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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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Senator Hanna has sounded the Republican keynote for the Ohio campaign. It is worthy of the man and his cause. Listen to his words at the opening meeting of his party, held at Akron on the 27th: "I told you last year to let well enough alone; to-day I say, Stand pat!"

We are informed by amateurs in the uplifting game from which Mr. Hanna borrows his defiant vocabulary, that the player who ostentatiously "stands pat" may be reasonably suspected of trying to perpetrate a "bluff." With that explanation the meaning of the Hanna keynote becomes clear.

Even the party papers of this distinguished Republican recognize the "bobtailedness" of the "sickly flush" upon which he tells his party to "stand pat." A staff correspondent of the Chicago Tribune, for instance, in writing from Columbus on the 28th, observes that the Republican campaign in Ohio is a bare-faced bluff. "The Republican leaders," he writes, "have begun the discussion of national issues, tariff, trusts, Philippines, Cuban reciprocity, ship subsidy, and similar topics, but every one is aware that upon the action of the legislature at its present extraordinary session depends much in the present political campaign." He then explains that "a deadlock in the legislature, or a settlement of the code question in the interests of corporations, or a municipal system which benefits one community at the expense of another, would be disastrous to the Republicans."

That is Mr. Hanna's reason for "standing pat" with a handful of national issues. He wants to divert attention from local government, local taxation and local street car systems. As he himself has recently said, he expects, while he remains in politics, to make his political policy conform to his business interests. Therefore, while he works with the State legislature to promote his business affairs at the expense of the people, he "stands pat" on national issues.

With national issues also, the same bluffing spirit is to be observed. In that connection, to "stand pat," is to assert that times are good and that plutocrats have made them so. "Keep us in power, if you want good times to continue; should you so much as hint at a desire to put us out, our Joss will curse you with hard times!" is the never-ceasing cry of the plutocratic ring for whom Hanna speaks. Yet he knows, and all the Republican leaders know—you will hear them say so if the period of hard times begins before the people repudiate their leadership—that hard times result from general conditions, and cannot be controlled by political parties merely as parties. A more hypocritical pretense was never invented than the pretense of Republican leaders that business conditions depend upon keeping their party in power. It is a threat, a bluff, a "stand pat;" and while the people have allowed themselves to be fooled by it, they are not likely to do so always.

When Senator Foraker spoke at the Ohio keynote meeting where Senator Hanna ostentatiously "skinned his cards" and announced that he would "stand pat," Mr. Foraker found it necessary to discuss the trust question. In the course of that dis-

cussion he found it necessary, also, to make at least one inexcusable misrepresentation. He said that "trusts did not originate here, as a result of the tariff, but in England and European countries where they have free trade." Now, in fact, there is not one free trade country in Europe, except England, as Mr. Foraker must well know. Even England is not strictly a free trade country; but as her tariff is for revenue, Mr. Foraker may be excused for calling her one; while he cannot be excused for so referring to other European countries. Germany, Russia, Spain, Italy, Austria, all are protection countries. And though England be called a free trade country, it is not true that trusts flourish there. The aggregate capitalization of all the trusts of Great Britain is hardly more than a third of the capitalization of the American Steel trust alone. To see European trusts, you must go to the protection countries of Europe, like Germany, where they abound as they do here. Does Mr. Foraker intend to "stand pat" on his misstatement?

Further in the course of his speech at Mr. Hanna's "stand pat" meeting, Senator Foraker met the "Iowa Idea" with this response:

To admit duty free all articles the like of which are produced in this country by trusts, would probably stop the trusts, but only because it would at the same time stop everything else.

Since the learned Senator thus admits that the "Iowa Idea" would probably stop the trusts, it is unnecessary to say anything upon that point. It is conceded. Nothing remains to consider, then, but the question of whether it would at the same time stop everything else. After allowing fully for Mr. Foraker's epigram habit, which so often seduces its victims into mere phrase-making,

the fact is still remarkable that a man who knows how to get 50-year street car franchises from a Republican legislature of Ohio, does not know at sight that this statement of his is a sheer absurdity.

To admit duty free foreign articles that compete with products of American trusts, would stop all business! Could there be ranker nonsense? Why, even if all foreign articles—not merely those that compete with trusts, but all—were admitted duty free, still it would not stop business. It would have the contrary effect, as any intelligent person may see with a little reflection. Think a moment of how it would operate. All foreign goods that are produced cheaper abroad than here would come in free. No others would come, for it wouldn't pay to bring them. Nor would these come unless they were paid for; and they would be paid for with goods that are made here cheaper than abroad. Thus we should have a free exchange of goods that foreigners produce to best advantage for goods that we produce to best advantage. So far from stopping business, as the learned Senator fears, that would stimulate it.

Nor would it do so at the expense of labor. Cheap production does not mean low wages. It means high wages. Wherever wages are highest, the production of things to which the country and the people are adapted is cheapest. Isn't the production of 100 units of anything—yards, pounds or gallons—by a workman who gets \$4 a day, cheaper than the production of 10 units by one who gets only \$1 a day? American labor gets higher wages, yet produces cheaper, than labor in any other country in the world.

We can almost hear Mr. Foraker objecting that the exchange of American goods for foreign goods is not what we want, but the exchange of American goods for money. But if that is what we want, we are

not getting what we want. Although our excessive exports appear by the figures to be enormous, something like \$500,000,000, we get but little gold in return. So far as these much-vaunted figures show, we get neither gold nor goods. The boasted exportation is a dead loss to the country. It never has been paid for and never is to be. The acute and accommodating statisticians of Mr. Foraker's party have figured out that we are getting paid in foreign stocks and bonds, but these stocks and bonds cannot be found upon the market. We are selling our own stocks and bonds already instead of buying foreign stocks and bonds. Then these statisticians tell us that we are buying-in our outstanding stocks and bonds from abroad. But the truth leaks out that we are selling more than we are buying-in. Finally they explain that we have large bankers' balances on deposit abroad, because bank interest is higher there than here. But recent revelations in connection with the impending crash in Wall street, spoil that little romance. As money gets tight and interest rises, the American banks do not draw against Europe, as they would if they really had balances there. The price of exchange has hardly declined at all. And it is admitted in explanation that not only have the American banking interests no balances abroad, but that they are indebted to foreign bankers to a vast amount. The evidence is complete. If we really have been exporting millions of wealth more than we import, we have either been giving it away or have been robbed of it, for nothing appears to come back in payment.

Notwithstanding the determination of the plutocratic end of the Republican party to "stand pat," and of the inclination of Roosevelt to be "a sleeper" in the middle, the democratic Republicans are getting wide awake to the tariff bunco game. Of this fact Mr. Roosevelt's frosty receptions while on his Western campaign tour, gave impressive evidence. That excellent agricultural week-

ly, the Farmers' Voice and National Rural, of Chicago, well says:

Going out to preach the "shackling of cunning" by governmental restraint and control that would neither restrain nor control, he found the plain people clearer headed than he and his advisers as to the monster's vulnerable parts. The President's programme, prepared with care and containing catchy phrases about the public's rights, was to the people's ears like sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. He said: "We will catch the monster and put him in a cage." The people said: "Stop feeding him and he will die!"

Had Mr. Roosevelt gone farther he would have been still more chilled by the frosty atmosphere.

In his speeches he had been neither "standing pat" with Senator Hanna nor "drawing to fill" with Gov. Cummins. He blew neither hot nor cold (apologies to Mr. Hanna for shifting the metaphor), but only in a tepid sort of way, about not changing things unless it were thought advisable, though of course where change is advisable it ought to be made, yet in such a way as to do lots of good and no harm, etc. That kind of shilly-shally would not have done in Iowa—not with Gov. Cummins on the same platform, and the Governor would have been on the same platform in at least one place. It was indeed so certain that a continuance by Roosevelt of his Western trip would seriously embarrass him and his party, that his reason for breaking it off has been questioned. Wonder was expressed when the news came, whether the speaking tour was not terminated (returning for a metaphor to the source from which Mr. Hanna draws) by "cold feet" rather than a game leg. Of course this is not to be considered. The evidence seems clear enough that Mr. Roosevelt's physical condition necessitated the abandonment of his campaign programme. Nevertheless, though his injury was not constructive nor diplomatic, as some have uncharitably suspected, it was a manifest godsend to him and his distracted party.

The trouble in Wall street is a

symptom of the financial collapse which is as inevitable as fate. Our much-boasted "prosperity" has been no more genuine than that of the old "South Sea bubble" of France or the "tulip craze" of Holland. If workmen have got any increases of wages they have had to work harder and to pay more for a living. The wage increase is fictitious. While it has helped to fatten statistics, it has not helped to feed and clothe workers and their families. If business men having no monopoly privileges have done a more pushing trade, they have not reaped profits in proportion. If farmers have flourished at all, it is because they have had good crops and not because they were able to earn more by work. The rise and fall of the wages of the agricultural laborer, who has nothing but work to sell, is the true test of prosperous conditions in agricultural production, and his wages have not much increased. Brisk business has indeed prevailed, but those who have conducted it have not reaped the profits:

"Prosperity" profits have been reaped by trust manipulators. Out of retorts made by monopolies, they have blown a great balloon of values, which they label "prosperity" and exhibit to the multitude for its applause. A pin prick in this balloon may at any time let out the gas and cause "prosperity" to collapse; and the disturbance in Wall street is one of those much-feared pin pricks. Not only are conditions ripe for a panic, but Wall street knows it. Therefore Wall street goes to the government treasury for help—just as the farmers did when they wanted loans on their wheat, and just as Coxey's army did when it wanted work. Not only does Wall street know it, but the administration also knows it. Therefore the treasury responds to the Wall street clamor—just as it did not to the clamor of farmers and Coxey's men. Loans upon and investments in "industrials", with values enormously inflated by trust manipulation, is the notorious fact which

makes a panic almost as certain as sunrise. For months the struggle to avert it has been coming more and more plainly into sight, and it is a struggle that cannot continue much longer.

Secretary Shaw may have temporarily relieved the "bulls" of Wall street, but he has done more than almost any other one man to hurry on the ultimate collapse. At his word, millions are freed from the bank reserves and emptied into the pockets of the gamblers. He argues that as government deposits are secured by bonds there is no necessity for requiring also a reserve against those deposits. But bank reserves are not held against particular deposits, but against deposits in general. His act, therefore, weakens the very basis of the confidence of the entire army of bank depositors in the security of their accounts. Again, the bonds to secure government deposits are no longer to be United States bonds, but anything the Secretary chooses to accept. Is it too much to fear that a secretary of the treasury who can be frightened into making these unprecedented changes may be frightened into taking poorer and poorer securities? How long will it be before the steel trust bonds, into which the preferred stock of that "prosperity"-breeding institution is to be transformed, are accepted at Washington as security for government deposits in national banks?

Some idea of the political revolution Mayor Johnson is making in Ohio may be got from the resignation of the president of the Roosevelt Association of Cleveland, J. J. Breitingger, and the reason he gives for it. Mr. Breitingger has been for several years a faithful Republican worker in Cleveland, and in his letter of resignation he describes the condition of things political with a clear eye and a steady hand. Referring to the attitude of the Republican leaders in Ohio he says:

The Republican party has in the past stood for equal rights; but this

is not the case when the leaders of the party endeavor to use the party in the interest of a few for personal gain.

After going into detail he concludes:

Mayor Tom L. Johnson is to-day the champion of the people's rights. He is fighting for the very principles that the leaders of the Republican party should stand for to-day had they remained true to the interests of the people.

Relying too implicitly upon Mr. Roosevelt's statements of fact in his Cincinnati speeches, we fell into the error last week (p. 385) of admitting that anthracite coal is on the free list. Nominally, it is on the free list, but in fact it is protected by a tariff of 67 cents to the ton, the same as bituminous coal. The explanation is that anthracite coal, to be upon the free list must be above a certain grade—92 per cent. of fixed carbon,—and that the foreign anthracite which could compete with ours, is all of lower grade than that. It was also an error to admit that petroleum is on the free list. It, too, is there nominally. But there is a supplementary provision in the tariff law which imposes upon foreign petroleum the same duty that the country from which it is imported imposes upon American petroleum. In fact, therefore, both petroleum and anthracite coal are dutiable; and Mr. Roosevelt's argument that the coal and oil trusts are not supported by the tariff, even if it were sound otherwise, would fall to pieces for this reason alone.

Some of the criticisms of Secretary Hay's Roumanian note do not appear to be well considered. This is especially true of the one which a Roumanian noble makes in the form of a retort, when he asks: "What will Mr. Hay say if Roumania requests the powers to interfere and stop the persecution of Negroes in the United States and demand explanations in regard to the treatment of Filipino prisoners?" Mr. Hay might say several things. One thing he could certainly say quite effectively, and that is that the American outrages upon Negroes in the South and Filipinos

in Asia do not result in pouring a stream of impoverished and degraded people into Roumania. For it must be observed that while Mr. Hay does not overlook the advantages of posing as an angel of mercy and a friend of the Jews, he rests his right of protest against Roumanian persecution and degradation of the Jews upon the fact that the people so degraded immigrate to this country and contaminate its citizenship. One might wonder why it is necessary to intervene in European politics for that reason, when we either have already or could easily enact immigration laws excluding degraded people; but that is the reason Mr. Hay has given.

What the President designs doing to aid the anthracite strike is not a legitimate subject for public consideration, since nothing is yet really known of his designs, plans purposes or suggestions. All that has so far been published under these heads is mere newspaper gossip. But there is no doubt that he has appealed to his cabinet to find some way of forcing the strike to a speedy end. And this does legitimately raise an important question: Why has Mr. Roosevelt waited so long? If there is the slightest possibility of his having the power to force the anthracite and railroad trust to settle, why has he been indifferent to the possibility all these months? We venture no answer. But a plausible one has been made by the Washington correspondent of the leading Western paper of Mr. Roosevelt's own party, the Chicago Tribune, whose dispatch appeared in the issue of that paper of the 1st. He telegraphed regarding the cabinet meeting or conference of the 30th as follows:

Although the political significance of the conference was minimized, the political side of the situation not being discussed, there is no doubt that the President is anxious to end the strike if possible before the November elections. The members of his cabinet who are especially in touch with the political phase, as well as the managers of the Congressional campaign, are aware that

a continuance of the strike may bring about Republican defeat at the polls. . . . In the East the political danger is great, for reports from eastern States show that the inconvenience and extortionate prices occasioned by the continuance of the strike are being used with great effect by the opponents of the administration.

THE ABUSE OF INJUNCTIONS.*

Recent occurrences have given greater emphasis than ever to the subject of "government by injunction." If trade unionism is to survive, "government by injunction" must be prohibited. More than that. Unless it is prohibited, public meetings and public speech, which in any wise threaten vested interests, will cease to be rights of American citizenship and become mere privileges by the grace of American courts. It may sound pessimistic to predict a revival of the old struggle for free speech, a free press, and jury trial; but history repeats itself, and all those rights, so confidently believed to be secure, are at hazard in the rapidly unfolding policy of "government by injunction."

Free speech is threatened when judges presume to specify by arbitrary decree the circumstances under which public meetings may be held and public speeches made. Freedom of the press is always insecure when and where freedom of speech is regulated by arbitrary decree. The right to jury trial begins to totter when alleged abuses of free speech and a free press may be punished without the intervention of juries. All three, therefore, are at hazard when judges can prohibit any kind of public speech and summarily punish whoever disobeys. The question of granting injunctions against labor strikers is more than a labor question.

No doubt it seems, to the easy-going on-looker, that injunctions are excellent for quickly checking the disorder and lawlessness of strikers—excellent and simple. "Let strikers behave themselves and injunc-

tions won't bother them," is an easy retort to the objector to "government by injunction." It is plausible, too. But the same retort could have been made to every objection to arbitrary government since tyranny began. It begs the question, which is not whether strikers should be orderly and law-abiding and be punished when they are not, but whether in any given case they have in fact been disorderly and lawless; and this question cannot be safely left to the determination of judges. Orderly liberty demands that the nature of lawlessness shall be defined, not by judges but by legislatures; and that the facts in particular cases shall be determined, not by judges but by juries. The spirit of liberty cannot exist in the same country and at the same time with star chamber courts.

To appreciate the dangers to liberty that lurk in the abuse of injunctions for the punishment of public offenses and even the prevention of public meetings and the suppression of public speech, it is necessary to understand somewhat of the origin and nature of injunction proceedings.

Historically, the injunction is an exercise of the arbitrary power of monarchy. The common law was administered under fixed principles and rules, by which the common law courts were governed. Judges could decide no case arbitrarily, so unyielding were the conditions that defined their judicial functions. One case had to be decided precisely like another, of the same kind. But this universality of the law seemed sometimes to stand in the way of administering justice in particular and peculiar cases. So, when the common law was impotent because of its universality of application, it became customary to petition the king. The king turned these petitions over to his chancellor, who was said to be "the keeper of the king's conscience." Then the chancellor, in the name and with the might of the king, granted such relief as equity and good conscience seemed to him to demand for the particular case.

Thus the chancellor's court, or court of chancery, grew up. It was long a distinct court with distinct judges

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called chancellors. But the functions of chancellors and of law judges are now quite generally exercised by the same persons, the two kinds of courts having been actually or virtually merged into one.

Among the remedies which the king's chancellors invented for doing justice irregularly by the king's grace, was the writ of injunction. Whereas the common law courts were powerless to prevent injury, being able only to award damages to the sufferer after mischief had been done, the chancellor, acting for the king, whose right was limited only by his might, and who could do no wrong, was able to forbid unconscionable conduct and to impose arbitrary penalties to enforce obedience. Inasmuch as the question of obedience in such cases had to be determined by the king—that is, by the king's chancellor, who was "the keeper of the king's conscience"—no jury was either needed or allowed. Sometimes, when the chancellor was in doubt, he might formulate questions to be sent into a law court for a jury to answer, and then adopt its answers or not as he saw fit. But the time-honored institution of trial by jury did not get so much as its nose into the court of chancery. If the chancellor had granted an injunction, and its terms were disregarded, the disobedient culprit was haled up for contempt of court, and the chancellor tried him himself, convicted him himself, and punished him himself.

This king-like practice resulted in preventing the chancellor from meddling in criminal cases. It compelled him to limit his gracious intervention to questions of conscience in disputes over property rights. He could not issue injunctions prohibiting crimes without virtually abrogating the justly cherished right of jury trial in criminal cases. For if he prohibited a crime and then convicted any person of violating the injunction, he would thereby have virtually convicted that person of committing the crime itself, and this deprived the accused of his right to trial by jury. So the chancellors refrained from issuing injunctions in restraint of public crime.

Not until very recently was this

limitation disregarded. It would probably never have been disregarded had the chancery courts and the law courts been kept apart. The jealousy of the law judges would have supplied the necessary force to hold ambitious chancellors within bounds. But this force was neutralized when law courts and chancery courts were merged. With both chancery and law functions lodged in the same person there was no jealousy to be excited. No man is ever jealous of himself.

Nevertheless it was still a long time before injunctions were issued in restraint of crime—not until 1868 in England, and later still in this country.

Until then the courts were punctilious on this point. Futile, indeed, would have been the plea which serves so well with some judges now—the plea that conviction without a jury by an injunction-judge for violation of an injunction against crime, does not prevent conviction by a jury for the crime itself, and is, therefore, no infringement upon the right of trial by jury. The reply of the old judges would have come quick and to the point. In effect it would have been that such a plea, so far from justifying injunctions against crime, suggests an additional reason for not allowing them; that it contemplates not only conviction for crime by a judge without a jury, but two convictions for the same crime.

Pursuant to their well settled rule against granting injunctions prohibiting crime, the courts steadfastly refused to issue injunctions restraining the publication of libels. And for this there was an additional reason. Not only would such injunctions be in restraint of crime, thereby infringing upon the right of trial by jury; it would also be in restraint of freedom of the press.

But this most exemplary restraint upon the injunction-issuing power was broken into in 1868. An English judge then granted an injunction to prevent the publication of libelous posters. Of course the injunction was against workingmen. Legal innovations, if repressive, naturally take that course. Liberal innovations

run just as naturally in the opposite direction. This English precedent was eagerly seized upon by the American courts, especially the Federal courts—which have their judges appointed for life, from the center of Federal power, and are therefore not amenable to, and often not conscious of, any other public sentiment than that of the clubs the judges frequent,—and in a little while "government by injunction" was in full feather. Meanwhile the higher English courts had overruled the English precedent, so that this judicial policy of the American courts rests upon a decision which the courts of the country in which it originated have repudiated.

Far as our courts had gone in issuing injunctions against crime it was not until the Summer just past that they went so far as to infringe not only upon the right of trial by jury but also upon the equally sacred right of free meetings and free speech. But if the startling West Virginia precedents are followed, the right to hold public meetings and freely address the people who attend, will depend upon the opinion of a judge as to the wisdom of allowing the meeting to be held.

Now, it is true that the right to hold public meetings and make public speeches is not absolute. It is a right that may be abused and its abuse may be punished. But even its abuse cannot be made the subject matter of injunctions without destroying the right. Between allowing freedom of speech and press, subject to punishment upon conviction for its abuse, and restraining speech and press in advance by injunction or other decree, there is all the difference that distinguishes liberty from tyranny.

Consider what the power of issuing injunctions against public meetings and public speaking means.

A judge is advised by affidavits that lawless meetings have been and others are about to be held at places and under circumstances which threaten to injure property rights.

Now, if that is true, if these meetings are in fact lawless, the promoters and participants are properly subject to indictment. If indicted

they are entitled to a jury trial. If convicted by the jury they are liable to punishment. But what for? Not for holding meetings and making speeches. They have a right to do that. They are liable to punishment because a jury has convicted them of abusing the right. But when a judge issues an injunction, the right itself is restrained. Observe that he does not issue the injunction to prevent the defendants from holding meetings upon the complainants' property. That would not be an injunction against meetings and speeches; it would be an injunction against trespass. He issues it to prevent their holding meetings on their own property. It is, therefore, an injunction against meetings and speeches. If, now, the meetings are held, those who participate are not tried by a jury for holding lawless meetings. They are tried by the judge for disobeying his order. The act is identical, but it has acquired a new name; and because it has a new name, the judge decides that under that name he can try it himself, though under the other name he could not.

So the judge decides what kind of meetings are lawful and what are not, what kind of public speaking will be allowed and what shall be prohibited, which persons are guilty and which are not, and what the punishment of the guilty shall be. All this lies within his breast as chancellor. When he comes forward with the king's conscience in his keeping, he legislates and adjudicates, and the constitutional rights of free speech and jury trial sink out of sight.

Though these injunction abuses have so far been connected with labor strikes and used in restraint of labor unions, the question they raise is not alone a labor question. If strikers' meetings upon their own premises can be prohibited and labor speeches forbidden, if this can be done by a judge's order and the same judge can punish as for contempt any person who attends the prohibited labor meeting or makes the prohibited labor speech, then every other kind of meetings and speech is subject to the same arbitrary interference. It will in that case be only a question of occasion and suf-

ficient hostile interest when political meetings and speeches, religious gatherings and exhortations, and race conferences and addresses, may be brought under the judicial ban if they happen to be offensive to a bold judge whose injunction is sought. Free assemblage and free speech would cease to be rights which judges are bound to respect. They would become favors that judges might regulate as they pleased. Given a great propertied interest which demands it, with an irresponsible judge (and Federal judges are practically irresponsible) who personally favors it, and any public meeting could be forbidden, any public speaker could be silenced unless he courageously defied the lawless judge.

NEWS

The anthracite coal strike (p. 391) has now entangled the Federal administration in its affairs. The President held a special cabinet meeting of half an hour's duration on the 30th to consider the strike situation, and this was immediately followed by an informal conference, lasting an hour and a half, of the cabinet officers who had attended the cabinet meeting. What decisions were reached, if any, is not yet known. But on the 1st the President telegraphed the presidents of all the anthracite carrying roads, together with Mr. Marple, an independent coal producer, and Mr. Mitchell, president of the national coal miners' union, inviting them to meet him at Washington at 11 o'clock on the 3d. The invitations were in the form of a brief request to see the persons invited "in regard to the failure of the coal supply, which has become a matter of vital concern to the whole nation."

Before the cabinet meeting had been called a legal proceeding against the coal trust was instituted in Boston by private parties under the management of Heman W. Chaplin, a lawyer who is described by the dispatches as an expert in the jurisprudence of the trust question. Mr. Chaplin brings the suit in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts by filing a bill in equity against the anthracite carrying roads. The plaintiffs are a citizens' relief committee of coal consumers, voluntarily organized, and the petition of the

bill in equity is for a receiver, to be appointed for the benefit of all persons affected, for the purpose of operating the idle mines.

Mr. Chaplin submitted to the public, prior to his commencement of this lawsuit, a pamphlet (Millet Co., Boston and New York, publishers, price 15 cents) in which he discussed in popular style the legal aspects of the question. This pamphlet discloses fully not only the character of the law suit subsequently begun, but also the possibilities of other legal proceedings both by private interests and by public officials. It is his fundamental proposition that all real estate is subject in its ownership to legal restriction and regulation, and that the character of the restriction or regulation is not limited to the specific forms of early law but may extend, up to the fullest requirements of their spirit, to new conditions arising in modern society. In support of this contention Mr. Chaplin cites the famous Munn case (94th volume of the United States Supreme Court reports, page 113), as applicable as well to coal mines as to warehouses, the latter being the kind of property involved in that case.

Another movement of possibly far-reaching consequence in connection with the coal strike, is the official call by the mayor and council of Detroit, of a delegate conference, to be held in that city on the 9th. The call was issued on the 29th, telegraphically, one form of message being sent to the governors of all great coal-consuming States, and the other to the mayors of the principal cities. The message to governors is as follows:

Will you appoint a delegation of 20 citizens selected at large from the State to attend conference at Detroit October 9 to devise ways and means for obtaining a reasonable supply of coal from the anthracite districts of Pennsylvania and West Virginia? The governors of all states affected have had like requests for representation. Such a conference must be potent in solving the present difficulties. Answer by telegram at our expense—William C. Maybury, mayor; Fred W. Smith, president common council.

The message to mayors is the same except that it provides for ten instead of 20 delegates, and requests also a representation from the press of the respective cities.

President Mitchell has meanwhile issued a full statement, dated the 29th, which is intended especially as a reply to the criticisms of Mr. Baer, president of the Reading railroad, and ex-Mayor Hewitt of New York. Charging these men with attempting to confuse and befog the issue, he restates the demands of the strikers as follows:

(1) An increase in wages for men employed on piece work; (2) a reduction in the hours of labor for men employed by the day; (3) payment for a legal ton of coal; (4) that the coal we mine shall be honestly weighed and correctly recorded; (5) we favor incorporating in the form of an agreement the wages that shall be paid and the conditions of employment that shall obtain for a specific period. As to the reasonableness of these demands we have proposed to submit to and abide the award of an impartial board of arbitration.

By way of refuting Mr. Baer's assertion that anthracite wages are "fair and just," Mr. Mitchell compares them with the wages in bituminous coal mining, showing that wages at the latter work, where hours are shorter and danger less, are from 20 to 40 per cent. higher than in the anthracite fields. In this connection he asserts that—

the minimum wage received by any class of adult mine workers in the soft coal mines is 26½ cents an hour, while the minimum wage paid to boys is 12½ cents an hour; in the anthracite coal mines men performing precisely the same labor receive from 13 to 20 cents an hour, while boys are paid as low as five cents an hour and rarely receive to exceed eight cents an hour.

Disorder and violence in connection with the strike are also considered by Mr. Mitchell. On this point he says:

Despite all our precautions we regret that occasional violence has resulted, but it would be as logical to charge any one of the religious, social or political organizations or even the United States government with being an unlawful organization because some of its members violate the law. The officers of the union are as severe as the operators in their earnest condemnation of any and every act of violence on the part of a striker, and no attempt has been made or will be made to condone any offense of this sort. The public should be made aware, however, that the operators and a certain section

of the press are by no means discriminating in the fixing of responsibility, and that crimes of violence are laid at the doors of strikers when the imported guardians of law and order, the armed coal and iron police, are clearly and unmistakably at fault; and I challenge the operators or their friends to point to one single utterance on their part in disapproval of the lawless actions of their hired guards.

Still another part of Mr. Mitchell's address is of special public interest. It relates to Mr. Baer's reference to the increase of wages in 1900 and his assertion that 40 per cent of the coal produced is sold in the market below the cost of mining. To this Mr. Mitchell replies that Mr. Baer—fails to say that the larger portion of this 40 per cent. is made up of grades of coal for which the miners received no compensation whatever. Indeed, up to a few years ago, or before the installation of washeries, the miners were docked for loading this very coal which brings small prices now in the market; and according to Mr. Baer's process of reasoning the miners would receive less wages for the larger grades because they mine the small sizes gratuitously. I shall not enter elaborately into the question of cost, but shall merely say that Mr. Baer's statements are utterly misleading. The rise in wages in 1900 was more than counterbalanced by an increase in the cost of living, which left the miners worse off than before. Mr. Baer claims that this advance of ten per cent. which was paid the miners in 1900 cost the companies more than ten cents a ton; but this is at least problematical. In March, 1902, the Engineering and Mining Journal (see issue of March 29) made a careful calculation in order "to show what effect the increase in wages last year had upon the cost of coal." As a result of this computation, based upon the figures of the Delaware & Hudson, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western and the Lehigh Valley Coal & Navigation company, the Engineering and Mining Journal, which cannot be accused of being either friendly or fair to us, states that "the conclusion to be drawn is that the resulting increase in cost was not large; in all probability not over five cents a ton at the outside." Mr. Baer claims that the average pay per working day in his mines is \$1.89. Admitting, for the sake of argument, the correctness of his figures, this would make upon the average number of days in 1901 a grand total of \$368 per employe, or an average of \$7.05 per week; thus, as a result of the strenuously opposed and bitterly

regretted advance wrung from the operators by the strike of 1900, the average adult employe of the Reading Coal & Iron company is permitted to spend upon himself, his wife and his children the munificent sum of \$1.01 per day.

Reports of disorder in the field of the strike continue, and on the 28th Gov. Stone ordered out an additional troop of horse—the Sheridan troop of Tyrone—to reinforce the 13th regiment. But upon good authority it is denied that there is any serious violence. Bishop Fallows, of Chicago, who has been investigating the situation in person reported on the 30th that although he had "visited every important town and spent much time at Mahonoy City, the storm center of the strike," he had not seen "a single act of violence or disorder" nor met a striker who was "disposed toward any unlawful act."

Wall street conditions, which were unsteady last week (p. 392), have since experienced a further and more disturbing shock, which the Secretary of the Treasury has relieved. Money had been very high, when, on the 25th, the Secretary published a statement which quickly reduced the rate. The statement explained that while money once paid into the treasury or any subtreasury cannot lawfully be withdrawn and deposited in banks, yet internal revenue and miscellaneous receipts, amounting to about half a million a day, are available for bank deposits before they actually get into the treasury, and have been steadfastly deposited to their fullest extent since the stringency arose. Then followed an assurance that—this policy will be continued for 30 or 60 days if needed, and longer if necessary.

The statement made also the further assurance that the national bank circulation had been increased about \$7,000,000 and would certainly be increased \$8,000,000 more, and promised that—

"the treasury department, to the extent of its ability will stand by the banks, east and west, north and south, and it is hoped also that the banks will stand by every business and every interest that is worth protecting.

Finally it pledged the department to the following offer:

It now offers to anticipate all interest maturing between October 1 and the end of the fiscal year, if present-

ed within 60 days, at a rebate of two-tenths of one per cent a month, which is at the rate of 2.4 per cent. per annum. In other words, these obligations will be prepaid at such a rate as to allow the government to profit thereby at 2.4 per cent. per annum. The amount maturing before June 30, 1903, is, in round figures, \$20,650,000. The profit to the government if this offer shall be accepted will be in round figures \$220,000.

This offer was formally made on the following day, the 26th, when the Secretary also made the following additional offer:

By virtue of the authority contained in section 3,694 of the revised statutes, notice is hereby given that this department will purchase any of the United States five per cent. bonds of the loan of 1904, if presented for that purpose on or before October 15 next, and will pay for them at the rate of 105 flat.

The amount of these bonds then outstanding was \$19,410,350; they are due in February, 1904, and their market value on the 26th was 105½.

Notwithstanding the Secretary's offer, however, and its first effects, the money stringency recurred. On the 29th loans on call commanded as much as 45 per cent., 35 being paid for millions. Prices of stocks fell rapidly, some of them as much as 10 points, and the Wall street market closed in wild confusion, with the money rate at 20 per cent. But instead of continuing on the 30th as was expected, this panic turned to a boom when the stock exchange opened on that day. The reaction had been caused by the public announcement of the Secretary of the Treasury, that he would no longer require the national banks to hold a reserve of 25 per cent. against government deposits, but would regard their deposits of bonds as sufficient security, and would accept State and municipal bonds as well as government bonds for that purpose. That action on his part, which set free something like \$130,000,000, heretofore held as reserves for the protection of government accounts with the banks, is unprecedented. He explains that the law allows deposits of government funds in national banks provided the banks secure the deposits with government bonds "and otherwise." He decides, therefore, that he may require security partly resting on government bonds and partly on some other form of security to be approved by him.

Those who differ with his policy argue that if the law read "or otherwise" Mr. Shaw would be right, but that the use of the word "and" instead of the word "or" makes it absolutely clear that there is no discretion vested in the Secretary.

New York State leads this week in American politics. The Democratic State convention met at Saratoga on the 30th. According to the forecasts in the dispatches David B. Hill was in complete control, and Bird S. Coler was slated for the governorship, Mr. Hill's chosen candidate, Judge Parker of the Court of Appeals of the State, having positively refused to be the candidate. The forecast as to Coler proved to be correct. He was nominated on the 1st by the first ballot and without opposition. The platform ignores the Kansas City platform, declares for tariffs for revenue only, denounces protection as a trust-breeder, and adopts the following clause with reference to government ownership of coal mines:

We advocate the national ownership and operation of the anthracite coal mines by the exercise of the right of eminent domain, with just compensation to owners. Ninety per cent. of the anthracite coal deposits of the world being in the state of Pennsylvania, national ownership can but be in the interest of the whole people. Fuel, like water, being a public necessity, we advocate national ownership and operation of the mines as a solution of the problem which will relieve the country from the sufferings which follow differences between labor and capital in the anthracite mines. This course will insure peace in the mining regions and remove the cause for differences, leading not only to suffering but oftentimes to bloodshed and insurrection. It will relieve the consumers of coal, not only in this State but throughout the whole country; insure steady employment and ample compensation to labor; transfer children from the mines to the schools; insure, strengthen and preserve the stability of the business interests and popular institutions of our country. Whatever differences of opinion may exist over other propositions of public ownership, the propriety of that policy as applied to anthracite coal mines must be apparent to every citizen.

The Connecticut convention of the Democratic party, which met on the 25th, ignored the Kansas City platform. A contest for its recognition was made in the committee on

resolutions, but none in the convention.

On the 25th the Republicans of the Third Congressional district of Iowa nominated Judge Benjamin P. Birdsall in place of Speaker Henderson, who declines (pp. 369, 374), as their candidate for Congress. Birdsall belongs to the Cummins, or "Iowa Idea," faction of the party. But the Congressional convention adopted a platform which repudiates the "Iowa Idea." While endorsing the State platform, it reads:

We deny that the Dingley tariff breeds and shelters trusts. We interpret the tariff plank in the Des Moines platform of 1902 to be merely a reiteration of and to mean no more than the St. Louis plank of 1896, which recites: "We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry."

Mr. Birdsall's speech of acceptance, however, was not in harmony with this interpretation.

To replace George H. Durand, as Democratic candidate for Governor of Michigan, whose ill-health has forced him to resign (p. 391), the State committee, on the 30th, named his brother, L. T. Durand, of Saginaw.

At the State election in Georgia on the 1st, the Democratic ticket was elected without organized opposition.

L. F. C. Garvin was nominated on the 1st by the Democratic convention of Rhode Island, for governor, upon a platform declaring for the initiative and referendum, home rule for cities and towns, municipal ownership of public utilities, and election of United States Senators by direct popular vote.

The gubernatorial election of Vermont, at which no choice was made, every candidate falling below a majority (p. 345), has been settled by the legislature. On the 1st it named the regular Republican candidate, whose popular vote was somewhat larger than that of the contesting Republican.

The opening meeting of the Republican campaign in Ohio was held

at Akron on the 27th. It was a State rather than a local meeting, and was very large, being from 10,000 to 15,000. Senator Foraker, Secretary Root and Senator Hanna were the principal speakers, the latter sounding the keynote of the campaign in these words:

A year ago it was my privilege to attend the opening of the Republican campaign, and after looking over the situation I came to the conclusion that I should give you a piece of advice, "Let well enough alone." That was the whole chapter; that was all there was in the campaign. To-day I say, Stand pat.

Mr. Root appealed for a new Congress that will sustain the policy of McKinley and Roosevelt, and Senator Foraker discussed tariffs and trusts.

Mayor Johnson's campaign tour of Ohio advanced from Lima on the 23d (p. 390) to Ottawa on the 24th. Ottawa is in Putnam county, which is Democratic. The night was stormy but the audience numbered 2,500—about equal to the population of the town. The county auditor, a Democrat, refused to attend the meeting, and Mr. Johnson exposed his record as auditor to the audience. At Findlay, in the Republican county of Hancock, on the 25th, the audience rose to 5,000, notwithstanding a continuous rain. Here the Republican auditor, who had been most bitterly hostile to Johnson's crusade against the under-assessment of railroads, announced his conversion, and asserted that he had urged his successor in office not to accept railroad passes and to do his utmost to secure just railroad valuations. But the new auditor refused to pledge himself, and Mayor Johnson made good use of him before his large audience as a bad example. Fostoria, in the Democratic county of Seneca, was the place of the next meeting. It was held on the 26th. The attendance here was about 4,500. The record of the auditor of this county also was made the text for one of Mayor Johnson's non-partisan speeches on the question of just taxation. One question asked of Johnson was whether he believed in the single tax, to which he replied, as reported by Carl T. Robertson, in the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

"I believe in the teaching of Henry George. It's the gospel by which I square my political life." He then went on to explain that the single

tax is not a tax on land, but a tax on land values. He said that the farmers now pay one-half of the total amount of taxes, while their land is worth only five per cent. of the entire land value of the entire nation, and that according to the doctrine of Henry George the burdens which are now borne by the farmers would be borne by the possessors of mineral rights, franchises and the enormously valuable land in cities.

At Tiffin, on the 27th, also in Seneca county, an audience of 2,300 came to the tent in a pouring rain. Thence the tent was moved to Upper Sandusky, in Wyandotte county (Democratic), where on the 29th an audience gathered that filled it. Mayor Johnson here secured a public pledge from the Democratic candidate for auditor that he would not ride on passes and would support the taxation of railroads equally with other property. At these meetings Herbert S. Bigelow, the candidate for secretary of state, has been the other star speaker with Mayor Johnson, and the burden of both their speeches everywhere is home rule and just taxation.

On the same day Mr. Johnson attended the Democratic county convention at Cincinnati where he made a speech on 3-cent fare resolutions which were carried. His speech also took in the general issues of the campaign, and incidentally he referred to L. G. Bernard, the Democratic lieutenant of John R. McLean, in these terms:

I see L. G. Bernard here and I will say something I would not have said were he not here. I have known Bernard for a long time. We all know him as a good fellow. But there is a rule by which real leaders have to be tested. A political leader who does not rise to lead people when their interests are at stake does not lead. That's all.

This sentiment of Johnson's was applauded loudly and at the conclusion of his speech the convention responded with deafening applause. In his speech he had said of the Cincinnati street car plant that it "can be duplicated for \$10,000,000 and it is paying a dividend on \$28,000,000."

On the 29th the municipal code bill of Ohio (p. 390) was reported to the lower house of the State legislature by its code committee, so that now each house has a bill before it. The bills differ in important particu-

lars. At present the efforts of the Republican leaders are directed toward securing an agreement which will cure the defects of the 50-year franchise in operation in Cincinnati, and reestablish the franchise-granting powers of municipalities unchanged.

Turning now to South America, where this country has become involved in the Colombian revolution (p. 377), it appears that the American naval commander, McLean, has taken practically complete control of the Panama railroad system. Another detachment of United States marines was landed at Colon on the 19th, on which date also both the Colombian government and the revolutionists were notified by the American Secretary of the Navy as follows:

I have to inform you that the United States naval forces are guarding the railway trains and line of transit across the isthmus of Panama from sea to sea; that no person whatever will be allowed to obstruct, embarrass, or interfere in any manner with the trains or the route of transit. This is without prejudice or any desire to interfere in domestic contentions of the Colombians.

The Secretary further instructed Commander McLean on the 20th in these terms:

United States guarantees perfect neutrality of Isthmus and that a free transit from sea to sea be not interrupted or embarrassed. United States of Colombia guarantees right of way for transit across isthmus open and free to the government and citizens of the United States and their property. Any transportation of troops which might contravene these provisions of the treaty should not be sanctioned by you, nor should any use of the road be permitted which might convert the line of transit into a theater of hostility. Any transportation of government troops not in violation of treaty and which would not endanger transit or provoke hostilities may not be objectionable.

Accordingly Commander McLean allows troops to be transported as passengers, unarmed, carrying their arms in separate trains as baggage or freight. An attempt was made on the 25th by a body of insurgents to arrest a government officer who was being so transported, and a collision between the insurgents and the U. S. marines very nearly resulted. The insurgents withdrew upon being threatened.

NEWS NOTES.

—Emile Zola, the famous French author, died at Paris on the 30th.

—The sixteenth annual convention of the American Theosophical society closed its session in Chicago on the 28th.

—The salt trust was declared insolvent on the 30th by the chancellor of New Jersey and placed in the hands of a receiver.

—The twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor is called to meet at New Orleans on the 13th of November.

—At the meeting of the Illinois Bankers' association on the 30th at Peoria the Fowler bill (p. 244), now pending in Congress, was condemned.

—The death of the emperor of Korea, reported last week (p. 392), was on the 28th denied in an official telegram to the Korean legation of Berlin.

—It was announced in Berlin on the 25th that the German government has decided to take no formal action in the direction requested by the Roumanian note (p. 392) of Secretary Hay.

—The Supreme Court of Missouri granted a writ of mandamus on the 29th against the state board of equalization, requiring them to raise the tax assessments of numerous corporations from 25, 30 and 40 per cent. of value to the full cash value.

—On the 25th President Roosevelt signed the order for taking a census of the Philippines in accordance with the Philippine act (p. 199) passed at the last session of Congress which authorizes him to do so when complete peace shall have been established.

—The charter for a trans-Atlantic steamship merger, projected by J. Pierpont Morgan, was filed in New Jersey on the 1st. Its capitalization is \$120,000,000, one-half being six per cent. preferred and the other half common. The president is C. A. Griscom.

—Charlemagne Tower, American ambassador to Russia, has been transferred to Germany to succeed Mr. White, while Robert S. McCormick, ambassador to Austria-Hungary, succeeds Mr. Tower as ambassador to Russia. Mr. McCormick's place is filled by the promotion of Bellamy Storer, minister to Spain, as ambassador to Austria-Hungary. Arthur S. Hardy, minister to Switzerland, succeeds Mr. Storer, and Charles Page Bryan, now minister to Brazil, succeeds Mr. Hardy in Switzerland; while David Thompson, of Nebraska, is appointed as minister to Brazil.

—Gerald Balfour, of the British

cabinet as president of the board of trade, said on the 30th that the British government had not only agreed to pay the Cunard steamship line a yearly subsidy of \$750,000—double all other British ship subsidies—on condition that it remain all British, but has also made an arrangement with the Morgan syndicate under which for 20 years British ships in the combination will continue to fly the British flag, be manned by a given proportion of British men and be available on an emergency for the British government, while at least half of the future orders of the syndicate shall go to British yards.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE CONNECTICUT CONVENTION.

Johnstown Daily Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 29.—That was a significant incident of the Connecticut Democratic convention which had ignored the Kansas City platform. A bare allusion to Tom L. Johnson started a tumult of applause. Yet Tom L. Johnson's platform in set terms endorses the Kansas City platform and commends the leadership of W. J. Bryan.

COAL LAND AND HENRY GEORGE.

Baltimore Daily News (ind.), Sept. 27.—Private property in land, like every other human institution, rests upon guarantees which are limited in their power of endurance. They will not stand if intolerable hardships and unforeseen absurdities result from their maintenance. Monopoly of public necessities has never been supposed to be part of the bargain. If such monopoly exists, an essential condition for the possibility of its maintenance is that it shall not lead to outrageous consequences. Whatever the merits of the present strike, the mine operators seem to have been serenely unconscious that its developments would raise the deeper question in the people's minds—can we tolerate indefinitely a dependence upon monopolized natural resources in a commodity of prime necessity? That the scarcity and the high prices have raised this question on all sides is evident; that the distress which seems sure to come on within a few weeks will intensify its significance tenfold is equally certain. And perhaps it would be the part of enlightened self-interest for the coal magnates to attempt some kind of conciliation as a means of preventing the public unrest from going farther.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), July 25.—When Henry George first declared that the bounty of nature, the fields, forests and mines, was given to man for the benefit of all and not for the profit of the few, he was ridiculed and denounced and his theories were contemptuously rejected as fantastic and dangerous. . . . As a separate political force, the single tax movement never gained headway, but the George idea has made wonderful progress and crops out in the most unexpected places. In the discussion of the tax question, the arguments of George are being revamped by all classes and conditions of men. It is really amazing to see how firmly his ideas have taken hold of the American people. The coal strike has disclosed the remarkable progress that has been made by the George idea. . . . Ideas are ir-repressible. As a candidate for office, George could be defeated. As a political economist, his doctrines could be rejected by the "guardians of public morals," but his ideas could not be suppressed. George is dead, but to-day he exercises through the force of his ideas greater influence than

he did when living. The truth is eternal. How much greater and grander is the man that gives the first impulse to some great truth, who evolves some "theory" afterward to be accepted by mankind as truth, to influence the thought of men and direct the course of human events long after he has turned to dust, than to gain the transient glory and honor that comes from appealing to popular prejudices, superstition and ignorance.

MISCELLANY

THE DESERTED REPUBLIC.

(With acknowledgments to Goldsmith's

"Deserted Village.")

For The Public.

Sweet Union! loveliest nation of the earth,
Where human liberty first had its birth;
Where Despotism, in the dawn o'erthrown,
Henceforth was to the gracious land unknown;

Dear, lovely Nation of the brave and free,
Home of my youth, thou ever dear to me,
How often have I, on the glorious Fourth,
Heard orators proclaim the Patriots' worth;

How often have I paused on every charm—
Th' abundant land, the unincumbered farm,
The never-falling bank, the busy mill—
(Unfed by tariff-dole, yet prosperous still);
How often have I hailed the destined day
When every man, assured of ample pay,
Could with the village train, from labor free,

Sport joyfully beneath the spreading tree!
These were thy charms, my country; here
was ease,

For Honest Toil that came across the seas;
And thou didst stretch thy arms and bid
all come,

With certain promise of a freeman's home,
For through the world thy glorious name
was spread—

These were thy charms—but all these
charms are fled!

Amid thy bowers grim Poverty is seen;
Monopoly rolls in fat, while Toil is lean;
The Trusts voraciously grasp the whole domain;

The People cry for justice all in vain;
No more do Congressmen reflect the will
Of those who would retain their birthright still;

Thy soil has all been grabbed by, hungry
rings,

And farming now so scant a living brings
That thousands, flying from the spoiler's
hand,

Are seeking homes in the Canadian land.

Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay;
A half a dozen multi-millionaires
May be relieved of common human cares.
But plain Americans, their country's pride,
When once crushed out, can never be supplied.

Sweet was the sound when oft at evening's close

To Fancy's ear the Nation's murmur rose;
The Poet, singing of the Rights of Man;
The Statesman, setting forth the Union's plan,

How Government derives its righteous powers
From the consent of governed. "Lands
like ours

Alone are truly free," he cried; "the state
Based on brute force both God and man
must hate;"

The Editors, who pleaded Freedom's cause;

The Judges, who expounded equal laws;
 The Common People, humming like glad
 bees,
 And pouring forth their patriot melodies;
 These all arose and sweet confusion made,
 Between the tunes the sportive brass-bands
 played.
 But now the Constitution seems to fail;
 The Declaration is a "played-out tale,"
 An "academic thing of empty phrase,
 Not meant for active use in 'strenuous
 days,"
 No Presidents now the Lincoln pathways
 tread;
 The Party Lincoln knew and loved is dead,
 And in its place there stands a ghastly
 thing
 More hateful to his thought than Czar or
 King—
 "Imperialism," that seeks, with olly cant
 Of plans "benevolent," or as sickening
 rant
 Of "army honor," to crush out the hope
 Of weaker people that for freedom grope;
 And while thus throttling liberty abroad,
 Kill it at home by reasonable fraud!

Near yonder Capitol, where Funston
 blows,
 The old-time preacher's honest pulpit rose;
 A man he was to all the country dear,
 Who spoke God's truth with ringing voice
 and clear;
 Unskilful he to fawn and seek for power
 By doctrines fashioned to the varying
 hour;
 Or to divide, with heathenism foul,
 'Twixt God and Party, his devoted soul;
 Nor to bow down and worship at the shrine
 Of any man, as though he were divine;
 He scorned to teach that torture, lies and
 fraud
 Done by Republicans were works of God;
 Or that a tyranny unjust and cruel
 Was quite harmonious with the Golden
 Rule.

Alas! the old-time preacher's all but lost,
 And a time-serving heeler holds his post;
 A man who God and Mammon seeks to
 serve,
 And from the latter, anyway, won't
 swerve.

Beside the church the schoolhouse used to
 stand,
 The "old red schoolhouse"—glory of our
 land!
 And there the Scholar taught his little
 brood
 That Washington and his brave men with-
 stood
 The tyrant who presumed to take away
 The liberties of young America;
 He told them that the starry banner waved
 Above a land that would not be enslaved;
 "Nay, but that flag," said he, "throughout
 the world
 In Freedom's name shall ever be unfurled;
 Man has, as man, inalienable rights,
 And liberty is one—for which he fights
 If he is really man, what'er his race,
 And whatso'er the color of his face;
 And should such patriots ever call for aid
 Upon our Free Republic, undismayed
 We'd front the world in arms to serve their
 cause,
 And win their right to make their country's
 laws;"
 The Master who so taught our youth is
 dead;
 The "Scholar" now's "In Politics" instead,
 And sneers at the old-fashioned minute-
 men,
 Saying that things are different now and
 then;

Adams and Jefferson deserved no thanks
 That he knows of, for they, indeed, were
 cranks,
 And not to be compared, for strenuous
 zest
 With Roosevelt, Spooner, Hanna, and the
 rest;
 As to this rot about the Filipinos
 Having a right to rule themselves, why, he
 knows
 "Benevolent assimilation" is the thing
 They really need—that is, they need a
 King,
 Or better still a thorough-going Czar,
 And Teddy is the man—on with the war!
 Throughout the land we sadly note to-day
 The rich man's joys increase, the poor's de-
 cay;
 A score of nabobs owning everything;
 A million tramps upon the tattered wing;
 Our seats of learning abject 'neath the heel
 Of proud monopolists of oil and steel;
 The right of trial by jury oft uprooted,
 The "sweat-box" and "injunction" substi-
 tuted;
 Free speech prohibited where it offends
 The corporations, or obstructs their ends;
 The press snuffed out, if so it suits the whim
 Of Third Assistant P. M. G.'s so grim;
 The right of miners to a decent wage
 Refused with smile of scorn or growl of
 rage,
 And if to force their plea they go on strike
 Monopolists may shoot them if they like.
 The Christ of Pilgrim Fathers thrust aside,
 And the Barabbas Dollar deified;
 The Gospel of the Brotherhood rejected,
 And that of Grasp and Get alone respected;
 A banner once the symbol of the free
 Now the shamed badge of heartless perfidy!

As Goldsmith mourned o'er his Deserted
 Village,
 So may we, viewing this wide wreck and
 pillage,
 Of teachings mocked and grand ideals per-
 verted
 Speak of our loved Republic as Deserted;
 Deserted, that upon its glorious site
 An Empire may be built defying Right!
 But shall it be? Shall this mere party rab-
 ble
 That at the heels of Roosevelt quack and
 gabble,
 To serve their selfish schemes of pelf and
 "glory"
 Quench Freedom's torch in barbarism
 gory?
 Shall ten score traitors to our land's tradi-
 tions
 Impose on seventy millions their condi-
 tions?
 No! not unless the cancerous decay
 Has made us all as vain and vile as they!
 J. W. B.

MR. DOOLEY ON THE WAR GAME.
 "D'ye think a foreign fleet cud capture
 this country?" asked Mr. Hen-
 nessy.
 "Not unless it was op'rated be a
 throlley," said Mr. Dooley. "Supposin'
 ye an' I had throuble, Hinnessy, an'
 both iv us was armed with bricks an'
 ye was on roller skates an' I was on
 th' top iv a house, how much chanst
 wud ye have again me? Ships is good
 to fight other ships. That's all. I'd
 sooner be behind a bank iv mud thin
 in th' finest ship in th' wurruld. A

furrin' inimy thryin' to get up to New
 York wud be like a blind burglar at-
 timplin' to walk on th' top iv a hot-
 house with all th' neighbors an' th'
 neighbors' dogs waitin' f'r him. Th'
 war game is all right. It don't do any
 harm. But it's like punchin' th' bag,
 an' I'd jus' as soon thrain a man f'r a
 fight be larnin' him to play th' man-
 dolin as be instructin' him in bag
 punchin'. It's a fine game. I don't
 know who won, but I know who lost."
 "Who's that?" asked Mr. Hennessy.
 "Th' treasury," said Mr. Dooley.—
 F. P. Dunne, in Chicago American of
 September 21.

A TRUTH THAT IS GAINING WIDE
 RECOGNITION.

Henry George, Jr., in Chicago Record-
 Herald of September 21.

God Almighty, the All-Father, made
 the coal mines as he made all nature,
 for the use of his creatures. He did
 not hand down a coal mine title to Mr.
 President Baer and his associate rail-
 road presidents, and before the bar of
 heaven the smallest child in the arms
 of the poorest mine laborer's wife has
 as much natural right and title to those
 anthracite mines as has this exalted
 railroad magnate.

This is the indisputable and ever-
 lasting truth. What has dimmed or
 hidden it is that men have fallen into
 the habit of confusing the works of
 man with the works of God and of
 supposing that because a man has an
 indisputable title to the things his
 labor produces he therefore has a title
 as sound to the things that God pro-
 duced, but which he appropriates.

Mr. Baer and his associates and their
 companies are justly entitled to all
 that they can by their separate or
 combined efforts produce. But they
 never did and never can make one cubic
 inch of coal land.

In the nature of things it was not in-
 tended that human beings should
 create things; it was intended that
 men should apply their labor to nat-
 ural elements, should change or modi-
 fy the things that Omnipotence has
 created.

But what Mr. Baer in effect says is
 that "God, in his infinite wisdom, has
 given" not only the fruits of their toil
 to the railroad companies in question,
 but the control of nature's storehouse
 of coal as well. Such a doctrine is
 monstrous, and by its enunciation on
 top of this paralyzing coal strike thou-
 sands upon tens of thousands of men
 have come to realize that it is mon-
 strous.

Doctor—What kind of food do you
 eat?
 Patient—Substitutes.—Puck.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Extracts from a private letter, written from the Philippine Islands, under date of July 5, 1902.

Your latest letter to me speaks of a change in public opinion in the states. From those who have taken the matter up we may hope for a great deal. . . .

Application of the barbarous "water cure" are admitted on all sides; it is only a matter of jest among Americans. And the burning of whole villages, and the entire wiping out of native families, is spoken of in very indifferent tones. You would hardly believe that the business of war would harden men as it does. I cannot conceive of a state more unnatural than that of a war of subjugation, where the white can come to hate intensely the brown man simply because the latter prefers a brown man's government.

Now peace and apparent contentment rule in these islands. But how long will this condition last? If the natives accept the yoke, are they worth having? They cannot partake of our government as equals. Do we want them as subjects always?

To say that they are unfit for our kind of social regulation does not mean they are unfit for all kinds of self-regulation, and perhaps the one they should adopt for themselves would be better than anything we can give them. In any case, their social regulation cannot be self-government if we give it to them cut and dried. We made a mistake in the beginning. How can we correct it? is now the question.

The work of the civil commission is honorable, but while our army of occupation is present there is bound to be some friction between the civil and military authorities, and between the natives and the enlisted men.

And there is another evil growing up now that should have public attention drawn to it at home. This evil is the natural outcome of placing men in an unsuitable environment. I mean the relations of white men here with native girls. The Filipino women in general are very chaste and constant. But soldiers and ex-soldiers sometimes prevail on them to accept a common law marriage, a matter not in contradiction to the girls' chastity if you will only remember that such marriage of common consent prevailed among the poorer classes of Filipinos because of the high fees charged by the friars in the days of their power.

Now those soldiers or civilians, mentioned above, after a few years of mar-

ried life return to the States and desert their wives. Personally I know of three cases in three different pueblos; one at . . . , one at . . . and one at . . . ; all the towns being in . . . province. Each of the men left offspring. The man in . . . was an officer in the United States volunteers; now he is a lieutenant in the United States army. In this town more than half a dozen whites have natives for wives. The women are neither lewd nor depraved, but of a simple and constant nature. I suppose all of their husbands will leave them inside of three years, with promises to return. Sometimes it is pathetic to witness the faith of those simple girls, and the hope that their men will come back. What can the children of such fathers grow up to be but intense haters of all Americans and things American? This state of affairs is a disgrace to white civilization, if our present state of development as exemplified in these lands is "civilized." As women in general are not a cold reasoning class, nor deterred by the bad chance that befalls one of their number, this evil of "jaw-bone" marriage, as it is not inaptly called, will tend to grow as the country becomes more settled and peaceful.

To concentrate the soldiers in large stations might better conditions in this respect; and would certainly lessen the bad feelings engendered when soldiers and natives come in contact. For sometimes there is no reason whatever in the actions of those enlisted men who feel they belong to the superior race. Let me give an example. On a dark night some pupils of mine, young men, and I were going to our houses after school. We met three soldiers in the street, who were partly intoxicated. One of them, thinking he had to deal only with Filipinos, declared he was going to kick the lamp out. I came forward a little and asked him why, but he could give no answer whatever. All he had against the young man was that he was a Filipino. This is but one example; I could give you a dozen of such trifling things. The result of the sum total is that the natives hate the whites, or at least the military portion.

Besides, the army officers are distinguished by a lack of reason in their dealings with the people. And this will not abate, for the army upper class seem to think that the state is made for them. A friend of mine, a captain and post commander whom the natives honor and respect, summed the whole thing up tersely by saying:

"All we need here is an administration of good common sense." Unfortunately there are not many like him. Those court-martials you hear of can produce nothing, for you know that all true reforming comes from the outside.

At present in the provinces having civil government, and that means almost all, the military can take no part in active operations. Order is maintained by a body composed of Filipinos, and known as the Philippine constabulary. The greater part of the officers are Americans, mostly ex-soldiers who have in some way distinguished themselves. I assure you they bear no love toward the natives, and as for the enlisted men, the majority of them are ex-ladrones, but not reformed ones. Unless closely watched they are liable to endanger the peace more than they maintain it, for at times robberies have been traced to them. You spoke of a little good I might do by trying my hand at stories, but my real work here is to see that the natives about me are not wronged while I remain dumb.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY. ANSWERING QUESTIONS IN THE CAMPAIGN TENT.

"Staff Special" to the Cleveland Plain Dealer from Carl T. Robertson, dated at Lima, O., September 23; published in Plain Dealer of September 24.

Mayor Johnson was very much in his own element to-night. There were plenty of questions from the audience, most of them of an unfriendly nature. As Mr. Johnson is never at his best before a passively friendly audience, such as have been the rule throughout the trip, he hailed the questions to-night as a great boon and made probably the strongest speech of the present campaign.

One of the questions was from Editor Campbell, of the Republican Gazette, who asked:

"Do you believe in the Henry George theory of a tax on land only?"

"I do not believe in a tax on land," replied the mayor.

"Do you believe in the doctrines of Henry George?" persisted Mr. Campbell.

"To that question with all my heart I answer," replied the mayor with great force. "The doctrines of Henry George are the moving spirit of whatever I do, whether as mayor of Cleveland or in this tent or in another field of activity. Henry George did not advocate a tax on land but on land values. Thus, instead of increasing the burden of the farmer, as you seem to assume, would greatly lessen it. I be-

lieve that Mr. George's proposition to abolish customs houses, to take away the taxes which fall upon houses and improvements which are created by labor, taxes which are therefore in the last analysis, taxes upon labor, and to place these taxes upon monopoly and privilege. I believe this to be the solution of the one great question, the labor question. This question is the rock upon which the nation may yet be reared. The solution of this question is, simply, to take the burdens of taxation from labor and place them upon monopoly and privilege."

Mr. Campbell then asked how this would be of assistance in the solution of the trust problem.

"You name any trust," said Mr. Johnson, "take your choice, and I'll tell you how it is effected."

Mr. Campbell mentioned the beef trust.

"The beef trust," said Mr. Johnson, "is possible on account of the privileges granted by the steam railroads to a few men. The railroads are now in the hands of a small number of capitalists, and will soon be in the hands of one man. The men who control the railroads have given to the men who control the beef trust advantages in rates above all others who would seek to send beef over their lines. This is what makes such a trust possible. The beef trust is one of a group of subsidiary trusts that receive their power for evil entirely from the railroads. The Standard Oil trust is another, also the sleeping car trust and the telegraph trusts. They gain their hold through being allowed to control rates. Do you know the only remedy for these trusts? Let the railroads be owned by the state. Then the railroad trust will be done away with, and when you destroy the mother you'll kill all the offspring at the same time."

There was one question which amused Mr. Johnson hugely. It was: "What objection do you have to perpetual franchises if they are to be properly controlled by legislation?"

The mayor laughed. "In the first place they're too long," he said. The crowd was amused at this, and then the speaker went on to give many and cogent reasons why perpetual franchises were not good things to have.

"Why do you charge five-cent fares upon your railroads in Johnstown and Lorain while you are preaching three-cent fares in Cleveland?" was another question.

"I do not own the railroad in Johnstown and have not for years. I still have a small interest in the railroad in Lorain. A year ago, at my suggestion,

the fare in Lorain was reduced to three cents, and since that time the road has been paying better than it did before."

One other question was decidedly original. It was: "You have yourself amassed a competency under the present system. Don't you think it is unfair now to try to do away with this system so that others will not have the same chance to make a fortune?"

"It depends," said Mr. Johnson, "from what standpoint you are looking at it, and whom you are speaking for. If you are speaking from the standpoint of the monopolist, you may be right. I have been a monopolist a good part of my life, and I know the rules of that game mighty well. I can tell you as an experienced monopolist that the rules of that game are not favorable to the common people. If you are speaking for the people I can unhesitatingly inform you that it is fair now, and always has been fair to abolish a system which is unfair. And it may be that it is because I know the system so well that I am so positive that it should be done away with."

The same man asked Mr. Johnson if it were not true that there was a suit pending against him in Cleveland for \$470,000 back taxes.

"Yes," he replied, "that's pretty near true. Only you got the amount too small. The suit is for about \$600,000. But that is an old story in Cleveland. The tax inquisitor, for political purposes, put my personal property upon the duplicate for more than twice as much as that of all the other residents of Euclid avenue. That's where the dudes live, you know. Mark Hanna doesn't live there, but I will include him, too, and then the amount I was assessed for was more than twice as great as that of all the rich men in Cleveland combined. I have even offered to give the tax inquisitor one-half of this property if he can find it. My friends, I want to pay every cent of tax that I justly owe, but I shall never consent to pay taxes which are trumped up against me for political effect. The people of Cleveland have heard this story of my back taxes a great many times. That they do not believe it is proved by the fact that they have indorsed me, or the candidates whom I have favored, at three successive elections."

Mr. Johnson's replies unfailingly evoked vociferous cheers. Finally a man who had asked several questions of the most unfriendly character addressed the meeting.

"Next month," he said, "Senator Hanna is going to speak to the people of Lima. He will also be asked some

questions. If he answers them in as honest and patriotic a manner as has Mayor Johnson of Cleveland some of us will be in a devil of a fix."

A DEMOCRATIC VIEW OF THE IOWA IDEA.

Ex-Gov. Horace Boies' letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination for congressman in the Third Iowa district, as published in the Chicago Chronicle of September 25.

P. J. Quigley, Henry Parrott, L. F. Springer, Committee, etc.—Gentlemen: Yours of the 18th inst., officially notifying me of the action of the recent convention at Dubuque in unanimously selecting me as the Democratic candidate for congress in this district and expressing the hope that I would accept the same is received.

In no sense unmindful of the honor such a nomination confers, or the kindly feelings of those who tender it, I want to consider the question it presents from the standpoint of duty, which every citizen in a government like our own owes to the commonwealth of which he is a member.

In doing this I am compelled to recognize the fundamental principle upon which our institutions rest, that the source of all official authority, from the lowest to the highest public servants, is the people, and, this being true, it seems necessarily to follow that they, through sources nearest the seat of that power, should, in the absence of reasonable excuse on the part of candidates, be permitted to select those whom they desire to represent them in public positions.

I beg, therefore, to assure you that, profoundly impressed as I am by the responsibilities my nomination imposes and grateful as I shall ever remain for the confidence it implies, I feel it is a matter of duty on my part to accept the same regardless of any personal desires of my own.

In doing this it seems appropriate, if not necessary, inasmuch as no platform of principles was suggested by the convention from which my nomination comes, that I should express my personal views on what seems to me the most important question that now agitates the public mind.

This, in my judgment, is the nation's duty in dealing with the great combinations of capital that have been and are still being rapidly organized in many of our industrial pursuits and which have come to be generally known as "trusts."

It is no exaggeration to say that the great mass of our people are profoundly disturbed by what seems to be the impending evils of this new depart-

ure in so many of our business enterprises.

The serious question that confuses and hopelessly divides us is the remedy that must be found for the dangers they threaten.

In approaching a solution of that question we should endeavor correctly to comprehend its exact nature.

TRUSTS AND THEIR EVILS.

To do this it is necessary to understand first of what a trust, in the ordinary acceptance of that term, consists.

In its most objectionable form it is a combination of the properties of considerable numbers of individuals or corporations, originally operated independently of each other, into one larger corporation controlled through its officers by a single management.

The dangers which result from these greater combinations are more than one.

The mere statement of their constituent parts demonstrates that they must of necessity limit, if they do not destroy, competition in every line of business in which they are organized.

Another is the established fact that separate owners of distinct properties, who consent to merge the same in the common property of a greater combination and accept in lieu thereof, as is usually done, the bonds of stock of the new corporation, universally insist upon exorbitant estimates of the value of that which they contribute, thereby compelling the managers of the new enterprise so to conduct its business that it will pay reasonable dividends at least on its enormously watered stock.

ANALYZES THE STEEL TRUST.

A notable example of this evil is found in what is known as "the American steel trust," under which separate properties, the original cost of which, it is said, did not exceed \$400,000,000, have been capitalized at the incomprehensible sum of \$1,400,000,000, and its bonds and stocks to that extent placed upon the markets for sale.

At the head of that huge concern is a single individual, whose annual salary is reputed to be a round million of dollars, with a long line of other officers and agents munificently compensated for their services, and still the business of this monster combination is so managed that it pays these extraordinary sums to its managers and agents, together with most liberal dividends upon its enormous volume of bonds and stock.

It requires little foresight to comprehend that in order to do this it must sell the output of its business to some

of its customers, at least, at prices enormously in excess of their actual cost of production.

That this is done to home consumers is conclusively established by the fact that large quantities of its products are shipped abroad and sold in foreign markets at little more than one-half the price exacted for them here.

PERIL IN WATERED STOCKS.

The evil of excessive prices to home consumers is not the only one that is threatened. If reports be true its watered stocks are floated in every market of the country and are being absorbed by small purchasers, who will be least able to bear the loss when the crash comes, for as certain as the judgment day for all is the day to come when the American people will find a way to squeeze the water out of the stocks of every one of these great combinations, and when they do the bonds and stock of each will be worth the fair market value of the property they represent and nothing more.

Another and equally serious objection is found in the fact that if unrestrained and permitted to increase in the future as they have done in the recent past they soon will be able to dominate the labor markets of the country and fix at their own sweet will the terms upon which workmen shall be employed and the wage that shall be paid them for their services.

It requires little sagacity to see that if the day ever comes when each of the separate lines in our manufacturing industries is controlled by a trust it would require but one greater combination of all, either express or implied, to fix a scale of wages that would be paid by all.

COAL TRUST MENACES NATION.

A forcible example of the power they would easily wield in this regard is furnished by conditions that now exist in the anthracite fields of this country. There one huge combination has possessed itself not only of the soil from which our hard coal must come, but of the means of transportation through which it must reach the outer world.

For a period of nearly four months the managers of that monstrous combination have been at loggerheads with their employes over differences they are unable to harmonize, and although thousands upon thousands of their hard-handed workmen, with their wives and little ones, are suffering for the necessaries of life and the whole country is on the verge of a fuel panic not a muscle of that soulless combination is moved and not a word of conciliation escapes the lips of its managers.

These men have formulated the terms on which their workmen may return to their toil. They can accept or starve; that is their only choice.

What I have said of the two examples to which I have referred is largely applicable to nearly 300 similar combinations of greater or less degree.

As heretofore stated, while all seem to realize the danger to the great mass of our people which this new departure in our business methods threatens, we are hopelessly divided in seeking a remedy for it.

TWO VIEWS OF THE TARIFF.

For generations the American people have been divided on the question of the right or wrong of a protective as distinguished from a revenue tariff, but it is only in recent years that the trust evil has entered into a discussion of that question.

The teachings of Democrats logically lead them to believe that our protective tariff system has made the organization of these trusts possible, and so long as it is continued they also believe it will furnish a defensive breastwork behind which they can find shelter from every shaft that could reach a vital part.

The course of reasoning by which this conclusion is reached is easily understood. They say truthfully that the conceded object of a protective tariff is to exclude from our market goods of foreign manufacture which, if permitted to be imported, would be sold in competition with home manufactures and hence reduce the price of these to the same level at which foreign goods of like quality could be bought. That so long as we maintain a tariff wall that shuts foreign goods out of our markets there is no possible way to prevent home producers from combining by either express or implied agreements and fixing the price at which their own products shall be sold.

The futility of legislation, other than tariff reduction, in restraint of such action is to them demonstrated by the fact that the great bulk of our trusts have been openly organized in the face of anti-trust laws carefully prepared and incorporated into the statutes of the nation and many of the states.

REMEDY THROUGH THE TARIFF.

They insist, therefore, that inasmuch as the plain object of these combinations is to destroy competition among themselves and thereby become able to fix their own prices upon whatever they produce there is but one remedy for the evils they threaten, and that is to take down the wall that shelters them and compel them to compete with the world at large.

In this view I heartily concur, as I

do in the old and revered Democratic doctrine that a tariff which is nothing less than a tax on consumers can rightfully be laid for one purpose only, and that to raise needed revenue for the use of the government.

But, as old as that doctrine is and firmly rooted in the Democratic faith as it has become, it must always be interpreted in the light of conditions as they exist when it is to be applied.

In the absence of circumstances requiring a different interpretation a demand for an immediate reduction in our tariff system to a revenue basis would naturally be understood to mean a demand for a general revision of our tariff laws and a reduction of all their schedules to a common level that would produce needed revenue only.

This, however, is not as I understand the interpretation Democrats at the present time put upon that demand.

It must be remembered that it is made in the presence of new conditions, in the bright glare of which it must be construed.

HOST OF UNIQUE EVILS.

To the mind of a Democrat, at least, this country is threatened with unique and overshadowing evils.

In the presence of the great combinations that have been and are being organized in our industrial pursuits he reads the downfall of independent effort, the crushing in the youth of our future of a manly hope to stand at the head of some business enterprise and, with brain as well as brawn, lead it upward to success; the withering away of a great army of leaders who have stood at the pilot wheels of our industries and made the whole world wonder at America's business success, and, looking out into the future, he sees in the place of these a single individual, whom the world dubs a captain of industry, bedecked with emblems of authority that cost a million a year to support, leading behind him great columns of dejected men who never dream of a better place, but come and go at one man's beck.

And, turning from visions like these, he sees the wealth that millions are made to earn at the feet of men whose hands were never stained by toil, and then is it any wonder that he asks: Is this the result of law?

And who are the men that we see and speak of like this? You, who would lead or drive them, call them the common herd, but in among them are millions of men who drank from their mother's breast the milk of human kindness that makes every man a brother, who learned at their father's

knee his Bible faith, the equality of man before the law.

AIM AT HEART OF TRUSTS.

To the worshipers of protection let me say, It is not the fetich you have made your god these men are after now. An evil greater than that must be dealt with first. It is the heart of the trust they would reach. To do this you know the wall that shelters it must be battered down at the place where it is concealed.

If this should reduce our tariff system below a revenue basis, they would help to build it higher whenever or wherever a trust is not sheltered behind it.

This is the present day doctrine of a tariff for revenue only, as I understand it, and as I shall interpret it if I go to congress.

Do not understand me that I would do nothing more. There is not a missile any human being can invent I would not help to use if I could drive these monsters from every inch of our soil and scatter them at once into their component parts.

Every measure, whatever it may be and wherever it may originate, that would help to accomplish this would have my utmost and never-ceasing support.

It is unnecessary to extend this letter farther. The creed of Iowa Democrats is plainly written in their state platform. With every line and letter of that instrument my heart and conscience alike are in full accord.

HORACE BOIES.

Waterloo, Iowa, Sept. 22, 1902.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE PRELUDE TO MODERN HISTORY.

A very-useful little book is that with the above title by J. E. Symes, of University college, Nottingham, published by Rivingtons. Its sub-title is: "The World's History from the Third to the Ninth Century."

There are few readers, we suspect, who could stand much of an examination at the bar of their own questioning on the period of history comprised in these centuries. Let any one ask himself, for example, if he has any clear notion of what was going on in the world during the seventh century. What opinions and ideals were at work in religion, in politics, in society? What men stand out as representatives of these opinions and ideals? Who were the rulers in power? What were the boundaries, say, of France? Or was there any France in the seventh century?

The fact is that many who may have a fair outline knowledge of more ancient history and more modern history know almost nothing of the history of the middle ages. All those years from the time of the disintegration of Rome down to the time when the geography of Europe was about as it is now, are indistinct and confused. The seventh century and the ninth, or the eleventh and the thirteenth have the same dark complexion, and all look alike to most of us.

And yet there were great deeds and men, great forward movements and sharp reactions, struggles for freedom and bloody re-

pressions, visions of seers lighting groups of followers and cynical taunts of tyrants and their tools seeking to quench new light—all these things were in these centuries, and each event and each man as distinct as in this year 1902.

This little book of Mr. Symes, with only 169 pages and five simple maps, will help one to distinguish some of these centuries. It is, of course, very brief in its comments; but it is quite clear, and its grouping of important facts is more than usually satisfactory. Some of this grouping the reader must do for himself, for no book can quite become a chronological table. The best way to get a view of any one of the centuries is to take a sheet of paper and fill it out for one's self.

Two typographical errors are to be noted: the date on p. 44 should be 471 not 571, and that on p. 84 should be 604 not 504.

J. H. DILLARD.

PERIODICALS.

—The American Federationist (Washington) for October, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, discusses injunctions, achievements of trade unions, trade union education and education in connection with the labor movement, and contains the closing chapter of a series of pictures of the post office system.

—Admirers of Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, will be especially interested in Willis J. Abbot's "Pilgrim" (Battle Creek, Mich.) for October. Another important subject treated in this number of Mr. Abbot's progressive and thriving monthly is "Wages and the Cost of Living," in which Byron W. Holt exposes some of the peculiarities of Washington statisticians. Several stories add to the interest of the number, and the illustrations are numerous and attractive.

—The Arena (New York) for October is especially strong and interesting, as a glance over its table of contents will sug-

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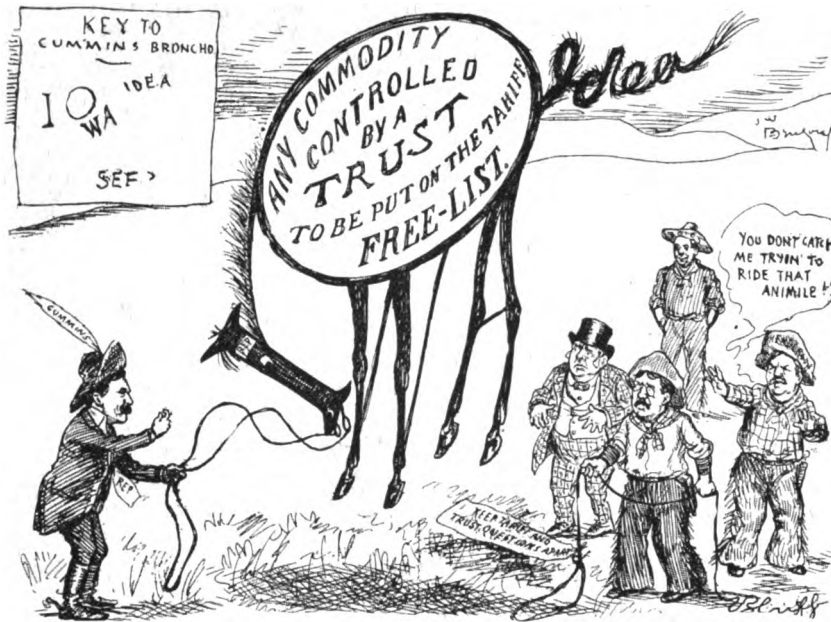
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THE GREAT REPUBLICAN BUCKER!

Gov. Cummins—Come on, Theodore, if you think you can bust the Broncho, come right along and try it!

gest. "Anarchism at Close Quarters," by Dr. Conant, of the Chicago Bureau of Charities, does not come to quarters as close as the title seems to promise, but it comes a good deal closer than is usual with articles on that subject; and incidentally it gives a good account of the "free floor" at the Chicago Commons, which is one of the most useful institutions of Chicago.

Following this leading article is one on "The Civic Oversoul," by Adolph Roeder. Despite its transcendental title, this article is a sober and sensible discussion of a practical problem of the time. Other articles are on child labor, Russia, and individualism and cooperation. A story follows, and the issue concludes with Mr. Flower's always interesting department of editorials.

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