy as a class and the poverty of the poor as a class will not be discovered.

They are all of a kind. In morality, natural ability, love of industry, aversion to drudgery, inclination to thrift, selfishness, generosity, both classes are simply men. Their differences of condition as classes are attributable to no superior virtues of the few, but to superior privileges. The many are poor, that is to say, because the few are rich, and the few are rich because the many are poor. These conditions are mutually related as cause and effect.

There are, then, two great classes in this country as in every other. They are the rich whose fortunes rest upon privilege, and the poor whose poverty lashes them on to make and maintain those fortunes. No wonder the privileged cry out that there are no classes, and in the same breath that it is anarchistic to excite class hatreds. They are hysterical about their privileges.

This kind of hysteria has always been characteristic of privileged classes. They always were in mortal

terror of a class war. It was so with the old slaveholders. What they feared was a servile insurrection, but that is the same thing as class war. Such fears are traceable to the same quality of our common nature which makes all of us fear those we wrong.

The least of all things that slaveholders had to fear was servile insurrection, and the John Brown raid proved it. Yet they feared it above everything else; for down in the depths of their subconsciousness there lurked a feeling that their institution wronged the slave, and they knew that the natural fruit of such a wrong is servile insurrection. They knew, too, that if conditions were reversed—that if they were slaves instead of masters—there would certainly be a servile insurrection.

Likewise with the privileged classes of our day. A class war is the last thing they need fear. Nothing could be less menacing to them than the "class conscious" agitation of some socialists. If class were raised against class, whether with bullets or ballots, a preponderance of the unprivileged would fight or vote, as might be, for and with the master class. If evidence of this be required, let the recent steel strike tell the story. Every other great strike has the same story to tell. It is not the masters who defeat strikes; strikes are defeated by "scabs." If class were raised against class, the privileged class would win because great bodies of the unprivileged would vote for it and if need be fight for it. Such contrary tendency as they might at first exhibit would be overcome with promises of "a full dinner pail."

Most abundant are the indications that the unprivileged class cannot be raised up in a war against the privileged. Yet the privileged are in terror of just that improbable and almost impossible thing. Why? For the same reason that the old slaveholders feared a servile insurrection. Somewhere in its sub-conscious regions, the privileged class feels that it flourishes by wrong and oppression, that its gains are others' losses, that its superiority is not a noble superiority of merit, that it is a despicable superiority of privilege.

Out of the cowardly fears of the

privileged class, born of this vague consciousness of guilt, come the pleas it makes for the sanctity of property.

Observe that privileged classes never stand for the sanctity of righteous property only. Like pinchbeck patriots who are for their "country right or wrong," privileged classes are for property right or wrong. It was so with the slaveholders, who asserted property rights in black men. These men were their property under the law, and whether just or unjust made no difference. It is so with our privileged class, who assert property rights in legalized methods of exacting tribute. The tribute and the methods by which it is enforced—for instance, rights of exclusive dominion of the earth—are property under the law, and whether just or unjust makes no difference. They do not stand for justice. They do not stand for just property. They stand for property. The nearest they come to making an ethical argument is when they urge that an assault upon unjust property is an assault upon all property; and that is the argument of thief and hypocrite combined. It is transparently false. The only possible legal security for just property is the legal abolition of unjust property. Yet it is not just property that the sanctimonious apologists for privileged classes defend. It is property.

Here we can see what Blackmore meant when in Lorna Doone he made one of his characters say:

Robbers, more than others, contend for rights of property.

He referred to the robber Doones who were great sticklers for property rights in the earnings of the peasants whom they plundered. The Doones were robbers by prescriptive right, and it is to the interest of such robbers to contend for property—merely property, property in itself, property without an ethical adjective. They would dispossess themselves if they contended for just property.

Precisely so with the privileged class of our time and country. It must contend for property. Not for righteous property, not for just property, but for property as property. Else it would lose its privileges and have to work for a living instead of being worked for.

But the privileged class, now as aforetime, fears the anger of the unprivileged. Therefore it protests that there are no classes. Therefore it paints bright pictures of the success that awaits all who "say nothing, but saw wood." Therefore it explains that everybody can have a retinue of servants if he works hard enough—everybody! Therefore it deplures speaking and writing which may arouse non-existent poor classes against non-existent rich classes. Therefore it goes into hysterics when a brooding victim of the privileged class loses his balance and with the fatuity of a mad man slays a chief officer of the law. Therefore it forgets the struggles for liberty that gave birth to this republic, and proposes abandoning republican institutions as a failure and putting press and platform under censorship. Therefore it would silence all talk about classes, all comparisons of rich and poor, all discussions that might weaken the underpinnings of the legal privileges which empower it to plunder the masses who have no privileges.

Its apologists know, as many business men have learned and more are learning, that success in business has ceased to be possible without a monopoly. Therefore they are solicitous for monopoly, for privilege. So they become sticklers for property. They stickle for property as the Doones did. Not for property righteously acquired, but just for property—for property right or wrong.

Against the legalized depredations of this class, the voice of every honest man must be raised, even though he be a beneficiary. Against these depredations the vote of every patriotic man, beneficiary of privilege though he be, must be cast. And that votes may be cast with intelligence, platform and press must be kept free for the untrammled discussion of the question of classes in our country and of the legal privileges that produce them. If madmen are inspired to kill because sane men speak and write and vote against privilege, let the blame rest where it belongs; not upon those who denounce privilege but upon those who maintain it, not upon those who champion the principles of the republic but upon those who are

undermining the republic, not upon those who plead the common cause but upon those who plead the cause and promote the schemes of predatory class interests.

NEWS

There are no further developments in Afghanistan consequent upon the death of Ameer Abdur Rahman, of which we told last week. The dispatches from India report a peaceful recognition by the people of Habibullah as the late ameer's successor. But Russian dispatches have a different color. From St. Petersburg an outbreak of civil war in Afghanistan is reported as certain; which means, if there is any basis for the report, that the Russian government is more than willing. Reading between the lines of the dispatches from India, the Russian predictions of an outbreak seem to be not inconsiderately made. British authorities in India are evidently disturbed by the situation.

Under cover of martial law, proclaimed over all Cape Colony as reported last week, Lord Kitchener appears now to have inaugurated a shocking and pitiless policy of murder. The full extent of this policy is not yet known, for he has stopped the publication of local newspapers and allows no news to get to the outer world which he does not approve and can suppress. It is known only that two Boer leaders, Lotter and his lieutenant, prisoners of war, have been tried by British court-martial and under Kitchener's orders shot. Another leader, Scheeper, has been captured, and it is supposed will suffer a like fate. Reprisals by the Boers are probable, and a war of merciless slaughter, to the point of utter extermination, looms up. Kruger's words of warning, that Great Britain might crush the two South African republics but it would be at a price at which the world would stand aghast, are taken seriously now.

In the field, the British are still baffled. Though they reported Botha in a trap at the beginning of the week, they now concede that he has escaped, with his little army, and is at large in the Transvaal ready for another of his swoops. It is evident from the dispatches also that the two battles, Itala and Moerwill, recently reported

as dearly bought British victories, were in fact victories for the Boers.

Exasperated by the continuance of the war, which Lord Roberts declared a year ago to be at an end, the British people have criticised the ministry until Mr. Broderick, the secretary for war, stung by these criticisms, has made a public statement. He makes it in the form of a letter to Sir Charles Howard Vincent, which appeared in print in London on the 10th. In this letter Mr. Broderick declares that the total number of men now under arms to conquer the Boers is 300,000—100,000 in training at home and 200,000 in South Africa. There are also in South Africa 450 British guns. Supplies are being provided by the war office, he says, for 314,000 persons, directly or indirectly connected with the war, and 248,000 horses and mules. During the first six months of the present year, he adds, 61,000 fresh troops were sent out to Lord Kitchener.

American sympathy with the Boers in the present crisis has been expressed at two public meetings in Chicago, one presided over by Judge Edward F. Dunne and the other by Edward Osgood Brown. More of these meetings are to be held. Resolutions were adopted at both calling upon President Roosevelt to intimate to Great Britain that the American people are indignant at the barbarous and cruel mode of warfare her army has adopted in South Africa. The second meeting further declared that—

by the evidence submitted it is conclusively shown that England, in her attempt to subdue a nation fighting for her liberty, has waged and is waging warfare upon innocent women and children, and has been and is guilty of unfairness, inhumanity, and violation of the laws of civilized warfare.

It also called—

upon all who sympathize with the women and children herded in the concentration camps of South Africa, to do their utmost in contributing money and influence to bring relief to the victims of Great Britain's barbaric methods.

These American expressions of sympathy with the Boers, however, are offset by British statesmen with references to the American war in the Philippines, which they cite in justification of the British procedure in South Africa. In fact, the American

war in the Philippines is not unlike the other. For one thing, though declared nearly a year ago to be at an end, it is nevertheless still alive. Since the disaster to the Americans at Balangiga (p. 410), a serious action has taken place at Batangas, the capital of the province of Batangas, on the island of Luzon. At that place 300 Filipinos were entrenched and were dislodged by the Americans only with difficulty and loss. At first the Americans were repulsed. But after securing reinforcements they made a second assault in which they were successful. Among the Americans killed was Lieut. Bean, of the Twenty-first Infantry. There are other indications in the dispatches of Filipino activity, but the dispatches are very indefinite about it. One of them, however, tells with unusual definiteness, of the disarming of the police force at Banan, in the province of Batangas, and of the arrest of municipal officers there. The charge is "belonging to an insurgent society." A terrific typhoon, the worst in ten years, with its center about 60 miles from Manila, has done enormous damage including the total destruction of the town of Baler.

The last official act on the part of the Chinese government as a condition of reoccupying China (p. 376) was performed on the 13th, when the Chinese plenipotentiaries at Peking delivered to the Spanish minister, dean of the diplomatic corps, the requisite bond for 450,000,000 taels (about \$327,000,000), which is the amount of indemnity China agrees to pay (p. 250) to the powers for the expenses and damages incurred by them in suppressing the Boxer uprising.

Australian politics have become critical. We noted this last week (p. 426) in announcing the introduction in the parliament of the Commonwealth of the ministerial tariff bill. As the protection which this bill proposes is moderate, an issue involving the dissolution of parliament may not, as surmised, arise. The free trade fight may be postponed. But it must come sooner or later, and a knowledge of the general political situation is important. The Commonwealth of Australia was formed in the summer of 1900 (vol. iii., p. 601) by the passage in the British parliament of an enabling act. The then Australian colonies, now states, had adopted a federal constitution (vol. ii., No. 64,

p. 9), to which this parliamentary enabling act gave political vitality. Immediately thereafter, July 14, 1900, Queen Victoria appointed the Earl of Hopetoun as governor general of the new Commonwealth, and on the 19th of December of the same year the governor general invited Sir William Lyne, then prime minister of New South Wales, to form the first federal cabinet. Lyne was unable to secure the cooperation of the men he wanted and therefore declined. Mr. Edmund Barton, leader in the constitutional convention, and an eminent protectionist, was then appointed and is now prime minister of the Commonwealth. All his associate ministers are protectionists. The inauguration of the governor general having taken place with the opening of the twentieth century (vol. iii., p. 616), federal parliamentary elections were held in March, and on the 9th of May (vol. iv., p. 89) parliament was ceremoniously opened at Melbourne. The upper house, or senate, consists of 36 members, 6 from each state; in the lower house, the house of representatives, the membership is 75, the number from each state varying according to population. Both houses are elected by direct popular vote. The senate has almost equal power with the lower house. Though money bills must originate in the latter and cannot be amended by the senate, yet the senate may suggest amendments and reject the bills unless the lower house acquiesces in the suggestions. The parliamentary elections already mentioned were fought mainly on the question of protection or revenue tariff, free traders supporting the latter policy. They could not be more radical, because a fiscal policy universally agreed upon for the opening era of the new government excluded direct taxation. With reference to customs and excise duties it had been provided by the federal constitution that for the first ten years three-quarters of the revenue so derived should be turned over to the states. This was to prevent dislocation of state finances through the transfer of jurisdiction over tariffs from the states to the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth needs an income of about \$10,000,000 per year. Since this is to be derived wholly from customs and excise duties, three-quarters of which must be paid to the states, a total revenue of \$40,000,000 is necessary. A free trade policy is thus precluded. But so also is a high protection policy, for high duties would militate

against revenues. The bill presented by the ministry is therefore—and perhaps also for fear of raising too sharp an issue—necessarily moderate in its protection features. It is estimated by the ministry to yield \$45,000,000, of which they propose to use the surplus for subsidizing domestic industries. As stated above, the elections of last spring were fought mainly on the tariff issue. The principal exception was in Queensland, where the leading issue was the question of the exclusion of Kanaka labor. The parliamentary elections resulted as follows:

	Senate.	House.
Ministerialists	14	22
Opposition	42	33

The senate elected a free trader as president, and the house elected a free trader as speaker. From that fact it is evident that the parties are not formed on strict lines. There is in fact a labor party, the representatives of which, 22 in number in the two houses, are a disturbing element in both of the leading parties, some of them being ministerialists and some in the opposition. They act in a body on industrial questions, and are likely to do so in any emergency on other questions, as a matter of "log-rolling." As individuals some of them are protectionists and some free traders, but as a body they aspire to holding the balance of power. The important consideration with them is the Kanaka question mentioned above. This question needs explanation. In Queensland a number of Polynesians, called Kanakas, are employed on the sugar plantations for very low wages. The planters say that white workmen cannot stand the climate, but what really interests the planters, doubtless, is cheap labor. In the northern parts of South Australia and Queensland there are also a number of Chinese, Hindus and Japanese, whose numbers are increasing. In consequence of this condition the ministry seem to be flirting with the labor party by adopting a policy which they label "white Australia." The "white Australia" question has some complications of its own. The Japanese claim to be a civilized people, recognized as such by the sisterhood of nations, and therefore not to be discriminated against as Kanakas; while the Hindus set up a right, as British subjects, to settle in Australia without restriction. But the question is very likely to affect the action of parliament on the ministerial tariff bill. Indications are strong that the ministry have adopted the "white

Australia" policy for the purpose of securing the support of the labor members; and inasmuch as the labor party, even its free trade members, put the Kanaka question above the tariff question, this bid for labor support may win.

Of politics in the United States there is but little to say. In New York city the fight between Low and Shepard has but just opened, and the campaign in Ohio has not yet opened in earnest except in Cleveland, where Mayor Johnson began his tax fight in a big tent on the 15th. The Democratic party in Rhode Island made state nominations on the 15th. The platform is confined to state matters, a new constitution being recommended. For governor the convention named Lucius F. C. Garvin. Dr. Garvin has served in the senate, is a leading public man of the state and has for many years been prominent throughout New England as a representative single tax man. On the 16th the Republicans of Rhode Island nominated William Gregory for governor.

Gov. Gen. Wood officially reports from Cuba that the general elections of the Cuban republic are to be held December 31, and the election for president, vice president and senators February 24. Gen. Wood corrects the news of two or three weeks ago (p. 411) that the Cuban constitutional convention had adjourned without day. He reports that it adjourned subject to call.

NEWS NOTES.

—Lorenzo Snow, head of the Mormon church, died at Salt Lake City on the 10th, aged 86.

—The eleventh triennial session of the national council of Congregational churches met at Portland, Me., on the 12th.

—The American Bankers' association met at Milwaukee on the 15th. Mayor Herrick, of Cleveland, has been elected president.

—The ninth annual convention of the National Spiritualist Association of the United States and Canada met at Chicago on the 15th.

—Prof. Oscar L. Triggs, of the University of Chicago, is to lecture on industrial art before the "Daughters of Revolution," in Lecture hall, Fine Arts Building, 203 Michigan avenue, Chicago, on the 25th.

—An old Viking ship is reported from Copenhagen on the 14th to have been found deeply imbedded in

the mud under a quay built in the eleventh century in the harbor of the old Hanse town of Wisby, in the Swedish island of Gotland. It was in excellent preservation. According to the dispatch, "its construction is remarkable, the use of wooden nails showing a manner of fixing the boards that is now unknown."

MISCELLANY

THE TRUE PATRIOTISM.

To the Right Hon. James Bryce, M. P.

I lose not hope or faith in this great land,
This many-victoried, many-heroed land,
Though hope oft sinks, and faith is hard
to hold.

She that with ruthless John and truthless
Charles,

And James the despicable, by voice or
sword

Strove, and not vainly, for her liberties;
She that from him, the humbler of the
world,

Whose thunderous heel was on submitted
thrones,

Kept whole and virginal her liberties;
She that so joyed at sounds of other lands
Heaved high with passion for their liber-
ties,

Shall yet win back—'tis thus, at least, I
dream,

Being her lover, and dreaming from the
heart—

Shall yet win back her lost and wandering
soul,

Shall yet recall herself from banishment;
Shall yet remember—she forgets to-day—

How the munificent hands of Life are full
Of gifts more covetable an hundredfold
Than man's dominion o'er reluctant man;
And come upon old wealth disused and idle,
Her scorned estate and slighted patrimony,
Auriferous veins in all the field of being,
With those shy treasures no self-seeking
wins,

Rather self-search, and grace of fortunate
hours.

—William Watson, in the London Speaker.

A PERTINENT QUESTION.

If a public meeting of citizens to be held in a public hall can be prohibited by the commandment of a magistrate or a policeman, how far are we removed from the conditions that prevail in despotically governed countries like Ireland, Russia or Germany?—Henry Sturgis, in Chicago Chronicle of Oct. 5.

SUPPRESSION WON'T WORK.

Anarchy cannot be suppressed any more than the schoolboy's belief that arithmetic is all a mistake; nor can yellow journalism be legally repressed without violating the rights of the other kind. Occasionally a schoolboy will smash his slate in the belief that he will thus be rid of his problem; and occasionally the yellow newspaper becomes impossible; but in both cases existing statutes will be

found adequate. It is certain that any abridgment of the right of free speech would do more harm than good. Until the public taste in journalism is corrected additional laws would be useless. When it is corrected they will be needless.—Puck.

THE TRAGEDY DID NOT ALTER FACTS.

Some of the sensational press which before this crime abused the president with unstinted vituperation have seemed suddenly to become aware of his possession of only untarnished virtues, and others who have before this opposed the policy of the president, appear to have been at once by the tragedy converted to his views.

All this is from an unbalanced emotionalism. The character of our late president is made neither better nor worse by this fearful deed; and what he regarded as a righteous course in the government is neither wiser nor more foolish than it was before the assassin fired the fatal shot.—From Editorial in New-Church Messenger of Oct. 2.

THE GOSPEL OF WEALTH.

"Hands up!" shouted the road agent. As he was going through the pockets of the passengers, one of them remonstrated.

"This is very hard," said he, "to give up—"

"Nonsense," shouted the road mag-
nate, "if it were not for us leisure
classes there would be no demand
for your watches."

"But you give us nothing for
them," urged the discontented pas-
senger.

"I have organized the production
of valuables," replied the captain of
industry; consider: "I give you per-
mission to use the road. What more
do you want, you demagogues?"

"We want to control our own high-
way."

"If you controlled the road your-
selves the dear public would be
robbed. Much better to leave the
highways to professional highway-
men."

"We—"

"You forget the immense sums I
have given to the public by leaving
purses and trunks when I took the
valuables; that, as Comrade Rocke-
feller says, 'is the best sort of giv-
ing.'"

"But—"

"I'm only taking what you have
now, whereas the trusts take mort-
gages on all you may ever have."

"But you have no right at all to anything we produce."

"I am holding it only as a trustee," said the leading citizen, "and I have founded a library with my gains."—Bolton Hall, in *Life*.

ISSUES AT STAKE IN LEGISLATING AGAINST ANARCHISM.

Extract from editorial with the above title by Prof. Graham Taylor, in *Chicago Commons* for October.

To conserve the people's hard-earned, long-awaited liberty of thought and freedom of speech in the face of the too passionate, panic-stricken demand for the most drastic legislation against anarchism, will tax the vigilance and power of the really conservative element in every legislative body and in the constituency of every legislator. Any special class legislation is dangerous enough to the community, in its liability to be applied at random to general interests after the specific needs that call it into existence have been met. The very freedom of the English working classes was imperiled for half a century by such a perversion of the "conspiracy" laws to apply to the "restraint of trade." There is graver danger that the impending legislation, aimed to silence the incendiary utterance of the infinitesimally small faction of fanatics among the American people, may constitute a precedent, if it does not itself ever prove applicable, for the abridgment of that "right of private judgment" and that freedom of speech upon which more than upon anything else our religious and civil liberties and social progress depend.

VEGETARIANISM IN LINE WITH HIGHER DEVELOPMENT.

Vegetarianism is tendering its specific with the rest for the regeneration of the world. Nothing is less likely than a sudden change in the general diet of man. Yet there are influences on the side of vegetarianism which appear to promise it a future. As the world fills up, space will become more valuable, and more vegetable food, as a rule, can be produced on a given tract of land. Taste, as it becomes more refined, will be apt to incline to the vegetable side. The associations of the harvest and the vintage please, while those of the shambles disgust. Even the meat-eaters have, as civilization advanced, used more bread and vegetables with their meats. Heroes in Homer devour enormous quantities of beef and pork, with little cereal food, and no

other vegetables. Is animal food absolutely essential to any function of man, bodily or mental? A scientific meeting to which the writer once put the question, answered in the negative. A harder day's work a man could scarcely do than was done by the British farm laborer, who only once a week smelt bacon. The great schoolman, Thomas Aquinas, may stand for the maximum of brain work, however obsolete that work may now be, and he was forbidden meat by the rule of his order. Shelley was a vegetarian, and he may stand for the maximum of imagination.—Prof. Goldwin Smith, in *Toronto Weekly Sun*.

MURDER IN SOUTH AFRICA.

An extract from a speech on "Martial Law," delivered by Frederic Harrison, in London, October 13, as cabled to the *Chicago Record-Herald*.

As a lawyer of 30 years' experience in the courts of the empire, I was amazed to read in the newspapers last week telegrams from South Africa stating that certain men not soldiers had been tried in courts-martial and sentenced to penal servitude, banishment and even death.

If these things have really taken place our soldiers have violently outraged the British constitution and are liable to prosecution in the courts of London.

Martial law, which means no law, is absolutely without recognition in the British system. Under no circumstances whatever can it be applied to a British subject who is not a soldier. No civil offense, such as treason, conspiracy, arson or murder, can be legally tried by courts-martial. Any general, governor or other commander or official who sanctions or participates in any such proceeding is guilty of criminal usurpation, which is a crime punishable under the civil law.

Rebels and foreign enemies may be slaughtered without restraint in the course of actual warfare, but after the fighting is over the military authorities have no right to try or punish civilians who may have fallen into their hands. Such prisoners must be surrendered to the civil authorities for trial according to the principles of English law. All our great lawyers are at one on this point. Both common law and statute law emphatically exempt civilians from the jurisdiction of courts-martial. We have had many cases illustrating this principle. All were decided against the military usurpers.

Furthermore, no order from the war office or commander in chief places the officers subjecting civilians to the operations of courts-martial beyond the reach of civil penalties. Every party to the illegal process is individually responsible. I would warn our "khaki" judges and executioners in South Africa that during comparatively recent times, years after he committed the offense, a British governor of a West African colony was tried in London for having sanctioned the judgment of a court-martial which decreed the whipping of a civilian, which proved fatal. I would warn them also that this governor was hanged in England for his subversion of English constitutional law.

The declaration of martial law at Cape Town, miles distant from any actual hostilities, is utterly illegal and monstrous and deserves the odium of the empire. If soldiers may become absolutists at Cape Town, why may they not also become absolutists at Dublin, Glasgow or London?

IS THE RICH MAN GOD'S STEWARD?

An extract from a sermon delivered at the Vine street Congregational church in Cincinnati, October 6, by the pastor, Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow.

In my college days I read, or thought I read, books like "Progress and Poverty." I considered their authors "medicinal men," whose extravagant schemes might delude untrained minds, but not a mind like mine which had mastered the subject of political economy.

I considered a knowledge of social conditions a necessary part of a preacher's equipment. Therefore, while in the theological seminary, I became a friendly visitor for an associated charity organization. The poverty I found was appalling. Yet I believed as I had been taught regarding the cause of this poverty. Therefore I patronized the poor. I went among them to instruct them out of my superior knowledge. I learned those beautiful phrases about giving the poor not my money but my life. And I really suffered some inconvenience in order to bestow upon them the privilege of knowing me. I thought all this was very generous in me, and fortunate for the poor; and I plumed myself on my self-sacrificing devotion to weak and erring humanity.

I became a member of a social settlement. I was convinced that it was the mission of the settlement to bridge the social chasm. So I helped to

get ladies from the hill-tops to come down to the bottoms, to play and sing, and show their good breeding to the daughters of drudgery. After a few months of that sort of thing I began to think of myself as an authority. I was called here and there to lecture on how to improve the poor, and the rich heard me gladly.

It was not because I was more sincere than others, but because I had certain facts constantly forced upon my attention, that a change began to take place in my mind touching all these things. I found a little girl in my Sunday school working for 22 cents a day. I could not help comparing her condition with that of a woman who owns a strip of land on Fifth street, 16 feet wide, for which she receives \$3,000 a year, and, according to the terms of the lease, the tenant pays the taxes, and at the end of 20 years is to give her the store building which he has erected on the property.

Then I came to see that the only thing of any consequence which the rich can do for the poor is, as Tolstoi says, to get off their backs.

With considerable misgiving I came to the conclusion, about which I do not now have the slightest doubt, that the world is suffering more from the lack of an aroused social conscience and a sound political economy, than from the lack of agencies to give aid and comfort to the victims of social wrongs; that there is more need to stop the cruel car, than to pick up the mangled bodies in its bloody train; that sense and conscience are wanted in the legislatures; that freedom of opportunity is the brand of charity that is needed.

OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE NAVY.

There is a general impression that whatever is "official" is beyond question, and "official" reports of various kinds are quite commonly regarded with something like veneration and awe, notwithstanding that fallibility has been shown to be one of their attributes in common with most human work. But especially have we all felt constrained to accept without question official reports made by naval officers, and yet it is being shown by the court proceedings at Washington that even these may err. Not only may they err, but also it seems the men (and they are mere men, after all) that make them may know that they err. Commenting upon the matter, the *New York Times* aptly remarks:

"What does 'official' mean, anyhow? Hitherto a confiding public has ascribed to the word a significance lit-

tle less than that of 'authentic' or 'unquestionable,' but so ready have been the—well, the prosecuting attorneys in the Schley inquiry to admit both the incompleteness and the inaccuracy of the logs, charts, reports, etc., made by naval officers in the regular course of duty, that, for the moment at least, the civilian mind is filled with an amazed, not to say an angry, distrust of everything 'official.' The chart of maneuvers in a great battle, for instance, is coolly tossed aside as 'worthless' by the very men who made it, the position taken by them, apparently, being that though the chart is good enough to file away in the national archives for the amusement of the student and historian, it is not good enough to refute, or even to confuse, its makers when the difference between its testimony and theirs is called to their attention! The official chart, it seems, is merely a rough-and-ready compromise between widely varying guesses. To have sifted the evidence and to have reached and recorded the facts of the case would have taken too much time and been too much trouble. The navy department, we read, never had an opportunity to admit all this before, else would it gladly have done so! That may be true—it must be true, since it is the statement of men who, as an officer of high rank said the other day, have a regard so profound for honor and professional obligations that civilians simply cannot understand how absurd it is to apply to them the tests and restrictions imposed on ordinary humanity. There will be no present hesitation to confess this inability frankly and promptly. When a civilian makes a record or a map, if he is honest he does it with accuracy if he can, and if he cannot he says so. Naval officers, according to these latest revelations, are different, and their logs and charts, though 'official,' are 'worthless' as evidence in courts—of inquiry and others. 'Tis passing queer!"

Another queer thing was brought out by the testimony of one of the men who was in a responsible position in the engine-room of the *Texas* during the engagement off Santiago. He testified that for a time during the chase after the Spanish ships the engines of the *Texas* were reversed. Now we all know that the reversal of the engines of a naval vessel while going at full speed is significant of something, and that if an engine-room log is being kept, it may be fairly expected to show that such

a reversal took place in obedience to signals from the bridge. When the witness had his attention called to the fact that the log was silent on this point, he said not everything got into the log; but when it was further shown that the handling of ashes in the regular course of events was recorded in the same log, there was no explanation that seems at all satisfactory as to why the log maker recorded the utterly insignificant moving of ashes, but not the reversal of the engines, one of the most important things done in the engine-rooms.—Editorial in *American Machinist* of Oct. 3.

"WAR IS WAR."

"We went to Vrede next, and after a day's rest left that place in a shocking state. We killed thousands of sheep, and put them in every house. The stench in a week will be horrible. It is to prevent the Boers from returning."—Letter of Trooper Victor Smith, in the *London Daily News* of August 17.

This is how Trooper Victor Swift, of the Fifty-third company East Kent Yeomanry, describes war. In spite of the censor, many similar descriptions have been sent home to the ladies and gentlemen of England, who sit at home at ease, nor is there a workingman who has not read them. It has been observed that in this South African campaign, for the first time in the history of war, the British people have been able to look on, to watch the incidents, not as in former wars, long after, but while they were yet happening. It has occasionally happened that a battle has taken place under the eyes of non-combatants. The Bostonians thus looked on while Bunker Hill was fought. But in this campaign in South Africa, the whole course of events has unrolled itself before our eyes, and we, "like guilty creatures sitting at a play," have looked on at the deeds done with our approval—with our passionate applause. . . .

War is war. We used to think of it as we see it in the battle pictures—long lines of fighting men advancing against each other, a wild charge of cavalry, a gleam of sabers, a wavering streak of color, where the enemy's banners are swept down the tide of flight—a handsome young officer lying dead by his dead horse in the foreground, and over all the smoke of battle, hanging like a thick cloud, hiding every meaner detail of the slaughter. It was a grim but glorious spectacle. It was terrible, but not despicable—it was all on too large a scale, too loud, too bright; and when the battle was a British vic-

tory, it was always ennobled by the fact that we fought at odds. So we thought of war as an awful but purifying tragedy—as much removed from sordidness as an earthquake or a cyclone.

But now, when our rulers tell us that war is war, they mean nothing like this. They mean that war is the surrounding of 4,000 men by 40,000. They mean that war is the appearance of a company of imperial yeomanry before a farmhouse, and the voice of an officer calling out: "Ten minutes for the women to get out of the house, before I set fire to it!" It is "war" for the soldiers to run their bayonets through the portraits on the wall, war to break up the piano, war to tear up the books of the library. It is war to carry away captive women and children. It is war to starve them, that their men folk may hear of their sufferings, and cease to fight. It is war to trample crops into the ground. It is war to take the evidence of Kaffir servants against their masters. It is war to send Kaffirs out to loot the houses of a white enemy. In fact, war is everything which in ordinary life is held to be most vile, most cruel, most cowardly, most shameful and degrading to the doer, most certain to beget eternal hate in the sufferer. What Trooper Victor Swift did was "war."—The New Age, of London, for Sept. 19.

THE SPIRIT OF ANARCHISM.

Editorial in Toronto Daily Star of September 21, written by the Rev. J. A. MacDonald, of Toronto.

The spirit of anarchism is more to be feared than its fiercest and ugliest form. We are all ready to cry out against the mad and vulgar deed of the dastard assassin. We denounce it because it is both mad and vulgar. In its madness it frustrates its own ends, and in its vulgarity offends gentle and refined tastes. So indignant are we that we stand up and demand that anarchism be suppressed and all anarchists expelled. Having done so much as that, and having seen a few degenerate and deformed creatures put out of the way, we shall settle down to life as it was, conscious of having cherished proper sentiments at the right time.

But anarchism is not to be suppressed by loud denunciations from press and pulpit, or by new legislation placed upon the statute book. Congress may indeed make an attack upon the life of the president a

capital offense, and state governors may pronounce condemnation upon anarchism in their messages, but all that will avail nothing, for anarchism is not flesh and bones to be ended by the electric chair, or a thing of bulk and weight to be deported across the seas. The misguided assassin and his abandoned confederates are not all there is of anarchism; and, even were they all given over to the vengeance of the mob of indignant citizens, the evil which they incarnate would still remain, for their own bad spirit had already gone into the blood of their executioners and made them anarchists in turn.

We are altogether shallow in our thinking and self-righteous in our conduct if we suppose that we can play the part of anarchists and escape their condemnation. Talmage talked the rankest anarchism, as recklessly as ever Emma Goldman raved, and much more hurtfully, when he wished that the president's assassin had been instantly murdered with his own smoking pistol. Scores of American newspapers have been rioting in anarchism all the while they have been breathing out vengeance against the anarchists. The whole American nation have been guilty of anarchism in that they have allowed lynching of defenseless negroes by infuriated mobs without even the semblance of trial or justice; and the negro delegate uttered a warning word when he told the great Methodist conference in London last week that "the country which will not protect its humblest citizen need not be surprised when the life of its president is threatened."

Nor need we in Canada rest content, for we, too, live in a house of glass. The coarse and brutal type of anarchism which speaks against the king or seeks the murder of the civil magistrate is not to be found among us, but the spirit of anarchism is abroad and is working evil in the life of our country. For what is anarchism? It is not the shooting of kings or the assassination of presidents, or the wild and foolish speech of misshapen souls. Whatever defeats the ends of justice or subverts the progress of social order, or destroys the dignity and authority of civil government, is of the essence of anarchism.

What shall we say, then, of the attempts, successful or unsuccessful, of great corporations to control legis-

lation for their own ends, but to the people's hurt? It is anarchism. What shall we call the manipulating of conditions by which enormous wealth lifts a few men above the reach of the law so that the powers that be are created, not to the ordinance of God, but by the will of the capitalists? It is anarchism. Who are they that form rings and cliques and by organization within the body politic gain their own ends through holding the balance of power, the "imperium in imperio," the men of the "corporate vote," be they ecclesiastical, industrial, commercial or what not? They are anarchists. Who are they that go through the land corrupting the electors, buying individuals with money, buying whole districts with promises, and nullifying the judgment of the people by stuffing the ballot boxes with bogus votes? They are anarchists. What shall we call the men who besiege the government and demand concessions and favors, not because they are just, but because they would serve the selfish ends of those who seek them? They are anarchists. All this is anarchism, and none the less to be feared that it pretends to be respectable and does its work without the clumsy aid of pistol or bomb.

It is of the first importance that we all understand clearly and believe firmly that civil government is not a mere social convenience, an impromptu affair, a chance outgrowth of civilization, but that in a very true and real sense "the powers that be are ordained of God" and that "by Him kings rule and princes decree justice." If we forget the divine right or the divine purpose in civil government, we are in the way to regard all authority in the spirit of anarchism; and our rulers, if they forget their high calling, not only provoke the spirit, but are guilty of the crimes of the anarchists themselves.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

A delegation of angry women from Iona street, which runs from Clark avenue to Denison street, swooped down on the board of control yesterday. They wanted their street sewered and paved and "all those geeses and ducks cleared away." All the women talked at once, and as the mayor, Police Director Dunn and Councilmen Kohl and Weisheimer tried to talk at the same time the clatter was something terrific.

It finally developed that legislation is under discussion looking towards sewerage and paving, so the discussion came down to the geese. The women declared that a dozen or more people on the street, owning 40 or more geese each, opened their gates each morning and turned the geese and ducks into the street.

"Und some mornings," said one of the women, "dere is so many as more dan von hundret geeses und ducks as vell as five cows und von horse on de street yet. Vy, ve haf to veer boots all the vyle, und ve can't dress oop on Sundays if ve vish to valk on de street."

Law Director Beacom said Director Dunn had authority to establish a pound and lock up the offenders.

"If Director Dunn doesn't clean up the geese and cows right away," said the mayor, "you come here and complain and we'll impound the director."—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Oct. 5.

The pardon board did not meet at the workhouse Thursday afternoon because Mayor Johnson was out of the city. Director of Charities Cooley was just a bit fearful that Acting Mayor Beacom would look at the prisoners through a lawyer's glasses.

Soon after reaching the city hall Director Cooley climbed the stairs to Director Beacom's office. He seemed to feel that his mission was rather a delicate one and he was visibly embarrassed.

"This is the day for the pardon board to meet," he began, hesitatingly. "I suppose you will be too busy to go out to the workhouse this afternoon?"

"Not at all, not at all," laughed Beacom, who had a pretty good idea what was coming. "I have been looking forward to this session with a great deal of pleasure. In fact I have been wishing all week that this opportunity would be offered to me."

"Of course, of course," murmured Director Cooley, feebly; "it will be a great pleasure I am sure, but—but—I was wondering whether the mayor would—would—"

"Oh, that will be all right," responded Beacom, cheerfully, "the mayor will be delighted, I am sure. He can attend the sessions any month, you know."

"Yes—yes—I guess he could, but—as a matter of fact," he finally blurted out, desperately, "I am afraid you would not look at things in the same light that the mayor and I do. These men need help and sympathy and—and—"

"Oh, oh," roared Beacom, "that is the way the wind blows, is it? Well, since you put the matter in that light, I will be busy this afternoon and, if it is just the same to you, suppose we postpone the meeting until next Tuesday, when the mayor will be in the city."

"I think that would be the best way," said Mr. Cooley. "Next Tuesday will just suit me."—Plain Dealer of Oct. 11.

The Hon. Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland, is in New York. He is at the Waldorf, which is his home when here, and where he is as well known by everybody as in the Cleveland city hall.

Mr. Johnson is looking fine. He came down for only a couple of days, but the rest is doing him so much good, and he is so enjoying himself—sleeping nine solid hours each night—that the two days may extend to several. He is accompanied by Mrs. Johnson and their daughter.

I asked Mr. Johnson: "How does the work of the mayor's office agree with you?"

"Well, I have lost 20 pounds since I went in," he answered, "but I guess I can stand that much without serious detriment to my health. I try to do my work in working hours, and then go home and rest. I don't believe in carrying any work home."

"Is there much to do?"

"That depends altogether on how a man looks at it," Mr. Johnson responded. "A mayor who is willing to sit at his desk and perform those routine municipal duties that come to him can take life in comparative ease, and get through the labor of each day without discomfort. In my case I do not feel that I am doing my full duty to the public in doing that. It is safe to say that 75 per cent. of my work has consisted of labor on the outside—of things that a mayor does not have to take up, but in which he can perform great good to the public."

One needs to know but little of Tom L. Johnson to see how this might be so.

He could no more sit in an easy chair and sign appointments for bridgetender, or spend all his time in presiding over sleepy board sessions than he could fly. There is too much vitality in his make-up—too much electricity in his system. He looks like a man who could rush things himself, and at the same time inspire other men to rush them. I

wouldn't care to be one of his subordinates, and have him asking about my department, unless I had all the details of its business at my finger ends.

The training that a man receives in such great works of a business character as Mr. Johnson carried on for years, is a splendid discipline for an office like the mayor of Cleveland—a place that calls for executive ability, business capacity, insight, a knowledge of men, and the knack of handling them, and a way of getting at the meat of a thing on sight. A mere theorist has no more business in a place of that kind than would John L. Sullivan in a kindergarten.

You cannot talk with Mayor Johnson five minutes without seeing that he knows what is being done in all the departments under him.—New York Letter to Plain Dealer of October 12.

"PROGRESS" IN PARIS.

From the Echo de Paris.

The lively little two-horse busses, which added to the picturesqueness of our streets for so long, instead of detracting from their beauty, have gone forever.

First one horse was added to the omnibuses, and they became a third larger. Then a horror—a shrieking steam monster ruined the Seine bank from the Louvre—the Louvre, you understand—to St. Cloud. Then came the electric citadel, moving slowly about the once safe and happy thoroughfares, crushing the innocent beneath its wheels and precipitating free-born Frenchmen into the gutters. The Paris of Francis I., of Marie Antoinette, of the revolution and Napoleon—was undermined, and electricity and nervous disorder sown in its vitals. In the sacred groves of the Champs-Elysees, under the midnight moon, the ground trembles beneath the stroller's feet. It is the commotion of those who shun the air and fly through the earth in the dark, in the name of "Progress." It is the ruin of Paris, the Paris that made men glad.

"What we want is a new political party," said the man with gold spectacles.

"Can't you find your principles properly represented in the old ones?"

"Oh, yes. But, you see, I am a musician. The more political parties the more processions, and the more processions the more business for the band."—Washington Star.

THE MAN WITH "THE SUN."

Written, with apologies to Markham, after reading the New York Sun's attacks on "Yellow Journalism."

For The Public.

Bowed by its weight of lies, it lies,
With each lie blacker than the lie before,
The emptiness of darkness on its page,
And in its lines obscurantism so foul
That all the Imps of hell proclaim it chief.
Who made it dead to justice, truth and
peace,

A thing that feels not, and that never
pties—

Brutal and low, a brother to the wolf?
Who opened up the sluice gates of its hate?
Whose is the hand that pens its maledic-
tions?

Is this the thing the elder Dana planned
When he was young, and honest, and en-
thused,

Ere milk of human kindness curdled in him,
While yet he walked the dusty country
highways

And preached the gospel of the Socialist?
Down through the stretch of time since
his'try's dawn

There is no thing abhorred of men than
this—

A renegade, apostate, traitorous Judas,
Bellal walking in an angel's garb,
And setting light for dark and dark for
light;

A learned pander as a moral guide.

What gulfs between it and the men it
hates!

Slave to the god of Mammon, what to it
Are social wrongs, the law's iniquities,
The aspirations of earth's noblest sons,
The promised reign of Peace and Equity?
Through this rank sheet the tory cohorts
speak,

Denouncing prophets, wise men, benefac-
tors,

And all their plans for human betterment.
'Gainst this foul rag, "humanity betrayed,
Plundered, profaned and disinherited,
Cries protest to the judges of the world—
A protest that is also prophecy."

O men who do the labor of the world,
Is Dana and "The Sun" the guide you'll
choose

To lead you out of darkness into light—
"This monstrous thing, distorted and soul-
quenched?"

How can he ever straighten out his course,
Regain his "upward looking and the light"
That streameth from the Saviour's Golden
Rule?

How fight "the immemorial infamies,
Perfidious wrongs, immediate woes?"

O Labor, pillaged and injured in all lands,
How will the future reckon with your fame
If, blindly following where this Judas leads
you,

Its creed of greed at last, in full fruition,
With "whirlwinds of rebellion shakes the
world?"

Shall it be written of you in the coming
ages:

"They crucified their Christs and crowned
their Caesars?"

STEPHEN BELL.

The price of milk in Leeds has this
week been advanced from 3½d. and
4d. per quart to 4d. and 4½ d. to the
consumer.

City residents have rebelled against
the rise, and the chairman of the dis-

trict council has been requested to
call a public meeting, so that the mu-
nicipalization of the milk supply may
be considered.—Clipping from English
paper.

Native—I see that the Scotch are the
recipients of a gift of \$10,000,000 from
Mr. Carnegie.

Alien—I don't see why you call it a
gift.

Native—you don't mean to infer
that it is anything else?

Alien—I certainly do.

Native (indignantly)—What do you
mean? Explain yourself.

Alien—It is a rebate of a small por-
tion of taxes the foreigner has been
paying for you.

C. E. L.

Some time ago a well-known San
Francisco attorney, who prides him-
self upon his handling of Chinese wit-
nesses, was defending a railway damage
case. Instead of following the
usual questions as to name, residence,
as to whether the nature of an oath
were understood, et cetera, he began:
"What your name?" "Kee Lung."
"You live San Francisco?" "Yes."
"You sabbe God?" "Mr. Attorney, if
you mean 'Do I understand the entity
of our Creator?' I will simply say that
Thursday evening next I shall address
the State Ministerial association on
the subject of the Divinity of Christ,
and shall be pleased to have you at-
tend." Needless to say a general roar
of laughter swept over the courtroom
at this clever sally, and it was some
minutes, much to the discomfiture of
the lawyer for the defense, before or-
der was restored and the examination
proceeded upon ordinary lines.—Ar-
gonaut.

A rural correspondent of the Ports-
mouth (N. H.) Times sent to his paper
this intelligible account of a local epi-
sode:

"A man killed a dog belonging to an-
other man. The son of the man whose
dog was killed proceeded to whip the
man who killed the dog of the man he
was the son of. The man, who was the
son of the man whose dog was killed,
was arrested on complaint of the man
who was assaulted by the son of the
man whose dog the man who was as-
saulted had killed."—Long Island
Breeze.

BOOK NOTICES.

The second annual number of Moody's
Manual of Corporation Securities (New
York: John Moody & Co., 36 Nassau street.
Price, \$7.50) has just appeared. The first
number, which we noticed about a year ago,
impressed us as a publication of exceptional
value, and it seems to have so commended

itself to the business world, where it is
now accepted as a standard on all kinds of
industrial and corporation securities.
Though this manual is intended especially
for financial men, students of economic
subjects will for that very reason find it
of great use. To serve investors it must
be comprehensive and accurate, two qual-
ities which are as important, though not
for financial reasons, to the student. Some
indication of its value to economic inves-
tigators may be had from the fact that it
covers the investment field with reference
not only to all active industrial and mining
securities, but also to all municipal fran-
chises, telegraph and telephone companies
and steam railroads. To this information
are added details with reference to the
American public debt, foreign government
securities, bank statements, financial in-
stitutions, etc. The manual is a book of
1,500 pages.

"The Passing of Capitalism" (Terre
Haute, Ind.: Debs Publishing Company;
price 25 cents), by Isador Ladoff, is an-
other gospel of socialism. "Scientific" and
superficial, it is also a vigorous and fluent
plea for one of the schools or types of so-
cialism which train politically, in the
United States, under the banner of the So-
cial Democratic party, now merged in the
Socialist party. The author rejects the
"class conscious" idea, to which most ac-
tive socialists cling tenaciously, and with
better judgment, to say nothing of better
spirit, substitutes "race consciousness as
a higher ideal."

Dr. Emil Amberg, of Detroit, publishes
two reprints, one from the Medical Record
of September 29, 1900, and the other from
the Medical News of October 27, 1900, in
which he discusses the necessity for and
the possibility of establishing interstate

**Landmarks
of Liberty**

The article which appeared under
the above title in THE PUBLIC of
September 28, 1901, has been put
into pamphlet form suitable for
mailing in open envelopes at the
one-cent rate of postage.

For prices, see advertisement on
next page under title of

"THE PUBLIC LEAFLETS."

**Assassination
and Anarchism.**

Under the above title a pamphlet has been
published containing

THE EDITORIALS IN THE PUBLIC
of September 14, 1901, commenting on the

**ASSASSINATION OF
PRESIDENT MCKINLEY**

together with the editorial in the same num-
ber of THE PUBLIC on "Anarchism." This
pamphlet is in form suitable for mailing in
open envelopes at the one-cent rate of post-
age. For prices see advertisement on next
page under title of

"THE PUBLIC LEAFLETS."

reciprocity for licenses to practice medicine. He holds that "it is the duty of the state to provide for the education of physicians through first-class medical institutions," by means of non-partisan boards; but he goes further, and would have as the next step "the control and ownership of the schools themselves by the various states and territories." If it were constitutionally possible, he would regard as "the most desirable regulation of the license to practice medicine" one that "would come from a national board controlling the whole of the United States;" but because this is impossible, he proposes voluntary combinations for "interstate reciprocity for the license to practice medicine." At present, physicians practicing in some states are not allowed to practice in others. Dr. Amberg aims by these reprints to get the non-professional ear on this professional grievance.

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Published weekly by
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,
1501 Schiller Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Post-office address:
THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

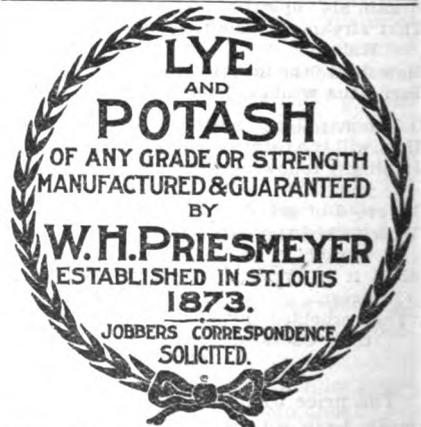
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The following pamphlets have been issued:

1. **A Business Tendency** (from THE PUBLIC of September 10, 1898).
2. **That Favorable Balance of Trade** (from THE PUBLIC of October 22, 1898).
3. **Nero-Then**, by E. J. Salisbury (from THE PUBLIC of November 12, 1898).
4. **Department Stores** (from THE PUBLIC of November 12, 1898).
5. **The Remedy for the Evil of the Trust**, by the Rev. Robert C. Bryant (from THE PUBLIC of June 24, 1899).
6. **Monopoly and Competition** (from THE PUBLIC of August 19, 1899).
7. **Documentary Outline of the Philippine Case** (from THE PUBLIC of May 19, 1900). Out of print.
8. **Assassination and Anarchism** (from THE PUBLIC of September 14, 1901).
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