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The political company that President Roosevelt is mixing up with, should remove all suspicion of his being "sentimental," about civil service reform or anything else. Platt, Foraker and Quay are nothing if not practical. They are notably practical as civil service reformers—especially Quay, to whom the President seems to take most kindly.

Mr. Cable, the chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic congressional committee, is naturally incensed at the "reorganizing" story that he has set out to secure the nomination for Congress of a few Democrats with national reputations "in order to make a showing on the floor of the next Congress." He denounces the story not only as ridiculous, but as "a reflection on the Democrats in the last Congress." That is what it was intended by its authors to be, and Mr. Cable's prompt and unequivocal repudiation of it will go not a little way to secure the confidence of democratic-Democrats in his management of the campaign.

The Boston Herald is somewhat impatient to know what has become of the report on the strike situation which, with characteristic fanfare, Carroll D. Wright was directed by the President to procure several weeks ago. And, really, what has become of it? Wright buzzed around for a few days; then made an informal oral report to the President, which was declared to be highly satisfactory and important; then went somewhere to write it up; and, apparently, there an end. Perhaps Mr. Roosevelt is reserving this report for the

hundred or so campaign speeches he is announced to make this fall at nonpartisan receptions.

Judge Jackson's friends complain of workmen for "calling him hard names." But it was Judge Jackson who began calling names. And what is worse, he called names from the fortress of a judicial bench, where no one could reply to his billingsgate without seeming to attack the court whose majesty he represented. Judge Jackson not only called names, but he did it under circumstances that made his act both cowardly and indecent.

An interesting example of the strenuous life, showing how any man can succeed in these prosperous times if he is skillful and industrious, was afforded by the late Harry Tracy, of the state of Washington, whose enemies, "envious croakers" he probably thought them, drove him to his tragic death. Mr. Tracy labored under the most disadvantageous circumstances. It is hardly two months since he was a convict in state prison, friendless and penniless. Yet, wholly through his own unaided efforts, and in spite of apparently overwhelming odds, he secured his freedom and became the possessor of valuable goods and chattels, to-wit: four guns, 200 rounds of ammunition, provisions for several days ahead, and two horses. His prospects were said to be excellent also for holding up a bank at an early day and robbing an express car. When it is considered that Mr. Tracy encountered greater dangers and exhibited ever so much more military skill and brute courage than was necessary to win fame at the battle of Santiago or in the capture of Aguinaldo, the possibilities of the

strenuous life loom up. What praise might not have been his had he worked under a commission. No wonder the outlaws of the country admire him. The strenuous life always commands admiration from men of that moral mold—as well those who avoid overt acts or who confine their overt acts within the limits of legality, as those who become criminal aggressors.

Herbert Welsh, of the Philadelphia "City and State," has procured a snapshot photograph of an instance of the administration of the "water torture" in the Philippines. It is a horrible sight. If duplications of this picture, thrown out upon screens, were exhibited all over the country during the campaign, it might have a wholesome effect upon public sentiment. And the effect might be heightened by the deadly parallel. For instance, the Rev. Homer C. Stuntz, D. D., presiding elder of the Methodist church in the Philippines, might be quoted from the Central Christian Advocate of Kansas City for June 4, 1902, as explaining that the water torture was used, properly according to his notions, for he approved it, as a regular method for extorting confessions and gaining military information. Then, over against that style of apology or justification, might be set Secretary Root's conflicting assertion that the war in the Philippines has been conducted by the Americans with extraordinary humanity. This might be varied by quotations from Gov. Taft to the effect that the water torture was not used at all, except by "weak or bad men" in hot blood and by way of retaliation.

There are so many versions of the West Virginia injunctions, and the judicial documents themselves are so ambiguous, that readers may be ex-

cused for misconceiving their real nature. It should be observed that nominally the injunctions do not forbid contributions to the strikers, nominally they do not forbid public meetings, nominally they do not forbid public speeches of any kind. What they do forbid, nominally, is intimidating non-strikers by means of public meetings and speeches in the neighborhood of the mines. As one of the judges explained in open court, the question is as to what precisely the strikers may do at any given time without intimidating the non-strikers. If a public meeting with speeches near the mining property might do this, then there can be no public meetings and speeches there. But what law gives a judge without a jury the right to determine whether a public meeting and public speeches are intimidating? What law gives either judge or jury the right to say of any meeting peaceably conducted and at which no unlawful speeches are made, that its participants shall be punished for unlawful assembly? What law gives anyone the right to say in advance of such a meeting that it will be unlawful and to forbid its being held? None. These West Virginia judges are making law to suit themselves.

The pretext of protecting non-striking miners from intimidation is a transparent subterfuge. In the first place, the non-striking miners have not asked for protection; no injunctions have been granted at their instance. They are granted at the instance of corporations which claim a sort of property right in the men who work in their mines. In the next place, men who are intimidated by public meetings which are not unlawful assemblies, and by public speeches which are not disorderly, must grin and bear it. Judges who are true to their oaths have many things more important to be solicitous about than the timidity which shies at a public mass meeting, and one of them is the sacred right of lawful assembly itself. A public

meeting, held upon premises belonging for the time to those who meet, cannot lawfully be stopped upon any such frivolous pretext as that it might scare somebody's hired man. When the time, place and circumstances of holding lawful public meetings, and of making lawful appeals by speeches to the public reason and conscience, are left to the regulation of Federal judges, the right of public assembly, as a right, is at an end.

One of the motives of corporation employers in procuring injunctions against strikers instead of prosecuting them criminally if they really commit crimes, has not been much commented upon. Perhaps it is not understood. It is the ambiguity of the injunction—which is usually so sweeping in its terms as to make strikers fear doing anything at all, lest they unwittingly commit a breach and get sent to jail—that makes this process so popular for putting down strikes. It is this that makes employers feel, and usually with good reason, that a strike is ended if an injunction can be got. Its principal service is the scare it makes. If it doesn't scare, the strike doesn't end and the injunction fails of its purpose. An amusing instance occurred in the recent brass molders' strike in Cleveland. The companies asked for the usual injunction against "conspiring," etc., and filed a volume of sensational affidavits. But they made the mistake of applying to Judge William A. Babcock, who doesn't believe in government by injunction—they either made a mistake, or else they wanted to put him "in a hole." Their affidavits presented such a case that in conformity to the precedents Judge Babcock was obliged to issue the injunction, and he did so. He forbade trespassing on the corporation premises, committing assaults, using intimidation, and all the rest of it. But he did more. He interlined an extra clause in which he explained that peaceable persuasion was expressly allowed as

lawful and not within the list of things prohibited. Simple as that clause was, and incontestably proper, it actually made the injunction valueless. The strikers could not be fooled about its meaning. They knew what they could do as well as what they could not. As one of the attorneys against them said, with a profane expletive or two, the injunction with that clause in it was "no good." But it was too late to go to another judge, for one judge had acted; and in just 48 hours the employers met their men half way and settled the strike. Judge Babcock seems to have hit upon the weak spot in labor strike injunctions.

It would be difficult to see how the Ohio court, which has dissolved the injunction secured by the Cleveland street car ring (p. 266) to prevent the Cleveland authorities from authorizing a three-cent fare street car system, could have done otherwise. The wonder is that the injunction was granted in the first place. The theory of it was that as the Cleveland charter had been held by the supreme court to be invalid, the existing officials were only officers de facto who ought not to make bargains for the city. But there is a remedy for that condition without resorting to injunctions. The officers could be ousted from all authority. Instead of proceeding against them in this regular manner, however, the street car ring instigated an injunction which, while allowing them to do some things, forbade their doing others. That was government by injunction, indeed; and it is gratifying to know that the court as a whole would not countenance it. It holds that though the city officials were officers only de facto, yet the courts cannot restrain their exercise of legislative powers. They must either be ousted altogether or be let alone. So Mayor Johnson's three-cent fare plans will go on.

In his struggle to obstruct those plans, Senator Hanna appears to have lost his head. His latest eccen-

tricity is to beg the street car employes to get out and hustle against Johnson, because three-cent fares would reduce their wages! This is painfully indicative of the confused state of Mr. Hanna's mind. In one breath he tells workmen that our national prosperity is so splendid that they had better "keep on letting well enough alone," and in the next he warns his own employes that he will reduce their wages if fares are reduced. How can he do it? Wages don't depend upon Cleveland street car fares. They depend upon the general demand for workmen relatively to the number whose jobs are poor or who have no jobs. But three-cent fares would increase this demand, and thereby tend to raise rather than lower wages. Even if three-cent fares didn't increase street car jobs, still Mr. Hanna could not reduce the wages of his employes unless he could get others cheaper; and if he could do that, would he wait until fares were reduced? He doesn't say so. Again: in the original three-cent ordinance Mayor Johnson inserted a clause requiring the company to arbitrate wages whenever their employes demanded it. This condition has been condemned by the courts as unreasonable, in a suit instigated by Mr. Hanna's street car ring. But for that condemnation the three-cent fare company could not reduce wages, even if it had the power. Why did Mr. Hanna object to it? Once more: Mr. Hanna's street car ring charges Mayor Johnson with pushing the three-cent fare franchise for the profit there will be in it, and then tells street car employes that instead of a profit there will be a loss necessitating a reduction of wages. Mr. Hanna ought to "get together." Evidently he is "rattled," and so badly as to be in danger of exposing the real reason for his opposition to the three-cent fare movement. He is opposed to it because it would let the water out of his street car stock. The street car system of Cleveland is capitalized at \$20,000,000, though the value of the plant is but a few

hundred thousand. All the rest is street franchise value, and this appears on the market as "water." It is the volume of "water" and not employes' wages that three-cent fares will shrink, if they shrink anything. Upon this hypothesis Mr. Hanna's opposition is understandable; upon the falling wages hypothesis it is not.

Mr. Hanna's street car ring gives further evidence of the "rattled" mental condition of its chief, when it voluntarily offers to pay a trifling increase in taxation. Mayor Johnson's administration had raised the taxes of the ring to a par with taxes on other property, by increasing its valuations to 60 per cent. of true value, which is the customary basis. But the street car ring, through its affiliation with other rings, mostly political, had that fair assessment arbitrarily swept off the tax books, and caused the legislature it controlled to abolish the tax board that had made it. The ring thereby secured the valuable privilege of assessing itself. It now exercises this privilege graciously, by raising its assessment. But how much? To make its taxes the same proportionately as other people's it would have to raise its assessment about \$12,000,000. It has raised it \$1,600,000, or about 13 per cent. The ring might better have made no raise at all. Such additional tax as it may pay will only be credited to Mayor Johnson's equitable tax agitation, for the ring never offered to pay higher taxes before that; and the people will see all the more clearly that if Mr. Hanna's chain of rings, corporate and political, had not temporarily balked the mayor in what he was doing, the taxes of the street car ring would be much higher and the local tax rate lower. As a conscience gift, this voluntary increase is contemptible; as a matter of policy it is too thin; it is important only as a confession of weakness and bafflement.

Mayor Johnson's tax bureau, under the management of Peter Witt (p. 266) is issuing statements in de-

tail of the results of its work. They will prove valuable everywhere, for they expose in detail a system of iniquitous taxation which prevails everywhere. The following table, published by this bureau, shows the condition of the Tenth ward of Cleveland with reference to the taxation assessments and the actual values of land irrespective of its improvements:

Total cash value of land.....	\$7,074,610
Total appraised value of land.....	2,782,240
Total cash value of land exempt from taxation.....	1,208,820
Total cash value of taxable land....	5,865,790
Total appraised value of taxable land.....	2,282,840
Average appraised value, 39 per cent.	
Lowest appraised parcel, 9 per cent.	
Highest appraised parcel, 127 per cent.	
Number of lots appraised below 39 per cent., 159.	
Number of lots appraised above 39 per cent., 433.	
Whole number of taxable lots, 592.	
Cash value of lots below 39 per cent.	3,769,120
Appraised value of lots below 39 per cent.....	1,210,450
Average appraised value, 32 per cent.	
Cash value of lots above 39 per cent.....	2,096,670
Appraised value of lots above 39 per cent.....	1,082,390
Average appraised value, 51 per cent.	
Equalized at 39 per cent., the value of all lots below 39 per cent. would be.....	1,472,550
The appraised value of these lots is now.....	1,210,450
Therefore they should be increased.....	262,100
Equalized at 39 per cent., the value of all lots above 39 per cent. would be.....	820,290
The appraised value of these lots is now.....	1,082,390
Therefore they should be decreased.....	262,100

If the Ohio legislature had not accommodated the Cleveland street car ring by abolishing the city tax board, these irregular valuations, varying from nine per cent. of actual value to 127 per cent., would be equalized. If equalized at 39 per cent. of actual value, the average valuation, they would yield in that ward alone a taxable value greater than the present by \$262,100. Thus the general tax rate could be considerably reduced, and the taxes on 433 lots now assessed at more than 39 per cent. of true value would be lowered, while only those on 159 lots, now assessed at less than 39 per cent. of true value, would have to be increased. If Mayor Johnson had done no more, the system of exposure of inequitable taxation which he has developed would entitle him to the gratitude of the masses, who suffer from such taxation, and the enmity of the classes, who profit by it.

A vigorous fight is to be made in the Seventh senatorial district of Illinois, by both democratic-Democrats and democratic-Republicans, to smash the Republican machine, which is controlled by John Humphrey. Humphrey's name is most familiar in connection with the infamous bills for turning over the streets of Chicago to street car monopolies for 50 years. He represents that side of the issues between plutocracy and a genuine democracy which are crystallizing in American politics. The district is nominally Republican by a large majority; but Humphrey is opposed by Western Starr, whose democracy is of the Lincoln brand, and whose election against so pestiferous a ring as Humphrey's is prophesied with confidence by men of both parties. Mr. Starr was a Republican when the Republican party was democratic. He became a Democrat when the party of Lincoln was seized by the Hannas and Humphreys and Morgans and their like and dragged away from its democratic moorings into the whirlpool of imperialism and plutocracy. Though nominated by the Democratic convention, he was put forward by Republicans as well as Democrats. He stands for equitable taxation in the profoundest sense; for municipal ownership of municipal monopolies; and for government by the people instead of the politicians, through direct legislation. We bespeak for him the support of democrats of all parties. In his district and between him and Humphrey, the issue of democracy or plutocracy, of people or politicians, of rights or privileges, is distinctly drawn, and each side is admirably represented by its candidate.

A good word at a right time has been spoken by the Albany Argus, in connection with the case of Rebecca J. Taylor. Some anonymous correspondent had rebuked it for approving her criticism of the public department in which she worked, and it replied:

We must get rid of the un-American and dangerous notion that heads of

departments are "our rulers," and that an extravagant, sycophantic, personal loyalty is due to these so-called "rulers." The employes of our government, whether they be heads of departments, or clerks, serve the Hosts, that is the people of the state. Their duty is to the people. They are all alike servants; there is not a "ruler" among them. If one of them knows that a department is being run, by its temporary, transient head, in an extravagant, scandalous or hurtful manner, then it is his duty—his highest and most sacred duty—to let his real employer, the people, know the facts as to the mismanagement of the public business.

One of the most dangerous tendencies in American life is that which inculcates peculiar respect for officeholders. An officeholder should be respected for fidelity to his trust, and whether he is faithful or not his official acts should be obeyed in the interest of good order; but he should not be respected merely because he holds office, and above all he should never be exalted in the public mind above criticism. When "respect for the office" leads to toleration of bad service it is time to throw it off. The fact that officials, from lowest to highest, are not rulers, but servants, should never be lost sight of.

Home rule in taxation is forging ahead as one of the reforms by means of which the people of every locality can regulate taxes to suit themselves. Several local conventions of the Democratic party have adopted it, especially in the West, among others that of Traill county, North Dakota, which puts the demand in this excellent form:

A demand for early submission to the people of an amendment to the state constitution providing for the granting to counties and cities of the right to raise their own taxes in their own way by assessing or exempting personal property and improvements as they see fit.

This is the reform known as the Bucklin amendment, which is to be voted upon by the people of Colorado next November. It is being vigorously fought by the land grant railroads and Eastern land speculators, for whom the Republican papers are acting as organs in the fight, the large Democratic papers doing

their share by saying nothing. But the labor organizations are supporting the measure loyally, and the indications are that it will be adopted. Those who are promoting the movement in Colorado are handicapped for lack of funds to familiarize the people with its nature and anti-monopoly tendency.

THE RAILROAD TRUST.

The so-called "community of interest" or "railroad trust," which controls directly about 90 per cent. of the vital American steam railroad lines, and partially controls or influences the policy of the remainder, is made up of a coterie of capitalists who control this enormous amount of railway through the medium of what is known in Wall street as "the group principle."

That is to say, the bulk of the controlled mileage is divided into several great systems of railway lines, each system or group of lines being dominated by a particular financier or set of financiers. Up to a recent date there were but five such groups, but developments of the last few months have increased the number to seven.

The original five groups, which are known as "the Morgan," "the Vanderbilt," "the Pennsylvania," "the Gould-Rockefeller" and the "Harriman-Kuhn, Loeb" groups control in all about 122,400 miles of railway. If, however, we add the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe system, which is partially identified with the Morgan interests, we make a total for the five groups of 130,260 miles. In addition to this there should now be embraced in this "community of interest" two more large groups of recent origin, one being the Rock Island or "Moore" group, embracing about 7,200 miles, and the other the "Pierce" or St. Louis & San Francisco group, consisting of 4,301 miles. Thus, included in the seven groups or systems, there is (counting the Atchison system as a part of the "Morgan" group) a total of 141,563 miles of railroad directly embraced in a "community of interest" or "trust."

The following table shows the dif-

ferent groups, their mileage on July 1, 1902, and also the amount of mileage controlled by the same interests on July 1, 1897:

	Mileage 1902.	Mileage 1897.
Vanderbilt group.....	19,804	16,909
Pennsylvania Railroad group.....	17,687	8,977
Morgan group.....	50,607	15,173
Gould-Rockefeller group.....	19,133	10,853
Harriman-Kuhn Loeb group.....	22,821	9,916
Moore group.....	7,200
Pierce group.....	4,301
Total.....	141,563	61,833

Increase in five years.....79,730 miles

There are now, according to authoritative estimates, about 200,000 miles of steam railroad lines in the United States. Of this, 141,563 miles, as shown above, are directly controlled by a "community of interest." The remainder, aggregating about 58,500 miles, is made up as follows:

	Mileage, 1902.
Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul system.....	6,596
Boston & Maine system.....	3,259
New York, New Haven & Hartford.....	2,087
Seaboard Air Line system.....	2,511
Atlantic coast line system.....	4,470
Pere Marquette system.....	1,521
Small railroads and systems.....	37,706
Total.....	58,500

Of the above so-called "independent" mileage, 5,296 miles are located in New England. This New England mileage is controlled exclusively by two large railroad corporations, the policy of which, while undoubtedly influenced by "community-of-interest" ideas, is yet somewhat distinct because of the fact that the traffic is chiefly local, and hence not affected so strongly by the same influences that affect the trunk lines.

The only other large railroad system not embraced in the "community-of-interest" coterie is the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul company, operating 6,596 miles. This system is controlled by a conservative class of men, who have thus far been successful in resisting the acquisition giants. Its policy, however, is necessarily to a large extent affected by the existence of the "community of interest," members of the latter having important minority influence in the St. Paul directorate.

This is also true of the three smaller systems, the Pere Marquette, the Atlantic Coast Line, and the Seaboard Air Line. It is undoubtedly only a question of a year or two when all of these properties, including the New York, New Haven & Hartford

(into which Pennsylvania railroad interests have already bought) will be in some way formally embraced in the general "railroad trust."

The remaining railway lines of the country, which can still be looked upon as "independent," embrace, as shown above, about 37,700 miles. This mileage is made up almost entirely of small roads, many of which are feeders for the large systems, and are therefore more or less dependent on the latter; or else they are disconnected and unprofitable cross-country lines, running from nothing to nowhere, or not operating at all. In short, this 37,700 miles represents chiefly the useless, worn out, or profitless steam railway mileage of the country. Whatever portion of it may become valuable to the large systems, will sooner or later be acquired by those systems.

We see, therefore, that the total vital railway mileage of this country amounts to about 162,300 miles. Of this the "trust" or "community-of-interest" groups, control directly 141,563 miles; partially control the balance of 20,737 miles, and it is evidently only a question of one or two years when they will directly control all of the latter. The statement, therefore, that a "railroad trust" or "community of interest" dominates, by direct control, nearly 90 per cent. of the vital railway mileage of the country is shown to be literally true. That it indirectly dominates and bids fair shortly to directly dominate the remaining 10 per cent. of vital mileage, and also to absorb or wipe out most of the 37,700 miles of small, disconnected, or unprofitable lines, is equally true.

The leading financiers who are at the head of and entirely dominate this "railroad trust" are J. Pierpont Morgan, W. K. and F. W. Vanderbilt, James Stillman, John D. and William Rockefeller, E. H. Harriman, George J. Gould, A. J. Cassatt, S. M. Prevost, Effingham B. Morris, George F. Baker, James J. Hill, Myron T. Herrick, Russell Sage, Jacob H. Schiff, John W. Gates, Edwin Hawley, H. Clay Pierce, James Speyer, John J. Mitchell, H. H. Rogers, August Belmont, Thomas F. Ryan, Marshall Field, William B. Leeds, Joseph Mil-

bank, Thomas P. Fowler, W. H. and J. H. Moore, A. R. Flower, et. al.

Not only do these financiers dominate their respective groups, but the most important of them, as for instance, Morgan, Harriman, Gould, Rockefeller, Hill and Rogers are interested in and more or less dominate all the groups, and thus knit together the entire railway system of the country into the "community" or "trust." The superior dominating influence of Mr. Morgan is felt in greater or less degree in all the groups.

These wealthy and influential financiers, who control this "railroad trust," these men who also dictate the policies of and control the steel trust, the oil trust, the copper trust, tobacco trust, the New York City Lighting and Street Railway trusts, the shipping trust, the new United States realty trust, and many other enterprises, great and small, are nearly all men of great financial ability.

It is a mistake to belittle the cleverness or capacity of such men as J. Pierpont Morgan, E. H. Harriman, A. J. Cassatt, or John D. Rockefeller. They are all men of exceptional energy and brains, who have been fortunate enough to have wonderful special opportunities fall into their paths, and who have been clever enough to take the fullest advantage of these opportunities. They are nearly all intensely practical men, with practical motives, and they are and have always been in business to make money and make it as easily and rapidly as possible. They are not "sentimentalists" as a rule, and quite as naturally (from their standpoint) believe they are morally entitled to whatever monopoly or exclusive privilege the law allows them to appropriate or develop.

They all tacitly if not openly recognize that the strength and success of these combinations and trusts lie in the presence of a monopoly element. This I know to be true, despite the silly assertions of men like "Prof." Gunton and other apologists for monopoly. Mr. Morgan recognizes the monopoly principle in consolidating and acquiring control of the anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania; Mr. Schwab recognizes it

in pointing out the strength of the steel trust in the possession of its coal and ore deposits, on which he places a valuation of \$800,000,000; Mr. Cassatt recognizes it in the great increases which he has made in the Pennsylvania railroad terminal properties during the past few years; Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Rogers recognize it as their only and exclusive strength in the oil monopoly and in the copper trust; and finally, these men all recognize it in their increasing acquisition of and large investments in urban and inter-urban traction and lighting companies, and metropolitan and realty corporations. In confirmation of the latter, witness the United States Realty & Construction company, now being formed in New York city, to develop metropolitan real estate, with a capital of \$66,000,000 and with Charles M. Schwab, James Stillman, Charles Steele (of J. P. Morgan & Co.) and John J. Mitchell on its executive board.

Even a very casual examination of the subject will reveal the astonishing breadth and reach of this "railroad trust." And it is not only through the transportation industry that its influence is paramount. As indicated above, the men who are at the head of the railway industry are also the "powers that be" in all the other large consolidated industries; and particularly in those which require transportation facilities. Nor are the ramifications of the "railroad trust" confined to the United States. Earth-girdling offshoots of this trust are among the possibilities of the near future, and Mr. J. P. Morgan is already experimenting along that line.

It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to point out either the good or bad effect of the existence of the "railroad trust" upon the community at large. But I would ask the reader to reflect a moment on what the condition of modern society would be if all the railroads were suddenly eliminated from the face of the earth. By reflecting upon this impossibility one can at least partially realize the strength and security of the "trust" or "community" which owns or controls the entire industry of the American people.

JOHN MOODY.

NEWS

On the 31st state troops began to pour into Shenandoah, where the riot in connection with the anthracite strike (p. 262) occurred on the 30th. Gov. Stone had refused to order troops to the strike region until they should have been petitioned for by the local business men and property owners as necessary to protect life and property. But when, on the 30th, after the outbreak at Shenandoah, he received from the sheriff a telegram giving particulars of the riot, asserting that the town was without police protection, that the local authorities were terrorized by threats of the mob and therefore feared to sign a petition, adding that the "mine workers admit foreign element beyond their control," and advising the governor that the sheriff was powerless "for want of sufficient assistance," and asking for troops immediately, the governor ordered troops to the scene. They camped on a high hill overlooking the town—two full regiments, two companies of a third regiment, and a troop of cavalry, all under the immediate command of Gen. Gobin.

The troops found the town perfectly quiet. Strike leaders there asserted that the request for military assistance was based upon exaggerated statements of fact; that none were needed; and that the outbreak of the day before had been caused by the unwarranted firing with a revolver upon strikers by a deputy sheriff, a nephew of the sheriff, who was escorting strike-breakers to the mines. They accordingly telegraphed the governor requesting that the troops be withdrawn, at the same time asking him to send a personal representative to investigate the situation. But the governor replied on the 2d, saying that "upon full consideration, he was of the opinion that it would not be wise nor safe to withdraw the troops at present."

Attacks with stones were reported on the 3d as having been made upon sentries and guards by gangs of men from ambush. Shots in reply were fired by the sentries, but without effect. Gen. Gobin is quoted in the reports as having in consequence of these ambush attacks ordered his men to "shoot to kill and investigate afterwards."

Newspaper reports are growing more and more sensational, but they are apparently confirmed by Maj. W. S. Miller, of Wilkesbarre, inspector general of the Third brigade, who describes the situation at Shenandoah as follows:

A more God-forsaken country I have never seen. Eighty-five per cent. of the population are foreigners, and 8,000 or 10,000 are anarchists. The Lithuanians [natives of Lithuania, a section of Poland in east Prussia and west Russia south of the Baltic] fear neither man nor God. They have no regard for law or order or anything. They run everything their own way and the priests say that nobody has control of them. The English-speaking miners are all right and have done a good deal to help the troops there. Nothing short of shot and shell can keep the foreigners subdued. We are not down there to run the mines but to see that law and order are maintained, and that we shall do, come what may. If the foreigners attack us there will be bloodshed. Shenandoah is a veritable hell hole. Ninety thousand barrels of beer are sold there annually to the miners.

In a speech at a mass meeting of strikers near Scranton on the 1st President Mitchell, alluding to the violence in connection with the strike, said:

The one among you who violates the law is the worst enemy you have. No one is more pleased than the operators in New York to hear of disorder in the coal regions. I want our men to exercise their rights that inure to them under the laws, but I want that no man shall transgress the laws.

In similar spirit Mr. Mitchell replied on the 1st to a letter from the Citizens' alliance of Wilkesbarre demanding that he preserve order among the strikers. He wrote:

Permit me to say that I do not recognize your right to make demands upon me to specifically declare myself opposed to any specific classes of lawlessness. As a citizen of the United States and the chief executive of the miners' organization, I have declared on innumerable occasions and in language not susceptible of misconstruction, that I am opposed to lawlessness of every character; and I do not propose to alter my views to conform to the tenets of the Citizens' alliance, namely—wink at capital crimes while inveighing against minor offenses. I have never in my life sought to condone an unlawful act. I have thrown the full weight of my personality and influence on the side of law and order, and I can say without egotism that the miners' union and its officers have done more for the conservation of peace than all the citizens' alliances that

have been or could be formed by men like yourselves, whose sympathy with the poor and oppressed is like unto the friendship Brutus entertained for Caesar. I do not assume to say that there have not been some transgressions of law by members of the miners' union, but I do say, and defy you to successfully contradict the statement, that there has been much less lawlessness on the part of the miners—and that which has occurred has been less serious, in proportion to their number—than on the part of deputies and coal and iron police, who are charged with authority and are specifically commissioned to preserve the law, and against whom you have made no protest and your association has taken no action whatever. And, further, the records in the police court will demonstrate that a smaller number of miners have been convicted of crime in the anthracite mining towns during the progress of the strike than for a like period preceding it. Again, I have no hesitancy in saying that there never was a great upheaval, either industrial, political or social, in which there was as little real lawlessness as has existed in the anthracite region since the strike was inaugurated. As I said in my speech at Nanticoke—to which you took exception—the miners are as law-abiding, as patriotic, as liberty-loving as any other class of citizens in our country, and I shall not permit you to malign them or defame the residents of this community either by direct charge or insinuation without registering an emphatic protest.

A test of the legality of the injunction proceedings against the striking soft coal miners in West Virginia (p. 263) has been made by means of writs of habeas corpus. They were sued out on the 31st before Judge Nathan Goff, of the Federal circuit court for the Fourth circuit, which includes West Virginia, in behalf of Thomas Haggerty and other strikers who are in prison for contempt of an injunction issued by Judge John J. Jackson of the Federal district court for the northern district of West Virginia. The writs were granted on the 1st and made returnable at Clarksburg, W. Va., on the 5th. On the latter day the prisoners were produced and the hearing on the writs of habeas corpus proceeded. Judge Goff warned all parties preliminary to the hearing that while he owned no coal stock he did own coal land and that if objections to his sitting in the case were made he would have another judge take his place. No objection was made, and after hearing arguments on both sides he decided the case on

the 6th. The only question raised was one of jurisdiction. The strikers contended that the creditor corporation of New York, the plaintiff in the case, had no standing in court without the West Virginia corporation, its debtor and the owner of the mines in question, as a co-plaintiff. Had they been sustained on this point, the Federal court would have been without jurisdiction, for the defendants and the mine owners are citizens of West Virginia. But Judge Goff held that the New York company, the creditor, had the right to bring the suit, and that the West Virginia company, the mine owner, was not a necessary party. The strikers were therefore remanded to jail.

A further injunction was granted on the 31st (p. 263) by Judge B. F. Keller, Federal district judge of the southern district of West Virginia. It was granted on the application of the Chesapeake & Ohio Coal Agency company, a New Jersey trust controlling about 50 coal companies, and prohibits John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, Secretary Wilson, and about 150 others from intimidation by means of parading across or near the property of plaintiff, assembling on the property of plaintiff or in the paths or roads on said property leading to the mine from the home of the plaintiff's employes, or assembling in large numbers so near the property of the plaintiff as to intimidate its workmen.

The meaning of these injunctions has been explained during the week by both Judge Jackson and Judge Keller. Judge Jackson refused to be quoted, but consented to an interview with a trustworthy newspaper correspondent Walter Wellman, who reports:

He admitted that intimidation by means of physical violence was not necessary to constitute an infraction of the law. There was little or no evidence of actual physical intimidation in this case. But intimidation may be of several sorts. Moral suasion systematically carried out by means of meetings and marches is a species of moral intimidation. Assemblages near the homes of miners and the mouths of mines were interference with men who wanted to work. If the men did not want to work they had a right to quit at any moment, but the fact that they were in the mines day after day was evidence that they wanted to work and did not want to strike. The question then arose as to what extent the

organizers had a right to go in their efforts to change the minds of the workers. . . . "Would you regard mere efforts to incite men to quit work by argument, persuasion and moral pressure as a violation of the law?" He replied emphatically in the affirmative.

Judge Keller's explanation was made in open court at Charlestown on the 2d when he addressed strikers charged with contempt, saying:

The question, and the hard question for you men to solve, and for the court to solve, is as to what precisely you may do at any given time without violating the rights of those men who desire to peacefully labor. Now, at any time that you meet these men in the ordinary course, you have the right to persuade them to join your union, a perfect right. And if you can show to them that it is to their interest to join your union, why, do it. You have no right in any way to make those people think your way because they do not quite think it safe to think otherwise. Now, that in a general way is the limit of this thing. I take it, men, that you know that when a large body of men get together with the most peacefully declared purposes in the world, they have men among them who have made and are making threats, and they are close to another and smaller body of men who do not think as they do, and hold a ratification and rejoicing meeting of their own side; that has a different effect under those circumstances on the minds of men who desire to go on with their work, than a small gathering, peacefully persuading. Now, the point of the "nearness." There is no line, the injunction lays down no line, but it does say that you must not get close enough and act in a body of men in such way as to intimidate or interfere with those people who desire to work. In other words you must not make them afraid; you must not do things that will cause them to fear the consequences, to leave their work, or to be deterred from doing their full duty as they may see it.

Strikes seem to be multiplying. Among the larger ones is the boiler makers' strike at Chicago for higher wages—from 30 to 35 cents an hour for indoor work, and from 30 to 50 cents for outdoor work, with 25 cents for helpers for inside work and 30 for outside. A strike has broken out, also, in the Pullman car shops at Chicago, which may become formidable. It began with a demand by the blacksmiths' helpers for an increase of pay from \$2.75 to \$3.25 a day. Besides these new strikes the machinists' strike at the Allis-Chalmers shop, Chicago,

settled a few weeks ago (p. 171), was renewed on the 5th, when 250 men walked out because six union men had been discharged by the management in apparent hostility to the union. From Ironton, O., comes news of the stoppage by a strike of cars on the Ironton division of the Camden Interstate Electric railway; and from Catlettsburg, Ky., there are advices to the effect that Gov. Beckham has been appealed to for troops to preserve the property of the line on the Kentucky side, and has refused to act until he can send a representative to investigate.

The agricultural strikes in Austria-Hungary (p. 263), were reported on the 5th to have produced no less than 230 encounters between strikers and troops. In one case 13 persons were killed and 118 were wounded; in another 200 were killed or wounded. In an attack by a detachment of Uhlans on 500 peasants at Pothering, many of the peasants were wounded and the soldiers made 173 arrests.

Over the border in Germany the reichstag is struggling with a protective tariff bill, which provides among other things for protection on steel rails to the amount of a tax of \$2.50 a ton. Its object is to prevent the inundation of Germany with cheap American steel by the steel trust. At a hearing before the tariff committee on the 2d, the new member, Bernstein, leader of the opportunist faction of the Socialist party, resisted this tax. In the course of his speech he predicted a breakdown of the steel trust from overcapitalization and overconfidence of its managers. But if it did not go to pieces, he said, but came to a point where it had to sell steel at any price, it would so disorganize international markets that \$2.50 a ton would not protect German makers. He believed that nothing short of prohibition would do that. The committee is composed in a peculiar manner. Each of the nine political parties is allowed a fixed representation upon it, but is at liberty to name its own representatives and to change them at will. Consequently the personnel of the committee constantly alters, and as each new member makes a speech, the work of the committee proceeds but slowly.

In Russia this question of underselling foreign goods to the injury

of domestic sellers, which has inspired the calling of an international conference by the czar (p. 251), has led on to a public official explanation of that call by the Russian minister of finance, in which he says:

In view of the erroneous interpretation by many organs of the American press of the object and meaning of the recent note of the Russian minister of finance sent to various governments whose representatives have signed the Brussels convention on suppression of bounties on sugar, M. Routkowsky, financial agent of the Russian government in the United States, has been instructed to communicate to the American press that in case of the negative answer of powers to the above-mentioned note and the establishment of a countervailing duty on Russian sugar the imperial Russian government shall consider the establishment of such a duty as an infraction of its commercial treaties with powers so doing, and, therefore, free from obligations imposed by them and at liberty to comply with their stipulations whenever it will be to the advantage of Russia.

The Russian censorship of the press is being conducted more strictly than ever. The only paper of liberal tendencies it has left in St. Petersburg is the Viedomosti, which is leased from the government by Prince Oukhtomsky and conducted by him. The prince is an old friend of the czar, and has long been able to keep his readers supplied to a degree with news from the Russian provinces, something the other papers could not or did not do. But delayed correspondence from St. Petersburg tells of the summoning of Prince Oukhtomsky on the 12th before the new minister of the interior, H. von Plehve, successor to Sepuaguin, who was assassinated last April (p. 40, 56), when he was admonished. Minister von Plehve told him that the paper had become the organ of liberals and revolutionists, especially in its provincial departments, demanded the immediate dismissal of its editor, and threatened to cancel the lease of the paper, which has several years yet to run.

It is believed now that the Catholic troubles in France, which were so threatening last week (p. 264), are over. The prime minister explains that out of 6,000 congregations affected by the new law, about one-half have complied in good faith with its terms, and that the rest, excepting only about 400, have expressed their

willingness to submit, and were only awaiting the signature of President Loubet to a decree of closure. As he signed this on the 1st the prime minister regards the affair as closed. But reports from Rome are to the effect that there is a possibility of the Vatican's assuming a hostile attitude toward France in this connection, to prevent the passage of further anti-clerical laws.

Great Britain has received President Steyn, of the late Orange Free State republic. He landed at Southampton on the 2d, with his family, but in a broken down condition physically and unable to go to London, though the government had sent a luxurious saloon car to Southampton to bring him. Being carried on a stretcher to a Dutch steamer in the harbor, he sailed for Holland, where President Kruger met him on the 4th. That he would have been cordially welcomed had he gone to London as the British ministry evidently desired, is indicated, not only by the official attention shown him, by sending the car to meet him, but by the extraordinarily friendly treatment Gen. Lucas Meyer and his wife have received at the hands of titled and fashionable British society, as well as by an offer made by the king to receive Gens. Botha Delarey and DeWet as his guests.

There is apparently a feeling among some of the Boer leaders that the surrender (p. 264) was improvidently and perhaps inexcusably made. The secretary of Mr. Leyds is reported from Paris as saying that a copy of the letter of Kitchener, which has not appeared in the British blue book, is in the hands of a trusted Boer leader, and indicates a sinister part played by certain leaders in procuring peace. When Mr. Leyds was interviewed about this remark of his secretary he said, according to the same report:

I can't affirm or deny anything until I see De Wet, Botha, Delarey and Meyer themselves. You may say, however, that President Steyn is the noblest man of the century. Advantage was taken of his physical breakdown to compass peace. Many hold that in ten years' time England will have lost South Africa. Hatred and an element hitherto unknown has been established there and the English government is now embarked on a shifting policy. Wessels, Wolmarans and Fischer, the Boer delegates who went to the United States, have been

refused permission to visit South Africa. Kruger is and will be relentless to the end.

Japan and the United States have become involved in a diplomatic wrangle over a question of sovereignty. The subject of dispute is Marcus island, a small projection above the surface of the Pacific ocean about 800 miles southeast of Japan and the same distance northeast of the Island of Guam, now owned by the United States. It is five miles long and two broad. So far as known the island is worthless for any purpose whatever except the production of guano, the deposits of which are so rich as to make it worth millions of dollars. This island was discovered in 1864 by an American missionary bark, but not occupied. It was observed a second time in 1868 by an American vessel, but still not occupied. But on the 30th of June, 1889, Capt. Andrew Rosehill, commanding an American trading schooner, landed on the island. Raising the American flag and depositing a written statement in a bottle which he stuck in the fork of a cocoanut tree, he claimed it in the name of the United States. He built a small hut, planted a garden, and left one of his crew behind with supplies for a year. But his representative abandoned the island before Capt. Rosehill returned. Though Rosehill filed a claim to the property with the American state department in 1889, he did nothing to perfect it until last March. Meantime, some Japanese, finding the island deserted, took possession. A Yokohama syndicate has since worked the guano deposits with a small force of Japanese laborers. This was the condition when Capt. Rosehill sailed for the island from Honolulu on the 11th of last July, intending to take possession and work the deposits. Soon afterward the Japanese government sent a cruiser to the island to intercept him. The cruiser returned to Tokyo, Japan, on the 5th, having reached the island ahead of Rosehill. It left a dozen marines there to hold it for Japan until diplomatic correspondence with the United States shall have settled the question of title.

Over in the Philippines an American judge of the province of Pangasinan has imposed a startling sentence. The prisoner, whose name is Carcie, was a volunteer captain in

the Spanish army in the Philippines. His crime consists in having executed two Filipino officers, a general and a colonel, in 1888—11 days after Admiral Dewey's naval victory in Manila bay. The execution had been ordered by a council of war, held under orders from the Spanish military governor of the province. But the American judge has for this act sentenced Capt. Carcie to imprisonment for 17 years.

The relationship of the native inhabitants of the Philippine islands is being defined by department regulation. An official circular of the bureau of immigration, issued on the 2d, instructs customs collectors, immigrant inspectors, etc., with reference both to these islands and to Porto Rico, that inasmuch as the people thereof have been declared by law to be citizens of those islands respectively, and as such entitled to the protection of the United States,—

the provisions of the laws regulating immigration, including those which prescribe payment of the head tax, apply to the residents of Porto Rico and the Philippine islands, and, moreover, that the provisions of the laws relating to the exclusion of Chinese apply to all of such persons as are of the Chinese race. The citizens and residents of the said islands, therefore, should be admitted to the United States upon the same conditions and subject to the same examinations as are enforced against people from countries over which the United States claims no right of sovereignty whatever.

The enforcement of this regulation will doubtless be resisted, and will consequently bring the constitutionality of the colonial laws recently enacted by Congress before the Supreme Court for adjudication.

The principal event of the week in American politics is the Democratic state convention of Michigan, which was held at Detroit on the 31st. The candidate nominated for governor was George H. Durand, who is described as a "gold Democrat" and "reorganizer;" and because of his nomination, together with the silence of the platform on national issues, the convention has been reported as under anti-Bryan control. But the facts do not bear out this contention. Nothing was said of national politics in the platform because there is a vital local issue—the alleged alliance between the present state government and

the Michigan Central railroad. Bryan delegates demanded that the Kansas City platform be indorsed if anything at all was said of national issues, and to avoid obscuring the state issue it was agreed to ignore national issues wholly. So the platform differs significantly from those of Indiana and Illinois, which invidiously refer to national issues while ignoring the national platform. As to the gubernatorial candidate, he voted for Bryan in 1896 and 1900, and though he made no speeches, he did contribute to the campaign funds. He was supported in the convention by hundreds of Bryan men. Still, the opposition to him came altogether from Bryan men, and he received the united support of the Cleveland faction. His principal antagonist was Senator Helme, a well-known Henry George man or single taxer, who would have been nominated by a change of less than 50 votes out of the 1,014 delegates. A clause in the platform advocating home rule in taxation, the reform which is to be voted upon in Colorado this fall, was defeated in the platform committee by only one vote. The organization of the party is in the hands of the Bryan Democrats, Chairman Whiting, of the state committee, having been reelected, and a strong majority of the committee itself being composed of the radical type of men.

The Democratic convention of North Dakota, which met at Fargo on the 1st, nominated J. E. Cronan for governor. The platform demands, among other state reforms, the adoption of the initiative and referendum.

Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, has won what appears to be a decisive court victory in his campaign for a three-cent fare street car system. The injunction against the city council (p. 266), prohibiting the granting of the three-cent fare franchise, which was issued by one of the three judges of the circuit court, came up for argument before the full bench of that court on the 2d, and on the 4th the court rendered its decision dissolving the injunction. All the judges concurred, including the one that had granted it. They held that—

Cleveland is a city and as such must have a legislative body according to the statutes. There is no other legislative body except the council which

was temporarily restrained. They were duly elected by the people and given permission to carry on all the functions of government provided for them in the statute passed on March 16, 1891. This statute has not been declared void as yet, although it is said to be contrary to the provisions of the constitution. The council based on the law has stood ten years without question, and whether it is constitutional or unconstitutional, it is a de facto body until declared otherwise by the supreme court. The fact that the supreme court permitted the board of control to continue their duty for four months shows that they considered the members to be de facto officers. Therefore there is reason to suppose that they would consider the council a de facto body. In the petition for injunction it was asked that only certain acts be restrained. The court is at a loss where to draw the line. . . . The acts of the city council which were restrained are in the opinion of this court purely legislative, and as the constitution provides that the legislative is a separate branch of government coordinate with the judiciary and not subordinate the court has no jurisdiction to interfere in such cases.

The sanguinary disturbance in the little republic of Hayti which appeared last week (p. 267) to have reached the dignity of civil war, is now believed to have entirely subsided. Capt. McCrea, of the United States gunboat Machias, stationed near Cape Haytien for the protection of foreign interests, cabled the navy department on the 4th, asking leave to go to Porto Rico for coal, and explaining that—

after interviewing authorities the aspect of affairs appeared to be more satisfactory. Nationals are well armed. Rebels have been driven from critical positions. Little enthusiasm. No further danger of serious disturbances.

His request to leave for a coal supply was granted.

NEWS NOTES.

—An earthquake in southern California on the 31st completely wrecked every building in Las Alamos.

—The pope has appointed Mgr. Augusto Guido, his auditor and confidential adviser, as apostolic delegate to Manila.

—Andrew D. White, American ambassador to Germany, has resigned his post, the resignation to take effect November 7.

—The emperor of Germany sailed from Kiel for Reval on the 4th in his

yacht, to witness the Russian naval maneuvers and visit the czar. They met in the Reval harbor on the 6th.

—The state board of equalization of Montana, sitting at Helena, has raised the tax valuation of all railroad property, raising it as high in some cases as 300 per cent.

—The Referendum League of Illinois, headquarters at room 1108, Unity building, Chicago, will hold a state conference at Springfield on the 3d, 4th and 5th of September.

—Col. Arthur Lynch, of the Irish brigade in the Boer war against Great Britain, and a member of the British parliament, was committed for trial for high treason on the 1st (p. 172) at the Bow street police station, London.

—The retail butchers and meat dealers held their national conference at Washington on the 6th. Among the resolutions adopted was one asking the Eastern, Middle and Southern states to offer bounties for the encouragement of their business.

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

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000 00
Available cash balance.....	208,974,599 00
Total	\$358,974,599 00
On hand at close of last fiscal	
Year, June 30, 1902.....	358,674,115 85

Decrease

—Harry Tracy, an outlaw who escaped from the Oregon penitentiary on the 9th of June last, and has eluded all efforts at recapture, killing nine men in his flight, and even escaping from bloodhounds, committed suicide on the 5th, after being wounded by a posse. His body was found in a wheat field on the 6th. A reward of \$5,000 for Tracy, dead or alive, had been offered.

—The July treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government for the month ending July 31, 1902, shows the following:

Receipts	
Tariff	\$24,430,743 23
Internal revenue....	21,618,124 41
Miscellaneous	3,156,823 38
	\$49,205,691 02
Expense:	
Civil and misc.....	\$13,824,584 71
War	18,515,514 57
Navy	7,583,507 40
Indians	1,215,852 83
Pensions	11,492,634 20
Interest	4,206,973 80
	\$56,813,567 51
Deficit	\$7,509,876 49

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE COAL STRIKE.
Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Aug. 2.—A strike is a nuisance at the best, but the right to quit work and remain idle is fundamental, and will not be abridged. When, however, strikers become lawless and riotous their status is not that of citizens exercising a right, but of criminals in open revolt against organized society, and the authorities must deal with them as such.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Aug. 1.—President Mitchell knows who the men are who work in the anthracite mines. He

knows that many of them are densely ignorant, easily excited, and when excited too apt to resort to violence. Therefore he assumes a grave responsibility when he puts himself at the head of men whom he must know he cannot keep from the commission of acts of violence which will be fatal to their cause.

Chicago Daily News (neut.), Aug. 2.—The coal companies have established conditions provocative of discontent and disorder. In many instances they have imported laborers too ignorant and unwise to understand their responsibilities as members of a community. Yet when the inevitable trouble from these conditions comes to pass the companies, by resort to injunction, shift the responsibility for the whole situation upon the labor leaders, who are simply trying by peaceable methods to get something better than starvation wages for their followers.

Cole County (Mo.) Democrat (Dem.), Aug. 5.—Upon this issue the Democratic and Republican parties are diametrically opposed. Democracy is opposed to federalism and government by injunction. The Republican party is not. How do you propose to vote on this question?

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Aug. 2.—Everything is peaceable at this time, and the miners evidently understand the fatal blow inflicted on their cause by a lot of hot-headed and ignorant foreigners. It has always been the heartless policy of the operators to have many more workers in the mining regions than work can be found for, and this is doubtless the case at this time. It makes a great reserve of needy miners for just such an emergency as now presents itself.

Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), Aug. 1.—There is lawlessness and lawlessness. Striking miners are not to be excused when they invade the rights of other workmen. But how about the lawlessness of the hard coal trust?

Chicago Record-Herald (ind. Rep.), Aug. 7. (staff dispatch of Walter Wellman, from Fairmount, W. Va.)—Why it is so, I do not pretend to say, but the corporations of this state are usually able to get any kind of an injunction they want. It was on account of a labor meeting held at Pinnickinck, near here, that Judge Jackson sent the agitators to jail on the charge that they had violated his injunction. Five years ago, when an effort was made to organize the miners here, Judge Jackson issued a similar injunction. Judge Goff, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, has a record as an injunction judge. All the state judges have taken a hand in the game.

SYMPATHETIC STRIKES.

American Federationist (lab.), August.—The employers who dislike sympathetic strikes can do a great deal to reduce their number and severity by adopting the following methods: By treating their workmen as self-respecting, independent men should be treated; by repudiating the scoundrels who still persist in antediluvian talk against "recognizing unions;" by creating a general sentiment in favor of equality to organized labor, and of conciliation and arbitration. Until they have done that, the sympathetic strike will remain a part of labor's plan of campaign; will be employed when necessary or essential to labor's protection against aggressive capitalists who openly or covertly aid those who make war on us. In fact, it may become more and more prominent as the solidarity of labor finds expression in compact, great, organic federations of various trade unions.

AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY.

Kansas City World (Dem.), Aug. 4.—If the farmers of the state [Kansas], generally speaking, are prosperous, how

does it come that so many of them are tenants at will? How does it happen that there is a constant, never-ceasing decline in the number of those who own the farms they operate?

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 25 of that publication.

Record Notes.—Speech nominally on civil government in the Philippines, but in fact on the American financial question, by Representative Fowler (p. 3553).

MISCELLANY

ENCOURAGEMENT.

For The Public.

"I am so tired!" I cried.

Vainly I strive against The Giant Wrong.
The world heeds not; still does The Wrong abide,

More cruel and more strong.

A thousand lives I'd throw

Into the fight and gladly yield them all,
Counting each pang a blessing, could I know

It helped The Wrong to fall.

But oh, to toil so much,

From weary year to weary year, and see
My brothers in The Wrong's most cruel clutch,

Far as before from free!

A Spirit to my thought

Whispers: "'Tis near—The Wrong's sure
overthrown.

The world indeed will know not how you
wrought,

But you and I will know.

ELIZABETH PHELPS ROUNSEVELL.

EIGHT HUNDRED THOUSAND WOMEN ENFRANCHISED.

The most significant political event of the century is the enfranchisement of 800,000 women of Federated Australia. This is the first time in the history of the world that a whole nation has enfranchised its women, and this object lesson will help the cause of human liberty throughout the earth. The adult suffrage bill, just enacted into law by both houses of the Australian Parliament, places the parliamentary ballot in the hands of the women of New South Wales, South Australia, Victoria, East Australia, West Australia and Tasmania. It is the greatest victory ever won for women, and assures the establishment of woman's complete equality in the near future throughout the entire southern hemisphere.

This is as though American women in every state in the Union should be empowered to vote for President and members of Congress and be made eligible to be elected to any of these positions.—Mrs. Joseph K. Henry, in the Cincinnati Commercial Tribune of June 24.

A POLICE MATRON'S GOOD WORK.

Mrs. Abbie Jackson, of Boston, has been a police matron for nearly 30 years. She has been of unusually great service at Station 3, where she has been on duty continuously, through her ability to manage refractory prisoners without physical force. Her mild, pleasant manner is successful even with the most hardened women. For saving human lives by prompt attention to sick and injured persons she repeatedly has been praised by the police commissioners. Her relations with the police department have been remarkably harmonious. Eight captains have come and gone at her station and not a man remains who was there when she began work, and from all she has received kindly consideration. She is held in affectionate esteem by the men who call her "Mother Jack." To care for over 20,000 erring or friendless women, to raise up a son and daughter of her own, and to "mother" the "boys" at her station, is a good 30 years' work, and Mrs. Jackson richly merits her first vacation, which she is about to take.—The Woman's Journal.

THE SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS THAT CANNOT DIE.

An oration delivered by C. E. S. Wood, at the Fourth of July celebration, 1902, at Portland, Ore.

Why are we gathered together to-day? Why have we pushed aside for this day the weariness of our labor? From the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean the wheels are hushed and the tall chimneys have ceased to pour out their black clouds. Why are the people to-day everywhere keeping a holiday?

The Declaration of the Independence of the United States was agreed to by the colonies, in Congress assembled, July 2, 1776, and the next day John Adams, writing to his wife, said:

The 2d day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty; it ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires and illuminations from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward forevermore.

We are keeping holiday to-day because it is the celebration of the day of our deliverance, and we do celebrate with pomp, and parade, with bells and bonfires, from one end of this continent to the other. And

I trust we do celebrate it with solemn acts of devotion to the memory of those who were our deliverers.

The bells, the pomp, the parade, the guns, the illuminations of to-day are the echo of that wild exultation which rang out 126 years ago in the mad peals of the old liberty bell, until its brazen throat was burst in proclaiming: "These united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states."

Free and independent states they have been from that day to this, and may it please the everlasting powers which control the destiny of man to so direct our future that a thousand years from now, aye, even when man shall look back at us to-day as we look back through the mists of years to Rome and Greece, still shall these United States of America be truly independent and wholly free.

We are not Democrats or Republicans to-day. We strike hands as brethren: we are all fellow citizens of the greatest republic the world has ever seen; nor are we met only to tickle our ears with the rhetoric or feed fat our pride with vainglory. We are to-day solemnly before the altar of our beloved country on her Sabbath, her day of days, to take thought on the past and on the future; to dedicate ourselves to the dead and to the unborn.

What is more honorable than reverence for the memory of the noble dead? What is so ennobling as gratitude to those who died that we might live? Must not the most selfish man be grateful to those who ate bitter bread that he might live at ease? And so to-day as a first office we lay the sweet-smelling wreath of gratitude upon the graves of our forefathers. We honor the memory of the men and women who made us free. Not only do we honor and extol Washington, Samuel and John Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, Hancock, Warren, Prescott, Putnam, Madison and the long roll of honor we know so well, but also we bless the memory of the men and women whose names can never be known to history—the plain people—the masses of the people, the great common people—the men and women unknown who fought and died and wept and suffered for us. We see the mothers, sisters and daughters at the spinning wheel and loom, even at the plow and the harrow, earning a coarse living for themselves, their children and their soldiers. We see them weeping over

their dumb, white dead. We see these soldiers in all manner of homespun, in buckskin coats and with buck tails in their hats; in various militia uniforms, and in no uniforms. There are they all—the stern-faced elderly men and the eager-faced young men; the people in arms. We see these soldiers with bleeding feet and ragged clothes in the snow at Valley Forge; we see them without pay and on scant rations at Newburgh; we see them at Morristown, half starved and half mutinous, crying to the continental congress that they have had no pay for half a year, and their families are asking for bread. And when the British general offers these mutineers full fare and full pay in the army of the king, they hang the messengers.

The plain people of America are with Marion and Sumter in the swamps of the south, and with Ethan Allen and Stark in the mountains of the north. They are on Bunker hill with Warren and Prescott, fighting until their powder is gone, and then fighting as men who fight for freedom should, with clubbed muskets, to the death, dying with their feet to the foe and their faces turned up to the unchained and limitless blue.

We see the Minute men, with Capt. Parker, at Lexington, where Pitcairn's loud cry rings out: "Disperse, ye rebels, lay down your arms and disperse! Damn you, disperse!" And we hear Capt. Parker's bid for martyrdom and immortality: "Do not fire unless you are fired on, but if they want war, let it begin here." And then was fired the volley whose echoes break against the walls of time.

We see them with Paul Jones on the decks of the first American man of war, and under the very first American flag which ever hung between the sea and sky—American sailors—true patriots—weaving between its threads such courage and honor that the flag itself is gilded with their glory. We see them in the splendid panorama at Yorktown, when the great drama is ended, and the army of the king has surrendered finally to the army of the republic, and marches out to the tune: "The World Is Upside Down." And the world is upside down, indeed, for kings are under foot, and at last the people are on top. How glorious this American army; how sublime its cause. The only armies which have ever moved the world and the only armies which are truly glorious are the people under arms, and the only

war that is truly just is that to win freedom or to hold it.

There is in the Tower of London the sword of Richard III., and there is in the old town hall of Boston a flintlock musket of a Minute man of Lexington. Richard has been lost in air these centuries, but his sword survives—a symbol of absolute despotism and selfish power, the power of the one man over the many, the power of the king over the people. The Minute man has also gone, but there in the old town hall of Boston lies the very musket he used when he took his life in his hand and went out to do battle against kingship and oppression for you and for me. It was he, and such as he, who wrote indelibly on the page of history:

Governments derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed. When a government ceases to express the will of the people, rebellion against that government is just.

We may gather the seas together in the hollow of our hand. We may bind the earth with the girdle of our power. We may pave our very streets with the gold of our prosperity; but under the eternal vault of heaven there is no glory we can win shall match the deathless glory of the forefathers who made us free.

No man lives to himself alone. The seed our forefathers sowed we have reaped; and as we plant, so shall the unborn children gather. There is nothing which rises suddenly and is born to-day. The past is the mother of the present, and the present is the mother of the future. The Declaration of Independence was not struck out new and original in 1776. Back of the American revolution was the English revolution; and back of the English revolution was Cromwell and Marston Moor, and that day when the divine right of kings fell with the head of Charles, when the head of the Lord's anointed was picked up out of the bloody sawdust and held aloft with the daring words: "This is the head of a traitor." Back of Marston Moor and Cromwell was Runnymede, and back of Runnymede was the Roman republic, and back of the Roman republic the Athenian democracy, and so on to the very beginnings of time.

No one can ever say: "Assuredly, here was the beginning of man's struggle upward unto freedom." No one can ever say: "Here at last the goal has been reached." I say no man lives to himself alone, and no people lives to itself alone. Nothing is wholly born of to-day. More than a hundred years before the Declaration of Independ-

ence the royal agent, Randolph, had written to his master, Charles, reporting on the rebellious spirit in Massachusetts colony: "The laws made by your majesty and your parliament obligeth them in nothing but what consisteth with the interest of that colony."

It is true, this effort of the colony at independence and government of the people, by the people, for the people, was suppressed by the strong arm of the restored monarchy, and Massachusetts and other colonies were deprived of their charters; but the effort at self-government was none the less true and the spirit of it never died. Truth is not to be measured by the success of the moment. If true, it is always true till the inevitable triumphant end. Nearly one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, Algernon Sydney went to the block and his head was held up as the head of a traitor, because among his papers was found an essay in his handwriting maintaining that the will of the people was the true foundation of all government and that rebellion against a government which was not the will of the people was lawful resistance. At the same time that Sydney died for the truth, one Filmer was rewarded for writing a treatise announcing that even though the royal command was known to be unlawful and oppressive, resistance on the part of the people was wicked—the doctrine of passive obedience. And at the same time Milton's works advocating the rights of the people against kingship were publicly burned by the University of Oxford. Was Sydney less right because he was beheaded? Was passive obedience less false because Filmer was rewarded? Was Milton wrong because his books were execrated by a great seat of learning? The truth cannot die. Though it be slain a thousand times, still it is alive; and behold, in one hundred years after the death of Sydney the philosopher Franklin, one of the great minds of the world, and John Hancock and Thomas Jefferson and John and Samuel Adams, and all that immortal company, were writing on parchment and on the hearts of men the truth for which Sydney died—governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and rebellion against oppression is righteous resistance.

The pulpit, conservative as it has always been, was with royalty and kingship. Property, conservative as it has always been, was with royalty and kingship, and the wealthy people of

New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore were as a rule royalists. But the plain, common people, under the leadership of Washington, Hamilton and the giants of those days, took up the truth which seemed to die with Sydney; took up the truth which seemed to die with the Massachusetts charter, and founded the greatest democracy and the greatest republic this globe has ever seen; founded it on the foundation rock that all men are created equal in their rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that it is the right of the people to alter or abolish any government and institute a new one which shall more effectually promote the general welfare of the whole people. And these truths never again shall die from among men. The right of any man or set of men to govern a people against their will is denied forevermore. The right of the people to rebel is true forevermore.

A price to make the very soul shudder has been paid for this freedom of the common man. Think of the dungeons and the bloody streets of Rome. Think of the rack, the wheel, the stake and the noble army of martyrs who in all the centuries have died for free thought, free speech and free press. Think of the Tower of London and the Bastille; think of the centuries of patient people driven like cattle by their over-lords, and like cattle murdered. Think of the horrors of the slave ship and the auction block where mother was torn from child, and husband from wife. Think that in my own lifetime states of this union had on their statute books laws which made it a crime for a man to learn to read or write. Think of the measureless ages of torture and oppression, and dumb, patient human suffering, of the mountains of groans and rivers of blood, and of tears which for centuries have made every clod of this round world of ours to cry out to heaven: "Justice! Justice! Justice! O God, only Justice!" And then, let us go down on our knees in thankfulness that we at last have seen the godlike face of Justice lighted by the first flush of freedom's dawn. Let us say: "Oh, ye men and women of Cromwell, of Washington, of Lincoln, and all ye unknown hosts who fought the fight against oppression, who led Justice out of the bondage into the broad light of eternal day, we, here assembled to-day, thank you, and we swear to pay our debt to those who shall come after us. How shall we pay

it? We may be sure that as we sow so shall our children reap. In so far as our forefathers followed the path of eternal Justice we have been blessed—in so far as they followed greed and forgot Justice we have been cursed. The Declaration of Independence was not a mere war measure. It was not a political tract. It was not a mere deed of separation. It was a declaration of self-evident truths. It was thought to be true at all times and everywhere—for truth does not sit in any corner, but is universal as the air and far-reaching as thought. Side by side with the declaration that all men are created equal in their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that just government is only founded on the will of the people, stood slavery giving the lie. But nevertheless the declaration was the truth and slavery was the lie, and in the end, as it will always be, or else man is created in vain, the truth strangled the lie. Let us mark the slow turning of the wheel of God as a lesson to ourselves, as an illustration in our own history, that it is truer with nations than it is with families that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children. Let us be convinced of the changeless truth that they who oppose themselves to Justice will be broken as butterflies beneath a chariot wheel. Only in a constant effort to do right does a nation grow.

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence Jefferson had written a clause denouncing the king of England for opposing his veto to every measure framed by the colonies against the slave trade, and declaring that slavery had been forced on the colonies and maintained in them in the interest of British traders. This article was stricken out, because of the opposition of South Carolina and Georgia. They had grown to covet this trade.

In the Constitutional Convention slavery was again attacked. Gouverneur Morris said where slave labor existed free labor could not come, and where free labor could not come the full measure of population and prosperity could not be. Col. Mason said it was a crime against God and man. But Randolph and Rutledge insisted that slavery was necessary to the prosperity of the South; that white labor could not work in the swamps of South Carolina and Georgia, and they triumphed in the convention, because the majority said it was not a question of morals but of interest and the interest of a part was the interest of all. Therefore slavery was retained

on the distinct ground that profit, money, greed should be considered above righteousness.

They who knew from revelation and from history that wrongdoing brings its own punishment, knew then, though they knew not when or how, that retribution was sure to come. Thomas Jefferson said: "I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just." But mark how far beyond their foreboding was the awful retribution, for it seems to be the law of the universe that the retribution is ever heavier than the sin itself. Justice, which had been biding her time and gathering the wages of sin for more than three-quarters of a century, burst upon this afflicted land as the wrath of God, swept in its path both the just and the unjust, deluged the land with the blood of brother against brother, and covered the country with a gloomy pall. The nation rocked to and fro, and the very foundations which had been laid in 1776 seemed apt to be carried away by the crime against right which sleek and comfortable men had committed to favor material interest.

The Declaration of Independence was a stumbling block to slavery from the very beginning, because it was the truth and slavery was the lie. Abraham Lincoln found in it strength for his courage and consolation for his hope. It was an armory of weapons against his adversaries, and in the end, as it always has been and always will be, Truth strangled the lie. But the end of our atonement is not yet. Our children and our children's children shall suffer for the wrong which poisoned the fountain of our existence.

Selfishness governs men and people, but there is a selfishness of to-day which is ruin in the end, and there is a selfishness which looks to eternity and builds on the belief that justice to all is safety and prosperity to self.

Which shall rule us to-day? What of those who shall stand here where we stand now one hundred years hence? Shall they bless us for the truth we have given, or pity us for our blindness?

Change there must be. Change is the order of the universe. The man who thinks the United States of America can remain unchanged seeks to tie the flight of time. Shall the progress be upward or downward? Unless the change be continually toward truth and right it will be downward, no matter what the glitter of a generation may be.

The man who does not wish this country to change must believe our institutions perfect. Let me urge upon you this thought: The individual is of little consequence in that great march which man is making out of the eternity of the past into the eternity of the future. The mere individual, be he good or bad, counts for little in the perspective of history. Therefore, put your faith in institutions, not in men. If you find a system has worked for bad rather than good for more than a generation, do not seek to remedy matters by turning bad men out and putting good men in. We seem continually to be butting against a wall—always hoping a change of men will bring a change of result. It never can, except for the moment. Look deeper and see what the causes are.

It is useless in my opinion to trouble ourselves about agitators, call them by any name you please.

If there be no cause of discontent, no living man can stir it up, and if there be just cause for discontent no government on earth can allay it till the cause be removed. The fanatics and demagogues of to-day are often the martyrs and patriots of to-morrow. Samuel Adams was called a fanatic and a demagogue. The abolitionists were called fanatics. Abraham Lincoln was called a demagogue. Change there must be, and agitation there must be, for as the change in men is brought through death, the change in governments is brought through the death of institutions. A government truly of the people, by the people, for the people, has never yet existed. We have, it is true, taken power from the king and placed it nominally with the people; that is to say, with the people's representatives. And in some respects, very slowly we have annihilated certain old time tyrannies and set the individual free, but more remains to be done than has been done. Changing the seat of power from king to legislature is a small change compared to a clear perception of the fact that legislatures have no just powers beyond keeping peace and order.

By the old navigation laws of England the colonies were required to buy all supplies through England. But in the freedom of Cromwell's time they took to dealing directly with France, Spain and the Indies. After the restoration the merchants of London by petition showed to the king that whereas formerly they had done a lucrative business with the colonies in

silks too old-fashioned for the London market, now these were left on their hands at a great loss, because the colonies had the effrontery to deal directly with France.

The complaint of the silk merchants seems to us absurd, and some day to our descendants it will seem absurd that we are compelled to buy American made products at a higher price than the foreigner buys them.

And we will be considered dull that we did not recognize the truth that there is no just power anywhere in legislature or king to take from even one man and give to another, to compel even one man to buy at a higher price than he need.

What is now New Hampshire was originally all granted to one man—Mason, and Maine to another man—Gorges. A slip of parchment, a seal, a king's signature, and it is done, for did not all the land on this continent belong to some crown or other? We think this very absurd, that two states of our union might to-day be owned by two men; and yet it does not seem to us absurd when congress makes gifts of lands quite as valuable, and we fail to see that the real title to land is in the actual occupation and use of it.

Again I say, this is not in fact a government for the whole people. True, the people go to the polls and vote. But we know that in fact, taking our history year by year, a set of men who make politics a business really make the laws and hold the offices, and the only laws which are important either directly or by some twist give special privileges to the cunning few.

Take, for example, the public domain, the land—and nothing is so important as the land, out of it comes all else;—run your minds back over the swamp land acts. Ostensibly they were for the benefit of the common people through the medium of the state. In reality it was a scheme by the cunning and skillful men to get through the state vast tracts of land; and you know as well as I do the swamp land acts were practically steals.

There is no use to rail at the sharp men who arranged this, nor at the representatives who betrayed the people. Far better to have denied the power in congress to dispose of lands.

Again, the timber and stone acts, ostensibly for the common man, for everybody, as all these steals are. They were really intended to facilitate a grab of the whole timber of the United States by a few men.

The ordinary man had no use for a timber claim, except for speculation, and so, by means of dummies, the entire timber area of the United States is gone. To complete the matter and show how the people are hoodwinked and betrayed by their so-called representatives, and to show how a worthy cause may be turned to robbery, look at the forest reserve. A proper step in itself. It was quickly turned by the predatory few into another grab, and an act was passed allowing one having land in reserve limits to exchange it for land outside such limits. Of course no man will deliberately make a losing exchange, so the railroads and others have exchanged all their burnt and worthless land for good timber land, and if any is left to be taken, you may look to see the limits of the reserve extended to permit the swapping to go on.

I say that state legislatures and Congress, take it all in all, have existed to swindle the people and to grant openly or indirectly special privileges. It is useless, I say, to rail at the men who betray the people. The men come and go, but the result is always the same; therefore there must be something wrong in the theory which gives such powers to any body of men. All the anthracite coal of the world is in a corner of Pennsylvania, and a very small corner at that—less than 500 square miles. It is owned by three or four railroads. It is a common saying that every man in this country has an equal opportunity. That is not so. It is less and less so. The babe unborn will find all the timber, the coal, the iron appropriated; all the railroad routes and water power appropriated; and if our laws continue as they have been in the past, he will find the more cunning and scheming few using Congress and legislatures so that the practical result will be that the common people will live under a feudal system. We may not argue logically on these things. We may not agree on the remedies. But what I have said suggests that changes must come, for the next generation will say, What opportunity have we had, when our birthright was given away by the stroke of a pen before we were born?

These are not thoughts to add to our exultation, but we have said that we are before the altar of our country to take thought on the future. It is not by blinding ourselves that we shall progress, but

only by keeping our eyes wide open to the truth. Struggle and suffering are still before us. The struggle is upon us all, but whose it shall be to suffer no one knows. It is my belief we have as good a government as we deserve. By that I mean our government, with all its faults, its excess of power over the individual and misuse of power, still is as good as the people deserve, for if they wanted a different form they could have it. In Sweden the other day, when the question of universal suffrage was pending before the legislature, 300,000 workmen walked out and said they would await the action of the legislature. The act passed. The people can always have what they clearly understand they want. And not till the people understand their own rights and the equal rights of all others, do they deserve to truly govern.

Fifty years after the Declaration of Independence Thomas Jefferson was asked to come to Washington and there rejoice with the new generation over the work which he helped to do. The weight of approaching death prevented his going, but he wrote of that Declaration which we here celebrate to-day:

May it be to the world what I believe it will be, to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all, the signal of arousing man to burst the chains and to assume the blessings and security of self-government. That form which we have substituted, restores the free right to the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are open or opening to the rights of man. The general spread of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor the favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God. For ourselves, let the annual return of this day forever refresh our recollection of these rights, and our undiminished devotion to them.

Since that day how has this country grown, like a young giant covering with its shield the struggling republics of this continent, and now by the accident of war it finds itself 10,000 miles from home with an Asiatic people in its charge. Some of us have believed that the courageous duty of this country is to lift these infant peoples to their feet, and guard and protect them in the right way, exercising power over them for their own good. Some of us have thought that we have no right by force to govern any people, not even to help a people against their will. And some of us have thought that a wise selfishness would keep us at home busy with our own problems, with our own poor, and not diverted

to and perhaps corrupted by colonial dependencies. And some have thought we need these colonies in our struggle for world power.

As we look back on the lesson our course of slavery teaches us, we must believe nothing we can gain will compensate us for any violation of human rights and eternal truth. One destiny of this world is toward Justice. Nothing survives which is not in that line of march.

It is as if in the beginning the great first cause had placed in the hands of man two torches—Life and Justice—and had pointed with fingers of living light onward to the goal at the end of time, and from that moment man has been struggling onward in the race, sometimes stumbling, sometimes falling, sometimes the torch of Justice has seemed blotted out, but while life itself burns it can never expire. These twin torches are kindled from the fountain light itself, and they will burn to the end of days. Serene in this belief and confident in this hope, in the name of you and all my countrymen, I pray that our country may be in the days to come a white-robed minister, teaching to the world—justice, which is indeed the truth of God. So only shall she live long in the earth; so only shall she avoid death.

The life of man is too short to show us how inexorable are the decrees of Justice. The tyrant man and the tyrant generation often seem to have bound her hands as they enjoy themselves in the sun of prosperity. But as we are to-day still suffering for our sin of slavery, so the history of every nation the world has ever seen shows that the lash of Justice is as certain as God and as merciless as death. They who were once insolent in their power are brought down to the dust and fed with fire.

Talking of pure English, says the London Speaker, the historic Babu will have to look to his laurels now that the "educated Kaffir" has entered the field. The following is the text of a letter sent by a Government employe who had been officially rebuked for his intemperate habits:

Having promulgated my conduct of drinking presumptuously, I beg to tell me nominally the person informed you. Consulted by speculations, the case should be reprimanded for the derogation of my name. When you addressed your inspection I perceived dishonest intermeddling; otherwise I am not a controversial acumen. Remember you are forced to tell me; the matter is not to be approbated clandestinely, because it was proclaimed publicly. Quickness of the answer will so oblige yours truly —.

BOOK NOTICES.

TIBERIUS THE TYRANT.

The upsetting by modern writers of many long-settled opinions on historical events and personages is an evidence not so much of a spirit of iconoclasm as of scholarship and extended knowledge. It is entirely true that modern scholars in many instances both know more and are better able to judge about the men and affairs of the ancient world than either immediate contemporaries or intermediate historians.

This book, "Tiberius the Tyrant," by J. C. Tarver, published in this country by Dutton & Co., is an attempt to reverse the common opinion in regard to the work and character of Emperor Tiberius, successor of Augustus, and ruler of the world between the years 14 and 37 A. D. Following mainly the great historical Tacitus, most readers have learned to think of Tiberius as a thrifty tyrant, who made way with all who stood in the way of his accession, who ruled, while he did rule, with caprice and oppression, and who withdrew towards the last from the duties of his office in order to spend his time with jugglers and mediums.

Two facts it is necessary to bear in mind while studying the interesting and important period of the early Roman Empire. First, that the masses of the people were undoubtedly freer, happier, and more prosperous than they had been under the so-called Republic. Secondly, that the writers, the literary men of the time, representing the culture and education of the upper classes were sympathetic with the oligarchical ideals of the old regime, which Julius Caesar had overthrown and his successors continued to oppose.

Bearing these facts in mind, we should be prepared to welcome any further authorities that may have been generally overlooked, and any resetting and restating of facts that a competent hand may offer. We say specifically "restating of facts," because Tacitus was a supreme master of the art of putting facts in such a way as to make them tell for his side.

Mr. Tarver has evidently been at great pains to put forward any new facts that might be forthcoming, and to show us how unfairly Tacitus and Suetonius presented many of the facts which have been thought to tell against Tiberius. For example, the really noble sentences of Tiberius in declining the title of "Father of his Country," are turned by Suetonius into a charge of irony and conscious unpopularity. Mr. Tarver well sees that the character of Tiberius was, to say the least, not vain, and that he was preeminently one to despise an empty compliment.

It is altogether probable that the character of Tiberius was a partial cause of his being misunderstood. He was a man of few words. He had neither suavity of words nor grace of manners. He was an aristocrat by birth, but he saw through the sham and degradation to which luxury had brought the existing Roman aristocracy. He hated humbug, and was singularly sincere for his day. The probability is that he disliked the life to which he was called. Before his elevation, he had once withdrawn to Rhodes, then a famous seat of learning, and seems to have returned to Rome with reluctance. His withdrawal to Capri, and the lovely shores of Campania, in 26 A. D., at the age of 68, was due, we may well believe, not to a sinister desire for evil and foolish lusts and practices, but to broken health, desire for rest, and a hearty disgust for the life of the Roman court.

It may be that at times Mr. Tarver has written his case too deftly, for he is an undisguised partisan, but on the whole he has given us a work for which all students of history are to be thankful. His style is somewhat uneven. Sometimes his sentences are over long and his discussion a little tedious. But this is not often. He can be very happy in hitting off apt phrases, as, for example, in speaking of



GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

VIEW OF THE JACKSONIAN COURT OF JUSTICE, W. Va.

Remarkable personal identity of judge, jury, witness, prosecuting attorney, constable, etc. Prisoner on trial for alleged violation of a law against Free Speech enacted by the Judge.

"the deeply lamented fall of the Republic with which school histories are apt to close"; and for the most part his interest in his theme has succeeded in giving zest even to minute points of inquiry.

J. H. DILLARD.

PERIODICALS.

—Handicraft (14 Somerset St., Boston), edited by Arthur A. Carey, is a neat monthly representing the arts and crafts idea, and animated by a wholesome democratic spirit.

—Willis J. Abbot's Pilgrim (Battle Creek) for August offers further testimony to Mr. Abbot's success in his attempt to make a magazine of light reading with a serious editorial purpose.

—In changing to the magazine form, the New Era (Springfield, O.) offers in more inviting dress a kind of reading matter which has never lacked either interest or value and for which it has made a good reputation.

—In the Bankers' Magazine (New York) for July there is an able article by W. H. Allen, full of facts and figures, yet sound in its reasoning and interesting in style, which explains the mystery of our "favorable" balances of trade by demonstrating statistically that they don't exist.

—The eighth issue of the Reformers' Year Book (London, 72 Fleet St., E. C., and New York, 28 Lafayette Place), edited by Joseph Edwards, is more complete than ever in the mass of information it contains about reforms of all shades and reformers of all nations. Published at a low price, only one shilling in paper, it will be found by all persons interested in subjects connected with the world's agitations to which other annuals give but scant attention, a convenient book of reference of a kind for which they often feel the need.

—The New Philosophy, the quarterly magazine of the Swedenborg Scientific Association, published at Lancaster, Pa., contains in its July issue the annual address of the president, Frank Sewall, of Washington, D. C., which is one of the most suggestive and interesting contributions recently made to the magazine literature of philosophy. It is especially fine in its analysis of the evolution of the atomic theory. It is noteworthy, also, for the lucidity of its brief, though scientific argument in

support of the idea that forms of spiritual substance, truth, for instance, are objectively apprehensible to spiritual senses in a spiritual environment.

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