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The naval tournament in New England waters, in which one of the fleet commanders distinguished himself and shed glory upon the service by his reception to the American duchess of an English duke, has been highly successful in another respect. It has demonstrated, say the Washington dispatches, the absolute need for a larger navy. This will be appreciated by the steel trust, and is at the same time a proper rebuke to those spineless creatures who have taken the Prince of Peace at his word.

William J. Bryan's editorial criticism of President Roosevelt's trust apologetics, which appeared in the Commoner of the 5th, was accompanied in the same issue by Roosevelt's speech in full. The criticism is criticised in turn by Roosevelt papers, which allow their readers to see nothing of the article they criticise except a few sentences wrested from their context. That policy, though not commendable, is certainly shrewd. Few things could be more dangerous to Mr. Roosevelt and the trusts, than the publication, side by side in the Republican papers, of Roosevelt's speech and Bryan's criticism.

President Roosevelt protests his inability to relieve the strike situation; and, indeed, he may not be able to do anything. But so strenuous a man ought at least to be able to try. He ought to be able to do something besides explaining why he can do nothing. Could he not do as much to cripple the anthracite coal trust as he did to cripple the beef trust. If an in-

junction were issued against the coal trust, it would certainly have some effect. Why doesn't President Roosevelt apply for one, as he did when beef went up in price? It is becoming all too evident that the "grand stand play" is much more in his line than some of the things he boasts of. It must be admitted, however, that you can't fight trusts and get big campaign funds too, unless you are omnipotent; and Mr. Roosevelt is not omnipotent.

Intelligent newspaper readers were surprised a few days ago by press reports to the effect that the Anti-Imperialist League had come to the conclusion that President Roosevelt's colonial plans are satisfactory and had therefore decided to abandon further opposition to this un-American policy. As might have been expected, however, the dispatches were "fakes." The anti-imperialist leagues are correctly represented by the New England organization, of which George S. Boutwell is president. This league declares, over the signatures of its president, Mr. Boutwell, and its secretary, Erving Winslow, that—

the rumors which have appeared recently that the anti-imperialists would suspend agitation for the present and await the results of President Roosevelt's policy are without any foundation whatever. On the contrary, they declare that they have no confidence in President Roosevelt's policy or purpose, as declared in his recent speeches, and that the anti-imperialists will aid in the election of members of Congress who are opposed to continued occupation of the Philippines and who are in favor of the establishment of an independent government without delay.

Dispatches from West Virginia indicate that militarism is in a bad way in that State. A special to the Baltimore Sun from Huntington on Labor Day said:

Gov. A. B. White made an address at Union park in which he advised

the laboring men to join the state militia, but this advice was greeted with cries of "No, never!" from a chorus of union labor. He undertook to explain the necessity of sending the troops to the New River coal fields, which was received in silence, and the governor did not get the slightest applause during his speech.

Another dispatch to the same paper from Parkersburg said:

The soldiers, whose sympathies were all with the strikers from the first, have used their influence with the men who are at work, and have persuaded so many of them to join the strikers that the detachment stationed at Rush Run had to be recalled and sent to another point to keep it from emptying the mine.

It would seem that a way ought to be found to secure an injunction from Judge Jackson forbidding militiamen to turn themselves into walking delegates.

Tom L. Johnson is evidently worrying the plutocrats in a wider field, as for two years he has worried those of Cleveland. The indications are unmistakable. It is impossible now to pick up any newspaper that works in plutocratic harness which has not its sneer for Johnson. So badly is this press gang worried that Bryan is actually becoming respectable in their generous esteem.

The particular target at present for their attack upon Johnson is his use of a circus tent for his popular meetings in Ohio. Well may this circus tent give them concern. It is no new device with Johnson. He adopted it in his Cleveland campaigns with a degree of success that has made the plutocrats of that city turn white in the face, partly from anger and partly from fear.

The valuable secret about Johnson's circus tent campaign, as experience has proved, is not its novelty and picturesqueness. It is the fact

that it enables Johnson to get next to the people, and so to circumvent the misrepresentations of corrupted newspapers. The tent affords an immense auditorium for every locality to which it is taken, and everywhere it is filled with the open minded members of all parties. In Cleveland it was moved from ward to ward, so that the people had only to walk under its shelter by the thousands, as they did, to hear Johnson's version of the great Cleveland lawsuit of Democracy against Plutocracy, in which he was lawyer for the plaintiff. All the voters of Cleveland were thereby reached by his facts and arguments, as they could not have been with meetings in halls; and in consequence Johnson carried this Republican stronghold. The misrepresentations of plutocratic newspapers went for nothing.

His tent is now serving the same uses over the entire State of Ohio that it served in Cleveland. It is going into nearly every county of the State, especially the Republican counties, as it went into every ward of the city. Every voter in Ohio will thus be given an opportunity to put intelligence into his ballot. Whether he does so or not will depend upon himself. At any rate he will have no excuse for ignorance of the affairs that concern him. Corrupted newspapers will be able to fool nobody who doesn't want to be fooled. The circus tent plan of campaign is the most democratic and dignified and enlightening of any that have been undertaken since the old days of the "stump," when all the voters of a neighborhood turned out en masse to hear political speaking on either side. One of the best features of it in this case is the fact that Johnson offers everywhere to divide time with any representative Republican speaker and to guarantee him a courteous hearing. In this way the tent plan of campaign is calculated to break down and do away with the one-sided style of campaigning so long in vogue and which lends itself so readily to the uses of the pluto-

cratic schemers and machine politicians.

When the full significance of "The Iowa Idea" is grasped the quakes among Eastern protectionists are comprehensible. For "The Iowa Idea," as Walter Wellman describes it, after interviewing its sponsors, is—

very simple, very practical, . . . One short sentence will suffice to express it: "Whenever the tariff is a prop to monopoly, knock it out." A broader statement of it might be: "Whenever combination at home destroys competition in a protected article, remove the protection and thus induce competition from abroad." There is nothing complex about this. A schoolboy can understand it.

Truly so. And a tariff beneficiary can understand what a schoolboy might not, that if this idea once gains momentum in American politics it will knock the whole protection system higher than Gilderoy's kite.

Gov. Cummins himself may not understand this, but it is only necessary to read his explanation, as made to Mr Wellman, to realize that "The Iowa Idea" has within it splendid possibilities. Here is what he said:

"Competition is the fundamental principle of industrial life," he began. "Anything that checks competition is inimical to the public good. We do not speak now of monopolies in patents, or in franchises for public utilities, but of manufacturing and production in the ordinary sense. The legitimate purpose of the tariff is to equalize the art of production abroad and at home. There is no morality in a tariff that goes beyond that. The tariff question is more or less involved in what is called the trust question, because of the marked tendency of the time. This tendency is toward combination. Many combinations are formed for the sole purpose of issuing watered stocks and working them off upon the public. In others the prime motive is to stifle competition. Indeed, there can be no other rational motive after a certain point in the search for economy has been reached. The economy of combinations does not pass a certain limit of size. In fact, after a certain line is crossed, the tendency is the other way. In a great operation many profits may be combined, and the resulting aggregate is very large, but analysis shows that true economy, the actual cheapening of production, is absent. We Republicans of Iowa propose to say to the creators of these com-

binations: 'You may have a reasonable tariff. You may have profits, and large profits, if you are successful. But the moment you establish a monopoly you shall have the favor of the tariff taken from you.'"

The fact that Cummins has routed the Shaw faction in Iowa politics, and that Shaw, with all the Federal backing and prestige that President Roosevelt has put into his hands has been unable to recover his old place, is a reasonably strong indication that Gov. Cummins, with his "Iowa Idea," has struck a responsive chord in the sentiment of the people of Iowa. "The Iowa Idea" is destined to make itself heard further.

A startling disclosure of the political manipulations in Illinois for the benefit of monopoly corporations, has been made by George A. Schilling in a public address as president of the Public Ownership League of Chicago. He shows that the Democratic nominations have been so arranged that the Republican machine would remain in power though the Democrats were to sweep the State.

In substance, Mr. Schilling's explanation is as follows: Among the hold-over senators in Illinois the Republicans have a majority of 6. Consequently, if the Democrats were to win in half the senatorial districts in which candidates are to be voted for, the Republicans would still hold the senate by 6 majority. Turn now to the lower house. It requires 77 Democratic members to make a majority of 1 in that body. But the Democrats have made only 79 nominations. Consequently, if they elected every candidate, as well as half the senators, there would still be a Republican majority of 1 on joint ballot.

That there was no legitimate political necessity for this, Mr. Schilling also makes clear. It has been done for an ulterior purpose and by a misuse of the minority representation system prevailing in Illinois, whereby any candidate for the lower house is credited with three votes for every vote cast for him which is cast for no one else for that office. Under this

system minority parties are able to elect one candidate by "plumping" for him. It is usual, therefore, for the party which is in a minority in a senatorial district to name but one lower house candidate though three are to be chosen. This insures his election in most districts. But it appears from Mr. Schilling's disclosure that in some districts, the Democrats, though in the majority, and therefore able to elect two members, have nominated only one. In the First district, for instance, in which Mayor Harrison, Democrat, had 2,390 plurality, only one Democratic candidate is nominated. In the Second district, which Harrison carried by 969 plurality, there is also only one Democratic candidate. In the Third district, where Mayor Harrison's majority was 940, there is likewise only one Democratic candidate. The same is true of the 21st district, which was carried by Harrison by 191; and of the 27th which he carried by 7,745. In each of these districts the Democrats might win two members instead of one. But the bosses have confined the possibilities to one. The party will, of course, lose some of the candidates where it has named two, and as by this arrangement it could not possibly win more than 79—its total nominations—it is likely to win considerably less, even were the State to go Democratic. The Republicans, therefore, are assured a majority in both houses no matter if the popular vote should as a whole go against them.

Mr. Schilling suspects that this arrangement has been made by collusion between Republican and Democratic bosses for the purpose of defeating the measures for public ownership, primary nominations and direct legislation, to which the Democratic party is committed and the Republican party is not. He says:

The whole situation has the appearance of having been fixed up between both party bosses, in the back rooms of the Gas Trust and Traction companies. The Republican party not having declared itself in favor of these

issues, by mutual consent, is to be given a majority of both branches, so that the Democratic leaders may say, with apparent justification, that they were unable to make good their promise to the public, respecting the initiative and referendum, municipal ownership, etc., because they lacked the necessary votes in the General Assembly to enact into law the principles embodied in their platform.

This misuse of the Illinois system of minority representation is furnishing a pretense for urging its abolition. Such a movement is known to be now on foot in Chicago. Judged by the source whence it originates, however, the movement derives its impulse not from any reaction against the misuse of the minority system in the past, but from fears of its use in the future. Owing to such gross misuses of it as Mr. Schilling describes, efforts that have been too long delayed are now being made to utilize the system over the heads of party bosses. In one Chicago district, for example, where the Democrats are in the majority, but only one Democratic candidate has been named for the lower house of the legislature, and he a corporation creature, Clarence S. Darrow has been nominated by petition as an anti-machine Democrat. In another, where the Republicans are in the majority and their leaders are also in collusion with corporation interests, Frank S. Herdman has been nominated by petition as an anti-machine Republican. These instances illustrate one of the uses for which the minority representation system was intended; and it is because they are disturbing the calculations of spoilsmen and monopoly corporations that the movement to abolish the minority system has been started. This movement needs watching.

In an enthusiastic report on the prosperity of farmers in the West, Walter Wellman essays to prove that farmers are truly prosperous by the fact that "the price of farm land is rising steadily." He mentions instances of the doubling in value of farms since 1896. This is a queer way

of proving the prosperity of farmers. What it does prove, and all it proves, is the prosperity of farm owners. Now, a farm owner may or may not be a farmer. If he is not a farmer, the increase in the value of his farms is of course no evidence of the prosperity of farmers. On the contrary, it makes it harder for farmers to get farms. It is clearly evidence of the prosperity only of farm landlords. Nor does it make any difference in principle if the farm landlord happens to be a farmer. So much of his prosperity as is due to higher prices for farm land is not his prosperity as farmer but as farm owner. The test of prosperity for farmers as distinguished from farm owners, is the wages of farm hands and the profits of yearly tenants. When these are high, farmers are prosperous as farmers. When only farm land is high, they are prosperous only as farm owners. To regard the latter as agricultural prosperity, is like regarding the great value of President Baer's anthracite coal holdings, "with which, God has intrusted him," as evidence of the prosperity of the striking miners.

A sad passage in the confession of the St. Louis "boodler," Murrell, is that in which, after describing the "combine" among the members of the council for selling legislation, of which he was one, he says:

We did not look upon what we did as a serious crime, as it had gone on so long without interruption that it was not regarded by those who participated in it as morally wrong. Until the present circuit attorney took office no sincere effort, apparently, was ever made to punish what was being done, as a crime. I have lived in St. Louis all my life and have many friends here. I have been honest heretofore in all matters, and have done no man wrong, and thought I would not take a dollar from any person unlawfully, but the practice of the combine in the assembly taking bribes was so frequent that I went along with the tide and did not realize the enormity of the offense, and my conscience was seared in that regard. These boodle investigations have made me see the crime in all its hideousness.

It is impossible to read those words without pitying the man who uttered

them. He was doubtless, as he says, a victim of his environment; a victim of that vicious public sentiment which sets up success in the place of righteousness as its moral standard. Had sound moral principles been inculcated by the "men of light and leading" in his community, Mr. Murrell would have seen the hideousness of the crime of bribery as soon as it showed its head. He might have embraced it, but he would then have done so as a conscious criminal. His conscience would not have slumbered until the boodle investigations awoke it. His crime is attributable no more to his own weakness and cupidity than to those leaders of public opinion in St. Louis and elsewhere, in church and college, in newspaper and drawing room, who teach that there is no such thing as moral principle; but that righteousness is determined by success, principle by policy, duty by destiny. When we learn to do right for righteousness' sake, we shall have fewer crimes like that which Mr. Murrell has just discovered to be hideous. Our nation, too, will have cleaner hands; for its crimes, like those of Murrell, are committed because we as a people do not realize their hideousness while they seem to pay

"BRYANISM" IN STATE CONVENTIONS.

Now that the political field may be scanned, the "reorganizers," who have been scheming to throw the Democratic party back into the embraces of Hill, Cleveland, Whitney, Lamont and the other old-time tribesmen of Democratic professions but plutocratic faith, do not appear to have met with flattering success. They were so weak that they could not carry on a candid contest anywhere. They could do nothing but urge the State conventions, on one local plea or another, to make no reference to the last national platform, and then use the plutocratic press of both parties to herald the fact of this mere silence as evidence of reaction.

It was a game of political thimble-rig. But even at that game they have lost.

Only in Wisconsin can the "reorganizers" be regarded as having scored a victory. And such a victory! The hand of the Federal administration and the maneuverings of the local monopoly rings, are so plainly in evidence there that no genuine democrat can afford to support the ticket. Every vote for the Democratic candidate in Wisconsin this year is in reality a vote for the very worst elements of the Republican party of that State.

The situation may be easily understood.

Gov. La Follette is a democratic Republican. He is trying to do in Wisconsin what Gov. Pingree tried to do in Michigan, and what Gov. Cummins is trying to do in Iowa—rescue his party and his State from the grasp of sordid monopolists.

His two leading principles are equal taxation and primary nominations. The latter threatens political machines; the former threatens railroad monopolies. Consequently he has had to contend against all the political and monopoly corruption that seethes in his party in Wisconsin, and incidentally against such power as the Roosevelt administration could exert by means of the spoils of Federal office.

At the beginning of his long fight, Gov. La Follette was beaten; but two years ago he won the nomination and election for governor, and secured the adoption by his party convention of the two principles for which he contends—equal taxation and primary nominations.

But the political and monopoly machines did not despair. Through faithless public officials, they effectively obstructed the La Follette policy in both particulars, and planned to retire La Follette from public life and to put a quietus upon his policy, when the next State convention should meet.

In this they were strenuously supported by President Roosevelt, who placed the Federal patronage at their disposal with a view to building up a Roosevelt machine in Wisconsin, and was conveniently blind to the "pernicious activity" of Federal office holders in State politics. Mr. Roosevelt's first overt act in the conspiracy was his selection for an important place in his cabinet—im-

portant with reference to railroad connections and official patronage,—of the very head center of the Wisconsin monopoly ring. He appointed Henry C. Payne to the office of postmaster general. The evident object of this appointment was to break down "La Folletteism," which savored altogether too much of "Bryanism" to please the political palate of the monopoly rings in general and the Milwaukee ring in particular.

Payne was seconded by Senator Spooner, also one of the monopoly ring of which Payne is chief; and under cover of a movement to "induce" Spooner to accept a second term in the United States Senate, a vicious campaign was waged in the Republican party of Wisconsin against "La Follette and "La Folletteism." How vicious this campaign was, and how significantly it reflects upon the civil service reform pretensions of the Roosevelt administration, may be fairly inferred from the following editorial comment of the Duluth News-Tribune, an uncompromisingly orthodox Republican paper of a neighboring State. In its issue of July 23, 1902, the News-Tribune said that—

men appointed to Federal office by the influence of Senator Spooner went to the State capital a year ago last winter and made a bitter and persistent fight on the La Follette programme, which had been unanimously adopted by the Republican State convention in 1900, and on which he had been elected governor by the greatest majority ever given a candidate for that office in Wisconsin. These Federal office holders have since carried on war against La Follette personally, as well as against the principles for which he specially stands.

But the Payne-Spooner ring of monopoly manipulators and beneficiaries, ably supported though it was by the notorious misuse of Federal patronage, came to grief in the Republican State convention. La Follette had made the fight before the masses of the party at the primaries, and they had sent up delegates whom the ring was unable to seduce. By a large majority, consequently, La Follette was renominated and "La Folletteism" was reindorsed.

Beaten in the Republican convention, the Payne ring now turned for help to the Democratic convention. Their leader here was ex-Senator Vilas, a "reorganizing" Democrat.

Vilas, also, is in his business affiliations one of the Payne ring; and, like Senator Hanna, he never allows his politics to interfere with his business. He undertook to line up the Democratic party to the support of the Payne ring, when the Republican party had abandoned it; and as Spooner's reelection had been the cover under which the ring worked with the Republicans, "harmony" was the cover under which Vilas worked with the Democrats. His efforts were crowned with success. The Democratic convention lined up against the La Follette programme and in favor of that of the Payne-Vilas-Spooner ring. And to cinch matters it nominated for governor against La Follette, Mayor David R. Rose, of Milwaukee, a Democrat who has turned out to be one of the most pliant tools of the Payne ring that ever held office in Wisconsin.

That Rose's nomination was closely related to Payne's interests was ludicrously disclosed by Rose himself a few days before his nomination. We quote the report of the occurrence as it appeared in the Milwaukee correspondence of the Chicago Record-Herald (Republican) under date of August 26:

Mayor Rose tossed so many nice bouquets at Senator Spooner and Postmaster General Payne when making his welcoming address to the postmasters, who opened their convention to-day, that he was suspected of belonging to the dominant party in the State. Vice President Hull, of Peoria, Ill., who was called upon to respond to the address of welcome, suggested that the many good things characteristic of Milwaukee related by the Mayor were probably due to the fact that he was a member of the party which sent Senator Spooner to the Senate and furnished Henry C. Payne for the cabinet. Mr. Hull was somewhat surprised at the outburst of laughter and applause which greeted his statement, while the Mayor was almost jarred out of his usual self-possession manner.

Rose's blunder in overdoing his compliments doubtless arose from his consciousness of the support the Payne ring was giving him. It is an open secret that Rose, not La Follette, is the chosen candidate of this "combine," and that Rose is to be supported by the henchmen of the ring, including Federal office holders.

Do not these plain facts demand of the truly democratic voters of all parties in Wisconsin that they vote against Rose? The only way to vote for genuine democracy in that State

this year is to vote for La Follette. Not that he is intelligently a democrat or his programme intelligently democratic. Neither he nor it can be so regarded. But he has arrayed himself against the plutocratic policies of his party bosses, and his programme is unpalatable to its plutocratic rings. This should count for him. The Democratic leaders of that State, on the other hand, have thrown their party into the lap of the very monopoly ring that the La Follette Republicans are trying to shake off, and have nominated for the head of their ticket one of its trusted tools. This also ought to count for La Follette. With Democrats who believe in democracy and mean to have it, these considerations should not only count, but they should count decisively. It is to be hoped that La Follette will be elected by a majority larger even than the one he got two years ago.

Of course a Democratic convention that had gone into partnership with the great monopoly ring of Wisconsin of which Payne is the head, in order to defeat a Republican who is leading a revolt against that ring, could not afford to be tainted with "Bryanism." Consequently the "reorganizers" won in the Democratic convention in Wisconsin. They won because the local circumstances favored a combination of Democratic office seekers with the plundering railroad and street car rings which have their business center in Milwaukee, and their political center in the post office department at Washington.

Iowa is another state in which it is assumed that the "reorganizers" were successful. But this assumption is not well founded.

In that state also Mr. Roosevelt has been trying to construct a Roosevelt machine along the lines he adopted for Wisconsin. When the Gov. Cummins faction of Iowa Republicans, in a cleaning-out campaign within the party, had defeated the Gov. Shaw faction which had always been subservient to the railroad monopoly interests of the State, Mr. Roosevelt promptly took the defeated Shaw into his cabinet, just as he had the defeated Payne. His idea seems to have been that a minority faction of his party in those States could be turned into a majority faction by strengthening it with Federal patronage. Whether or not this combination influenced the Democratic

convention of Iowa, as the similar combination in Wisconsin influenced the Democratic convention of Wisconsin, we are unable to say. There is no indication that it did; and, judging from trustworthy information we believe that it did not.

The action of the Iowa convention with reference to indorsing the Kansas City platform appears to have been due to a feeling among a majority of the delegates that the specific question of the coinage of silver and gold at the ratio of 16 to 1 is obsolete as a political issue, and that the indorsement of that platform would be equivalent to exploiting this silver issue. Playing upon that feeling a small number of "reorganizers," who needed nothing but silence on the part of the convention to enable them to say that it had abandoned the principles of the Kansas City platform, succeeded by only a small majority—384 to 344—in rejecting a reaffirmation plank.

But they did not control the convention, which was not at all a reactionary body. Had it been charged with national functions, it was a convention that would have accepted the general principles and most of the specific demands of the national platform without hesitation. It was one that would have nominated Bryan himself, had he been a candidate before it, and by a large majority.

To refer to the omission of a reaffirmation plank by a small majority in such a convention as a triumph for the "reorganizers," only exposes the weakness of the "reorganizers" who claim it.

In Michigan the situation was not unlike that in Iowa. This convention, also, was a Bryanite convention. Had it been called for national purposes, the principles of the Kansas City platform would have been indorsed by it overwhelmingly; and Bryan, had he been a candidate before it, would have been nominated almost by acclamation. The gubernatorial candidate owed his nomination to the votes of pronounced Bryanites.

Its omission of any reference to the Kansas City platform had nothing to do with the sentiment of the delegates on that subject. They were approaching a bitter local fight over a railroad question, and were anxious not only to avoid dissensions in the Democratic vote, but also to do nothing to alienate so much of the Republican vote as was believed to be

in sympathy with them on the local railroad question. So, when the "reorganizers"—a minority on the committee of resolutions—proposed to ignore the Kansas City platform for those reasons, the majority of the committee replied: "Very good; but those reasons apply to all other national issues as well as to the Kansas City platform, and if you leave that out you must say nothing at all about national affairs." This was agreed to, and the party has gone into the State campaign on State issues alone, appealing to the Republicans to help them.

What encouragement for the "reorganizers" can possibly be drawn from those circumstances?

Pennsylvania is another State that ignores the Kansas City platform. But there, too, all national issues are ignored for the purpose of enabling Pattison to ask for Republican votes to divest a malodorous Republican ring of its control in State affairs. In Pennsylvania, as in Michigan, the platform, the campaign, and the candidate are absolutely colorless with reference to national affairs. Mr. Pattison wouldn't know a national issue if he met it on the street. There is no more significance, therefore, in the neglect of the Democratic convention of Pennsylvania to recognize the Kansas City platform than there is in the fact that that platform is ignored every year by thousands of school districts in elections for school trustees.

The California Democrats, too, have ignored the Kansas City platform. But the fact that in Franklin K. Lane their convention has nominated a radical free trader, who is an avowed follower of Henry George and who supported Bryan in his presidential campaigns, is a pretty good indication that in California, as in Michigan and Pennsylvania, it was the exigencies of a local controversy over local matters, and not reactionary tendencies in national affairs, that dictated the local platform.

Indiana and Illinois are the only other States of importance in which the Democratic convention has ignored the Kansas City platform. In neither is the fact significant. The Democratic organization of Indiana is a mere office-seeking machine, to which causes are only what costumes are to actors; and in Illinois the bi-partisan monopolists have se-

cured such control of the Democratic organization that if the party were to sweep the State, corporations would nevertheless control its caucuses and the Republicans would nevertheless have a majority in both houses of the legislature.

The less the "reorganizers" boast about "downing Bryanism" in Indiana and Illinois, the longer they may go on without getting found out.

Over against the States already named as having, for one reason or another, ignored the national platform in the Democratic conventions, are Texas, Tennessee, Minnesota, Missouri, South Dakota, Idaho, Colorado, Nebraska and Ohio, all of which reaffirm it. Most important of all the States that have taken a stand either way regarding this matter, is Ohio; for Ohio furnishes the only important battle ground of the year for the Democratic party. And here the principles of the Kansas City platform are not only reaffirmed, but they are emphasized in such manner as to leave the "reorganizers" speechless when asked why such principles should not be held by everyone with any reasonable pretensions to the title of Democrat. For what Democrat can object to opposition to colonialism, trusts, trust-fostering tariffs, government by injunction, financial monopolies, and all other legalized monopolies?

In Ohio, as in some of the other States named above, local issues are for the moment paramount, and the convention was elected only for local purposes. It therefore had no authority to remodel the national platform. Neither had it any right, if intending to act as part of the Democratic party of the nation, to ignore the national body and its declaration of principles. This was made clear by Tom L. Johnson, when, in his opening speech as chairman of the convention, he pointedly said:

National questions are not for us to deal with in this State convention. Great as is Ohio in territory and population and wealth, important as she is in the sisterhood of States, influential as her Democracy is capable of being in the councils of the national party, she is not great enough, nor important enough, nor is her Democracy influential enough, to warrant this convention in dictating national policies or remodeling national platforms. We have not been elected for that purpose. The function of revising national platforms belongs with con-

ventions chosen for national purposes. Our function, so far as national questions are concerned, begins and ends with an unmistakable identification of the Democratic party of Ohio with the Democratic party of the republic. That can be done in good faith only by acknowledging the authority of the latest national expression of party doctrine on national questions. In my judgment, therefore, this convention ought to recognize the Kansas City platform. It ought also to pay the tribute of its respect to the great Democrat who has in two national campaigns brilliantly led us against the Republican party and its allied hosts of non-partisan monopolists. Having done that, it is our duty to turn to the affairs of our own state.

This suggestion was adopted by the convention unanimously. Only three members of the resolutions committee of 21 opposed it; and they were silent in the convention, so overwhelming was the sentiment against them. As thus unanimously adopted, the Ohio platform on national matters reads as follows:

In State convention assembled, we, the Democrats of Ohio, hereby acknowledge and declare our continued allegiance to the Democratic party of the Nation, and on national issues reaffirm and endorse the principles laid down in the last national platform adopted at Kansas City and faithfully and ably represented in the presidential campaign of 1900 by William Jennings Bryan. Regarding those principles as opposed to imperialism and colonialism, as opposed to government by injunction, as opposed to trusts and trust-fostering tariffs, as opposed to financial monopoly, and as opposed to all other legalized monopolies and privileges, we condemn every effort to repudiate or ignore them.

It is a significant fact that the "reorganizers" "sing exceeding small" since the Ohio convention. They have pestered the Democratic State conventions of the country with a nettle which all were admonished not to touch because it would sting. But Tom L. Johnson and the Democratic convention of Ohio grasped that nettle boldly and firmly and proved to everybody that its sting exists only in the inventive imaginations of the "reorganizers."

If the Kansas City platform has been correctly interpreted by the Ohio Democracy, what is the objection to it? If it is opposed to imperialism, if it is opposed to government by injunction, if it is opposed to trusts and trust-fostering tariffs, if it is opposed to financial monopolies, if it is op-

posed to all other monopolies and privileges, why is it not a good platform?

Are we answered that it advocates free silver at 16 to 1? But isn't that issue dead? Is it, or is it not? If it is not dead, let us reason about it and not fall victims to prejudice. If it is dead, then how does it hurt a platform the principles of which are otherwise sound?

The free silver question really cuts no figure with the plutocratic leaders of the "reorganizers." What they object to in the Kansas City platform is not any obsolete declaration for free silver, but its living declarations against monopoly of all kinds. Mayor Johnson hit them squarely between the eyes when in his Sandusky speech he said: "It was not free silver that frightened the plutocratic leaders. What they feared was free men."

PULPIT ECONOMISTS.

A prominent clergyman in one of the large cities and on a recent Sunday:

Never has the bread and butter problem been so great to the poor man of this country as at present; never so many scantily fed people as now, with all the work they can do. It is bad enough to do nothing and go hungry; it is worse to work day in and day out and still be hungry, with the employer growing richer day by day. The situation cannot be otherwise with the cost of living increased 40 or 50 per cent. and wages of the hardest worker advanced ten per cent., and not even that much in many instances.

Those clergymen who are really pastors in their parishes know better than any other class of men the home conditions among the poorer members of the community, and many are doing good service in telling the facts of their observation. One can hardly pick up a Monday paper without seeing some such testimony as that quoted above.

We say they are doing good service, because the well-to-do need to know that the glitter of their prosperity is making contrasts of shadows all the blacker. History has shown more than once how a time of prosperity might be a time of intensest privation. We should not be permitted ever to forget the sharp lesson of the reign of Louis XVI., when, on the very eve of the French revolution,

the orthodox journals were talking of France's prosperity. There were doubtless many in France—such as got their cue of thought from reading only on one side, as most of us do—who had no idea how the other side lived. They saw the world through their own spectacles, just as we are apt to do to-day.

"How prosperous everything is," said a dear old lady, showing a letter just received; "I am offered 145 for this bank stock and it never brought more than 120 before." I told her I had had a talk with a carpenter that morning who told me that he was finding it harder to make ends meet than ever in his life, and that the thirty-odd carpenters in the town were thinking for the first time of trying to form a union to raise wages. "Dear me," she said, "I thought everybody was prosperous nowadays."

And so we repeat that the clergymen who are brave enough to tell prosperous congregations that prosperity is not as widespread as most of them perhaps think, are useful prophets in refusing to prophesy smooth things.

But when these clergymen speak further than to tell the facts, when they proceed to discuss the method of alleviation and remedy, there is hardly one in a hundred but adopts a tone that is distasteful to any self-respecting workingman. In the same sermon from which we quoted above the preacher said:

The master is to recognize the servant's humanity. The employer has the authority to command, and it is the servant's duty to obey authority, but the humanity of those in servitude appeals to and cries for mercy at the hand of the master, and it is his bounden duty to obey. . . . The master is to provide comforts and nourishment for the body of the servant according to needs. A man cannot do satisfactory work on an insufficient support or starvation wages.

Now, though clergymen have not, workingmen have, got beyond the time when the relationship expressed in such words is recognized as the true one between the laborer and the man who buys his labor. Labor is now, at least theoretically, free labor. There is no more reason for saying that the plowman, or the factoryman, or the miner is in servitude than for saying the lawyer, or the physician, or the bookkeeper is in servitude. There is no more reason for talking about the

master providing nourishment to the man who sells him labor than to the man who sells him a horse.

If clergymen will change their point of view as to the relationship between the workingman and the employer, will think of his relationship as one involving simply justice and equal rights rather than mercy and charity, and will honestly inquire whether the conditions of labor are based on justice and a law free from all privilege, then they will soon find that there will be more sympathy between the church and the masses and more workingmen in their congregations.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS

The old political saw, "As goes Maine so goes the Union," always excites national interest in the local elections of that State. For this reason the returns from the Maine election of the 9th are of special news importance. But full reports are not yet in, and no inference as to the general significance of the election can be drawn. Both parties are claiming a victory. As this depends, however, not upon the result (Maine being at all times a Republican State by an overwhelming majority), no such claims on either side can be considered without full returns admitting of comparisons with the votes of previous years.

The Republican candidate for governor appears to have received a plurality of about 26,000, which is nearly the same as that of 1898 and 8,000 less than that of 1900. It is also about the same percentage of the aggregate as in 1898, the last previous "off year." The Republican candidates for congress are reported to have been elected by "safe majorities," but the majorities are not given. The two houses of the State legislature will probably be divided between the parties about as before. The Democrats of the Portland county, Cumberland, have elected their candidate for sheriff, but evidently from purely local reasons. Altogether, so far as can be judged by the very indefinite election returns, neither party can claim an advantage. Maine appears to have undergone no notable change in general political sentiment.

At a session of the Wisconsin Democratic convention subsequent to that

reported last week (p. 345), the attitude of the party toward the national organization was put to a specific test by the introduction on the 4th, by W. H. Rogers of Madison, of a resolution reaffirming the Kansas City platform. In introducing his resolution Mr. Rogers said:

I have a resolution here which I wish to introduce. The responsibility for it rests on no one but myself. We had to forego saying anything upon the platform when it was adopted in the interest of harmony. But now I wish the convention to pass a resolution and make it a part of the platform to indorse the principles and policies of the Democratic party as expressed in its national platform.

Ex-Senator Vilas instantly shouted, "No! no!" and John A. Aylward, also of Madison, cut off all consideration of the resolution with a motion to adjourn sine die, which was carried. The resolution proposed by Mr. Rogers and thus defeated was as follows:

We, the Democrats of Wisconsin, in convention assembled, reaffirm our allegiance to the Democratic party in its policy as enunciated in its national platform.

A different course was followed by the Democratic convention of Idaho, which met at Pocatello on the 5th. It adopted a platform which reaffirms the Kansas City platform and pays the tribute of the party's respect to William J. Bryan. It also condemns the Republican party for neglecting to enforce the Federal anti-trust laws, opposes the Fowler currency bill and government by injunction, favors government ownership of railroad, telegraph and telephone lines, and demands the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and the adoption of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum. The convention nominated Frank W. Hunt for governor and Miss Permeal French for superintendent of public instruction.

The initiative and referendum which that convention approves, is to be the subject of popular vote at the coming election in Illinois under the advisory initiative and referendum now in force in this State. The first experiment under this Illinois advisory law was made in Chicago (p. 11), at the municipal election last Spring. Three questions were then submitted, namely, municipal ownership of street railways, municipal ownership of lighting plants, and nominations at primaries; and all were approved by majorities rang-

ing from 114,000 to 123,000 in a total vote on these propositions ranging from 158,000 to 170,000. The total vote for candidates was less than 214,000.

Encouraged by this great success, the organization which had accomplished it, and of which Daniel L. Cruice was the president, expanded under the same leadership to the whole state (p. 346), by securing petitions advising three specific amendments to State laws. The advisory law requires signatures to such petitions equal to 10 per cent of the votes cast at the previous State election—amounting in this case to nearly 113,000. Not only was that number secured, but tens of thousands were added to it. On the 4th, when the petition was filed with the secretary of state, it bore in round numbers 150,000 signatures. About 112,000 of these signatures were obtained in Chicago and the remainder in other parts of the state. The secretary of state accepted the petition on the assumption that it conforms to the law, leaving that question open to be determined by the reviewing board (composed of the secretary, the auditor and the attorney general), in case formal objections are filed.

Following are the three propositions upon which a popular advisory vote is asked by this petition:

1. Shall the next General Assembly enact a statute by which the voters of the political subdivisions of the State of Illinois may be enabled to initiate desired local legislation, by filing a petition therefor, signed by eight per cent. of the legal voters in said political subdivisions, and to have referred to the voters any legislation enacted by the several local legislative bodies, by the filing of a petition therefor of five per cent. of the legal voters of any such political subdivision; the action of a majority of those voting to decide in each case?

2. Shall the next General Assembly submit to the people of the State of Illinois, at the next State election, a constitutional amendment providing for the control of legislation by the people, by means of the initiative and referendum; said amendment to provide for the initiation of legislation upon a petition of eight per cent. of the voters of the political divisions affected; and for the reference of legislation upon a petition of five per cent. of the voters of the political subdivisions affected, the action of the majority of the electors voting to be final; thus restoring to the people the power they

once held, but which they delegated to the General Assembly by the constitution?

3. Shall the next General Assembly take the necessary steps under article 5, of the constitution of the United States, to bring about the election of United States senators by the direct vote of the people?

The Socialist party, of Massachusetts, met at Boston on the 8th in State convention and nominated J. C. Chase of Haverhill for governor. On the 10th the Republican convention of Texas met at Fort Worth, but did no more than organize. The Democratic convention of New Hampshire met also on the 10th and nominated Henry F. Hollis for governor. In its platform it "straddled" the Kansas City platform and voted down a woman suffrage plank. On the same day the People's party of Idaho nominated James H. Gunn for governor, and the Socialists of Wyoming nominated Henry Brettenstein for governor. Also on the 10th the Republican convention of Washington met and pledged support to President Roosevelt for reelection, but took no further action that day.

Fusion with the People's party was defeated at the Democratic convention of Colorado which met on the 9th. E. C. Stimson was nominated for governor on that day, and on the 10th a full Democratic ticket was named. The platform indorses the Kansas City platform and pledges the party to the support of Senator Henry M. Teller for reelection. It supports the constitutional amendment intended to make woman suffrage secure, and demands the initiative and referendum; but if it indorses the eight hour day and the Australasian amendments the Chicago papers do not report the fact. In consequence of the refusal of this convention to make a fusion ticket, the People's party met at Denver on the 10th and nominated a full ticket with Judge Frank W. Gwers at the head as candidate for governor.

President Roosevelt's speaking campaign (p. 345) has shifted to the South. He reached Washington from Massachusetts, by way of Oyster Bay, on the 5th, and after remaining there somewhat less than an hour and a half departed for Wheeling where he spoke on the 6th. He attended the national meeting of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen at Chattanooga on the 8th, in honor of its

chief officer, Mr. Sargent, whom he has recently appointed to an important Federal office; and the Brotherhood made him a "grand honorary member" and invested him with the grand password of the order to enable him to attend its national meetings. Mr. Roosevelt's next set speech was at Asheville, N. C., on the 9th. He arrived at his home in Oyster Bay on the 10th.

Wm. J. Bryan began a speaking tour for the Democracy on the 9th at the opening at Joplin of the Missouri campaign. The subject of his speech was closely confined to trusts and tariffs.

As soon as possible after the Democratic convention of Ohio closed, the State leader, Tom L. Johnson, began the popular campaign in support of its ticket, headed by Herbert S. Bigelow of Cincinnati. The first meeting was held on the 6th at Lorain, in the Republican county of Lorain. It was held in a large tent, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bigelow being the principal speakers. At the close of the Lorain meeting the tent was taken to Norwalk, Huron county, also strongly Republican, where it accommodated a large audience on the 8th who were addressed by Mayor Rowley, Johnson, Bigelow, Echo M. Heisley, and others. The next place in which the tent was pitched was Bellevue, also in Huron county. The meeting was held here on the 9th. On the 10th the tent covered a meeting of enormous size at Fremont, in the Democratic county of Sandusky. Between his Bellevue and Fremont meetings Mr. Johnson addressed the legislative committee at Columbus on the municipal code, pressing the point, according to the press dispatches, that—

it is not right to permit a municipality to grant valuable rights until the people shall first ratify the action of city councils; that the Ohio statutes are vicious on the subject of franchises and that the terms of the Nash code are more so. He also declared in favor of home rule wherever possible, and expressed the belief that the effort of Senator Foraker to secure a "curative clause" for the benefit of the Cincinnati Traction company is more vicious than either the present laws or the Nash code.

The Republican campaign in Ohio is announced to open at Akron, Summit county, on the 27th, with Sena-

tor Hanna as the principal speaker. To offset Johnson's "tent caravan," Mr. Hanna purposes using a special railroad train of palace cars.

An investigation into the corruption of the St. Louis city council, begun last Spring (p. 10), resulted this week in the indictment of nearly a score of prominent citizens of St. Louis, all delegates to a former city council. They were members of a "combine" of the council organized to sell legislation, the speaker of the house of delegates being their chief or chairman. The specific charges relate to bribery in connection with the Suburban street railway.

A full confession has been made by the chief of the combine, J. K. Murrell, who announces his intention of helping to bring all the guilty parties to justice regardless of the effect upon himself. He withholds details, having put the circuit attorney in possession of them, but in general he publicly reveals the plot. Mr. Murrell says:

I held the key to the box in the Lincoln Trust company containing the \$75,000 bribe money to go to the house of delegates upon the passage of the Suburban bill. This money was put up as the purchase price for the votes of the combine, that price having been agreed upon. The combine of the house of delegates was composed of 19 men. This combine held frequent meetings in the room adjoining the house of delegates' chamber. There most of the schemes to get money for votes were concocted. When the Suburban matter came up before the combine I was selected to negotiate with Philip Stock, the representative of the Suburban railway, as to the best price we could get for our votes upon the passage of the bill. I reported the various negotiations to the combine meetings, and was instructed by the combine from time to time what to do. When the price was agreed on they designated me as the person to hold the key to the box containing the \$75,000, which we were to get when the bill was passed and signed by the mayor. The deposit of the money, the amount, and the conditions were duly reported by me to the combine meetings. I am not permitted to make the operations of the combine on this particular matter public at this time. The purpose of the combine was to control legislation and sell legislation for the benefit of the members of the combine. Shortly before the Suburban bill the combine sold their votes on the

lighting bills for \$47,500. This money was handled by Kelly, and was paid to the members of the combine at a meeting arranged for that purpose at Julius Lehmann's house. Each member of the combine received \$2,500. I was present and saw the money paid to the various parties. These are only two instances, but there are others, evidence of which is in the possession of the circuit attorney. These two instances show, however, what has been going on in the municipal assembly.

According to further statements in Mr. Murrell's confession, the "combine" was bound together by an oath which, under the circumstances, is extraordinary in the extreme. He says:

The oath was as follows: "I do solemnly swear before the Almighty God that in associating myself and in becoming a member of this combine I will vote and act with the combine whenever, and wherever I may be ordered so to do. And I further solemnly swear that I will not, at any place or time, reveal the fact that there is a combine and that I will not communicate to any person or persons anything that may take place at any meeting of the combine. And I do solemnly agree that in case I should reveal the fact that any person in this combine has received money I hereby permit and authorize other members of this combine to take the forfeit of my life in such manner as they may deem proper and that my throat may be cut, my tongue torn out and my body cast into the Mississippi river. And all of this I do solemnly swear, so help me God."

A crisis in the anthracite coal strike (pp. 278, 337, 340) is apparently near at hand, though nothing both definite and trustworthy regarding it has come to light. Our last report on the progress of this strike (p. 278) was made in August and related principally to the stationing of State troops under Gen. Gobin at Shenandoah. Since then there have been occasional reports in the daily press of violent incidents and of some unimportant collisions between the strikers and the troops, in consequence of which Gen. Gobin issued an order to the troops on the 3d to "shoot to kill." What has attracted most attention, however, has been persistent rumors of the certainty of an early settlement.

Senator Platt, of New York, stated positively on the 31st that the strike would be settled within two weeks.

Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania, had already intimated the probability of an early settlement, and it was known that he and Senator Penrose, of the same State, were strenuously trying to get some kind of terms from the coal trust that the strikers would accept. At the same time it appeared that Senator Hanna, of Ohio, had given up in despair. "I have exhausted all my efforts," said he in an interview at Buffalo, on the 24th; "I have done all in my power and can do no more. I will make no further attempts, for it would be useless." Nevertheless, it was hoped that Quay and Penrose might succeed, until their overtures for arbitration were definitely rejected on the 3d through a letter from George F. Baer, president of the Reading company, who argued that the questions at issue do not admit of arbitration. "You cannot arbitrate a question of wages," he wrote, "when an increase will destroy the business and a decrease will be unacceptable to the workmen." Soon after this, rumors gained currency that the governor of Pennsylvania was about to take steps to compel a settlement through arbitration to be imposed by a law to be enacted at a special session of the legislature which he designed calling. He was reported on the 3d as saying that "an extra session of the legislature would cost the state less money than it is costing to maintain the militia in the anthracite region to prevent and suppress riots." Apparently in furtherance of his design to force a settlement, Gov. Stone came to New York on the 8th, and on the 9th held a conference with J. Pierpont Morgan, through P. A. B. Widener, of Philadelphia, as intermediary.

Mr. Morgan is reported on the one hand to have declined to interfere, and on the other to have agreed to use his "good offices." The only authoritative report was given out by Gov. Stone himself. It is as follows:

Attorney General Elkin, Senator Flynn and myself have been in consultation for some hours to-day with P. A. B. Widener, of Philadelphia, who is a director in the United States Steel corporation, and is associated with Mr. Morgan in many business interests. Mr. Widener is anxious to see the strike settled, and to-day took up the matter with Mr. Morgan. We are doing what we can.

The soft coal strike in West Virginia (p. 279), which began June 7

(p. 119), has ended in the defeat of the strikers. The strikers in the Norfolk and Western railway fields held mass meetings on the 4th at which they decided to accept the terms of the operators on condition that all the strikers are taken back. This was agreed to, and work was resumed on the 8th. Before that time the local unions throughout the whole field of the strike were authorized each to resume on the best terms it could get, without regard to the action of the others. This ended the strike. The employers had made no concessions.

Conditions in the Mohammedan regions of the Philippines (p. 311) have not improved and Gen. Chaffee has ordered an expedition to subdue the restless Moros. The expedition, ordered on the 6th, is to be under the command of Gen. Sumner, and is to invade the Maciu country, which is supposed to be the stronghold of the hostile Moros. Gen. Sumner is to have a command of eight companies of infantry, two troops of cavalry and a battery of artillery. It seems that Gen. Chaffee decided upon this expedition after an attack had been made on United States troops near Camp Vicars on the 1st, in resisting which an officer and two soldiers were killed and one soldier was wounded.

There are intimations, also, of the probability of a conflict with the sultan of Bacolodad, Negros island, who is reported as maintaining a hostile attitude toward the Americans.

China and Great Britain concluded a commercial treaty on the 8th which has been in process of negotiation during the most of the summer. The important feature of this treaty is a clause exempting British goods from the "liken" or provincial tax, in consideration of permission to increase Chinese import duties 150 per cent. In anticipation of this and of similar clauses in treaties with the foreign powers generally the Chinese government issued an edict on the 29th abolishing all "liken" stations throughout the empire. Russia and France have not yet consented to the increase of import taxes, but the other powers have. It is expected that the abolition of the "liken" tax will open the interior of China freely to the commerce of the world.

From Great Britain there comes no important news, other than de-

sultory despatches regarding the operation of the Crimes act (p. 346) in Ireland, unless the publication of a "blue book" giving the official version of the efforts of the Boer generals in Europe to get better terms than those of the peace treaty be excepted. France gives indications of bitterness still prevailing in connection with the closing of the Catholic schools (p. 295); and Germany is chiefly concerned with the emperor's army maneuvers. But if Germany is making no news at home she has been making some on our side of the Atlantic through the action of one of her naval commanders in connection with the revolution in Hayti.

Hayti's revolution, last mentioned on page 236, when the revolutionary forces appeared to be making headway against the provisional government, had reached a stage on the 3d at which the revolutionist naval vessel, the Crete-a-Pierrot, commanded by Admiral Killick, undertook to search a German merchant vessel, the Markomania, which was engaged in carrying arms and ammunition for the provisional government, into the harbor of Cape Haytien. The captain and the German consul protested, but the search was made and the goods were seized as contraband of war. Three days later, on the 6th, the German gunboat Panther approached the Crete-a-Pierrot in the harbor of Gonaives, the seat of the revolutionary government, and retaliated by demanding its surrender, giving Admiral Killick 5 minutes in which to reply. At Killick's request the time was extended to 15 minutes. Before abandoning the ship Killick's crew set it on fire and then the Panther bombarded it until it sunk. It is rumored that Admiral Killick lost his life. The provisional government, against which the Crete-a-Pierrot had been operating, has naturally enough advised Germany that Hayti regarded the Crete-a-Pierrot as a pirate and her own dignity as unoffended by the act of the Panther.

On the 6th the provisional president of Hayti, Borsrond Canal, issued an order closing the ports of Gonaives, Saint Marc, and Port de Paix to foreign commerce.

Reports of a battle on the 4th and 5th between the provisional and the revolutionary forces, are to the effect that the revolutionists captured Gen.

Esmangord and demoralized the provisional troops. The place of the battle is not named.

NEWS NOTES.

—Prof. Rudolf Virchow, German scientist and statesman, died at Berlin on the 5th, aged 81 years.

—The seventy-second annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science began at Belfast on the 10th.

—The biennial conference of the Society of Friends of the United States met at Asbury Park, N. J., on the 6th, with about 2,000 delegates in attendance.

—The birthday of Henry George was celebrated by the Chicago Single Tax club on the 5th, the Rev. Thomas E. Cox and Raymond Robins being the speakers.

—The National Association of Post Office Clerks in session at Kansas City on the 4th, rejected a proposition to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor.

—At the twenty-first annual convention of the National Association of Stationary Engineers, at Boston, on the 5th, a motion to allow subordinate associations to affiliate with local labor organizations when deemed desirable was voted down.

—Jesse Cox, of Chicago, died at the Presbyterian hospital on the 10th, of pneumonia, at the age of 59 years. Mr. Cox was in active practice as a lawyer, but was best known as a socialist, his affiliations being with that branch of the movement with which Eugene V. Debs is identified.

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

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Gold reserve fund..... | \$150,000,000 00 |
| Available cash balance..... | 209,491,500 61 |
| Total | \$359,491,500 61 |
| On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902..... | 358,574,115 85 |
| Increase | \$ 917,384 76 |

—At the session of the Trades Congress in London on the 4th a resolution favoring compulsory arbitration was defeated by a representative vote of 961,000 to 303,000. On the 5th this body opposed the extension of the franchise to women, but advocated the national ownership of trust monopolies. The Congress adjourned on the 6th.

—The tugmen's strike on the great lakes (p. 138) was settled on the 3d at Cleveland. The agreement was made at the office of Senator Hanna between the Great Lakes Towing company and the Licensed Tugmen's association, and provided that all men who were in the employ of the company and who were not members of the union were to be discharged within 30 days.

—At a representative meeting of the sugar planters of Jamaica, held at Kingston on the 7th, resolutions were adopted condemning Great Britain's neglect of the West Indies, which is stated to have resulted almost in ruin to the sugar industry. They assert the total inadequacy of the measures proposed by Great Britain for the relief of her West Indian sugar planters, and call for federation with Canada as the only means of retrieving the fallen fortunes of Jamaica.

—The August treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government for the two months ending August 31, 1902, shows the following:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Receipts: | |
| Tariff | \$51,012,974 34 |
| Internal revenue..... | 39,143,492 84 |
| Miscellaneous | 7,765,036 72 |
| | \$97,911,503 90 |
| Expenses: | |
| Civil and misc..... | \$22,511,283 46 |
| War | 29,064,893 05 |
| Navy | 13,591,363 73 |
| Indians | 3,044,326 26 |
| Pensions | 25,156,521 72 |
| Interest | 6,529,839 82 |
| | \$99,927,178 04 |
| Deficit | \$2,015,674 14 |

PRESS OPINIONS.

OHIO POLITICS.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Sept. 7.—There is a vast difference between Tom Johnson's caravan and Mark Hanna's juggernaut.

Portland (Ore.) Daily Journal (Ind. Dem.), Sept. 5.—Tom Johnson is making Hanna tired, and may make him retired before he is through.

Minneapolis Journal (Rep.), Sept. 1.—Mr. Johnson has routed the MacLean forces in Ohio, in Cincinnati even. In the same manner he will rout the forces of the Bourbon Democracy everywhere when his opportunity comes.

Chicago Daily News (neut.), Sept. 9.—It is not exactly easy to determine whether the unkindly comments now passed upon Tom Johnson and his traveling political show are inspired by resentment or by the spirit of carping envy.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Sept. 4.—The Republican papers seem to be alarmed at Tom Johnson's popularity with the Democrats of Ohio. At least they are raising the warning cry to all their Republican followers. Instead of "Let well enough alone, we know our business," they may change their slogan to "Watch Tom Johnson, he knows his business."

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Sept. 6.—The effects of the tent meetings in Cleveland are well known. Tom L. Johnson has made his political career through having used a tent. He introduced it in his first congressional campaign and it has been used as much as possible in all the recent campaigns here in which he has figured. The tent is one of the things which it is very hard for the enemy to counteract.

Cincinnati Times-Star (Rep.), Sept. 8.—The principles underlying the new planks in the platform of the Ohio Democracy are those enunciated in the National Single Tax convention held in Chicago, August 30, 1893, when it was declared: "We are in favor of raising all public revenues for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a single tax on land values, irrespective of improvement, and of the abolition of all forms of direct and indirect taxation."

Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 4.—It may be said that the Ohio platform was the work of one man—that it was written by Tom Johnson. Perhaps that is so, but Tom Johnson, though he were twice the leader he is, could not force a platform upon a State unless that platform found an echo in the conscience of the citizens of that Commonwealth. If the platform is the creation of Tom Johnson, then the Democrats of Ohio are Tom Johnsonites.

Milwaukee Daily News (Ind. Rep.), Sept. 4.—While Mr. Johnson has never been in favor of the free coinage of silver, he recognizes that until the Democracy again meets in national convention and adopts a platform the platform of the party adopted at Kansas City must stand as the declaration of the party's attitude and that there is nothing to be gained by ignoring or dodging it, except, possibly the contempt of the party's opponents and the loss of confidence in its leadership by its rank and file.

Waechter und Anzeiger (Ger., Dem.), Sept. 8.—A "circus performance," such as the one of Saturday evening at Lorain, Hanna and Dick might well wish for their side show. But they will find that they are not in it with the "Johnson circus" anywhere. The Johnson circus has besides originality the priority, and, therefore, the crowd. The Republican farmers especially are eager to see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears this "Showman" Tom Johnson, of whom their own papers have given them so many bugbear stories.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind. Dem.), Sept. 4.—The Democratic party in Ohio has risen to the height of its opportunity and goes before the people with a platform remarkable for its strength and compactness. . . . The fact is recognized that this is a state election, and that the result will have a direct effect on the interests of the people of the State. National questions are therefore recognized to the extent of a formal indorsement of the last Democratic national platform, and then put aside that exclusive attention may be given to state issues, and more particularly to the two that just now overshadow all others—home rule and just taxation.

Chicago American (Dem.), Sept. 10.—Do you know why Tom Johnson succeeds, and impresses himself, and has his way? . . . Tom Johnson succeeds because he actually believes something. He is not drifting with other men's opinions, or shifting around with the wind. He has actual convictions. He has, above all, the enthusiasm, the earnestness, the force based on genuine belief—therefore he is able to move, to interest, to influence his fellow men. Editors especially are advised to study Tom Johnson and learn something from his example. The world is full of poor, flabby editors, wondering at their pathetic failure—poor, little commercial strugglers. A little dose of sincerity might save many of them.

ROOSEVELT AND THE TRUSTS.

The Commoner (Dem.), Sept. 5.—No trust magnate could have made a more abject and servile plea for lawless wealth and heartless greed. When we see great corporations violating the laws of the land and riding rough-shod over the rights of the people, instead of applying a remedy we must constantly restrain our indignation for fear "the dark and evil vices of envy and hatred eat into our natures." Instead of trying to catch the horse thief would he lecture the man who lost his horse? And does he think the horse raising industry would be jeopardized by the complete extermination of the horse thief?

THE ST. LOUIS "BOODLING."

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Sept. 10.—For an effective and permanent remedy there must be a change in the method of nominations, which should be by petition

and absolutely nonpartisan, an insistence upon the dominant interest of the public in public undertakings, and possibly the complete elimination of private control of public utilities, which is one source of the present corruption. Only the most thorough, far-reaching measures will suffice, and they demand an active and energetic support among the people, for half a century of tolerance has encouraged corruption till it has become a custom sanctioned apparently by the public acquiescence.

WISCONSIN POLITICS.

La Crosse (Wis.) Morning Chronicle (Rep.), Sept. 5.—The nomination of David Rose is none the less a disgrace to the State, and one that has been thrust upon the Democratic party by the same debasing influences that sought to prevent the renomination of Gov. La Follette.

MISCELLANY

THE RESERVED SECTION.

The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by labor agitators, but by the Christian men, to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given control of the property interests of the country.—Mr. Baer.

In the prehistoric ages, when the world was a ball of mist—

A seething swirl of something unknown in the planets' list;

When the earth was vague with vapor, and formless, and dark, and void—

The sport of the wayward comet—the jibe of the asteroid—

Then the singing stars of morning chanted soft: "Keep out of there!

Keep off that spot which is sizzling hot—it is making coal for Baer."

When the pterodactyl ambled, or fluttered, or swam, or jumped,

And the plesiosaurus rambled, all careless of what he bumped,

And the other old-time monsters that thrived on the land and sea,

And didn't know what their names were any more than to-day do we—

Wherever they went they heard it: "You fellows keep out of there—

That place which shakes and quivers and quakes—it is making coal for Baer."

The carboniferous era consumed but a million years;

It started when earth was shedding the last of her baby tears,

When still she was swaddled softly in clumsily tied-on clouds,

When stars from the shops of Nature were being turned out in crowds;

But high o'er the favored section this sign said to all: "Beware!

Stay back of the ropes that surround these slopes—they are making coal for Baer!"

We ought to be glad and joyous, we ought to be filled with glee

That aeons ago the placard was nailed to the ancient tree,

That millions and millions of ages—back farther than Adam and Eve—

The Ichthyosaurus halted, and speedily took his leave,

And so it was all saved for us, the spot with the sign: "Beware!

This plant is run by the earth and sun and is making coal for Baer!"

—W. D. Nesbit, in Baltimore American.

BUT WAS IT A REBUKE?

The New York World compliments President Roosevelt because of the Oliver Wendell Holmes appointment to the United States supreme bench, and says that if the president will appoint the same kind of a man to succeed Justice Shiras, who is about to retire, that appointment would "still more rebuke Mr. Bryan's demoralizing philippics against that august tribunal, and still more vindicate the consistent insistence of the World during the Bryan campaign of 1896 that Mr. Bryan's attack upon the supreme court was a moral crime."

In the same editorial the World says that the appointment of Justice Holmes was a "wise step toward restoring the prestige of one branch of our national government, perhaps more important than any other."

If Justice Holmes' appointment was "a step toward restoring the prestige of the supreme court," how is it possible to interpret that "step" as a rebuke to Mr. Bryan? How is it possible to interpret that appointment as an indorsement of the World's claim that criticism of the supreme court was "a moral crime" in the presence of the World's present-day admission that the prestige of the court was in need of restoration?—Editorial in The Commoner of Aug. 29.

THE USE OF PRESIDENT BAER.

Editorial in City and State, of Philadelphia, of August 28.

President Baer assumes that "God in His infinite wisdom" has given to President Baer and his associates, "Christian men," the management of "the property interests" of the country, and that they can and will act more wisely for "the laboring men" and all others, than they, through any leaders of their own choice, can act for themselves. That is exactly the argument that was used in support of slavery by the "Christian men" (and many of them were such after a fashion) who got dollars and cents, food, raiment, pleasure, etc., from the peculiar institution. But all the while their beautiful, elaborate justification of the wrong was smitten through and through by two little commandments in the decalogue: "Thou shalt not steal," and "Thou shalt not commit adultery;" and one little commandment of the founder of Christianity: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Nobody could explain how slavery could exist unless you first stole the black man and then stole his labor; or how

it could be sustained without obliging the black man constantly to commit adultery by breaking up his family relationship, whenever he had any, and reducing him to the non-moral position of a mere animal. Nor could anybody explain how, if one loved the black man in the Christian sense—that is, if one desired his welfare, and that he might improve and live honestly and soberly in this present world—he could still put him under a system that first took his wages, and then in his social life made an adulterous condition inevitable.

Now, our idea about the "infinite wisdom of God" in this case may be thus expressed: He put it in the minds of some men—not very many such men as Abraham Lincoln and William Lloyd Garrison and many of the Quakers—to see the truth and with varying degrees of wisdom and moral courage to declare it; while He left the great mass of men with their minds and moral perceptions constantly confused concerning the truth and its value; left them principally concerned with personal affairs and temporary considerations, until the fullness of time had come for American slavery to stop. It did stop—in bloody convulsions; but the bloody convulsions were only necessary because the majority of men made the scale so heavy in favor of injustice by their blindness and folly that something correspondingly heavy was needed to tip it the other way. The "infinite wisdom of God" has always allowed the infinite folly, even of "Christian men," men as good as President Baer and his associates, to carry them to just such lengths as they were pleased to go.

So far as we can understand, the Divine purpose in this respect is that men must be taught the enduring value of humility, and justice, and sincere love for their fellows. These things the pursuit of wealth, and power, and luxury always has made, and always will make them forget. President Baer's view may be correct in this instance. "God in His infinite wisdom" has undoubtedly allowed him and his associates to get just where they are. He has permitted them to have such control over that essential commodity of our modern life, fuel, that it may all be held locked up in the earth or advanced to such prices that to obtain it taxes the purses of the rich or well-to-do and runs quite beyond the means of the poor. He may allow such a

critical condition of affairs to be reached that public opinion, under the spur of a great practical necessity, will ripen in a day from an unduly conservative position to an extremely radical one, when it will demand some form of intervention by the state that will hereafter protect the public from the embarrassments, losses and perils of the present situation. Just such a change God may in His infinite wisdom bring about, for He has done this many times before, counting the "Christian men" in power as but stubble before the flame of His purpose about to be accomplished; or as the thin bank of earth when the long-stored, silent, peaceful water becomes the raging and destroying flood. It may all come very quickly. The final truth to remember is that the permanent rulers of this country are the people. The men in power are only its temporary rulers.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL. HE GOES TO WHEELING WITH THE PRESIDENT.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: Sorry to see that you have adopted slavery. I had to get rid of it myself once, in the 60's, but it cost a pile of money. You used to brag, John, that a slave could not exist on British soil; but your tax of ten dollars a head on the blacks in South Africa is slavery, John, placed there to enslave them. We shall see whether the slaves can exist.

It's a good sample of British fair play. You would not dare put the tax on the Canadians, John. They would join me. You would not dare put it on the defeated Boers even. They would dig up enough guns to shoot more than ten dollars' worth out of anything British they saw. But when you get a helpless black or brown man at your mercy, John, I don't notice that you are any better than Americans and Spaniards. Who would have thought, John, when you used to abuse me about slavery, that you, with your India and Africa, would become the greatest slave driver on earth. Well, "we are all poor creeturs."

Just now I am having all I can do at home. Been tryin' to find out Theodore's way to end the trusts. The end of a trust that Theodore seems interested in is the front end—the money end—the contribution part; the latter end of a trust looks mighty remote to him.

But it is all a mistake about Theodore being strenuous and fierce. He's

a changed man since his Minneapolis and West Point speeches. He's a mellerin' down. And gentle! He's as gentle as Knox. When he confronts a wicked combine now he is conservative, respectful, pitying. "Don't harm her," says he.

"Take her up tenderly
Handle with care."

When the trolley car ran into him it riled him, though. "Why, confound your carelessness—!" says the President.

"Hush! Theodore," says I, "it is a corporation."

"Yes, I know," says he. "Well, all right, but for about a minute I was a Bryan man!"

Now, when New England began to run into us with her trolley cars, we took it as a hint to move on, and so we went down to Wheeling, and made another great speech, from the balcony of McClure's hotel.

There are some people still living in Wheeling who remember when McClure's hotel was built, but most of them have moved away.

"The trusts are like the Mississippi," says the President.

"Muddy," says I.

"You cannot dam them," says he.

"Oh, yes, you can, Theodore," says I. "You have not had your ear to the ground lately, or you'd have heard it."

"If you dam the corporations, cities like Wheeling will go out of business; remember that!" says he.

"Besides, the Bible says swear not at all," says I.

"We never were so prosperous before," says he.

"And never liked it so little," said I.

"We must not accept less than the possible," says the President.

"What's that?" says I. "That's pretty mild, Theodore!"

"We must have a kindly determination not to wrong others," says Theodore.

"That's Christianity! That's it! Christianity applied to the trusts! That'll fetch 'em!" said I.

"Babylon," says Theodore, goin' right on, "Babylon, Nineveh, Mesopotamia, Thebes, Memphis, Valley of the Nile, Greece, Rome, The Netherlands, changed conditions—"

"The Dingley tariff! Hurrah!" said I. "Hot buttered beans! Now you are gettin' warm. Changed conditions. The McKinley-Dingley tariff is the old mother of most of 'em. Hurrah!"

"There is no uniformity in state laws. They are no good," says he. "Our present national laws are bein' enforced with all the power of the general government."

"Hurrah! and Sheridan 20 miles away! Knox is in Paris, but he must be a comin'! Hurrah!" says I.

"What we need first is power—a constitutional amendment."

"That will take seven years," says I.

"And then the labor is not ended; only just begun."

"What next, Theodore?" said I.

"Self-restraint," said the President. "When you get the power don't use it; appoint a sovereign or king to make the carpers mind."

"But, see here, Theodore," said I, "is that exactly American?"

"Then we must have good citizens. You must set your teeth and stand the strain," said the President.

"I'd rather make the corporations stand the strain. I've stood it over long now," said I.

"Don't use any black-powder musket. The best weapon is none too good for Uncle Sam."

"I don't want any weapon, Theodore," said I. "I got along first-class for 50 year without 'em! It's havin' a navy, and wantin' to try the guns that got me into two wars, and this Philippine disgrace."

"Honesty first, then courage," says Theodore.

"Billy Bryan! Tom Johnson! Herbert Bigelow! You're called! Step forward!" said I. But nobody cum, and so we run along South.

UNCLE SAM.

AN OPEN LETTER TO GEN. GOBIN. For The Public.

Dear Gen. Gobin: Let me congratulate you on your masterly efforts in behalf of law and order. Persevere in well-doing, and you will soon have our turbulent striking workmen back to their submissive subjection. As an evidence that we propose upholding your efforts in our behalf, I append extracts from text of a legislative measure which we will enact at next session. The passage of this act will ratify your recent edict against the unmannerly and disloyal jeering at our brave soldiery, and will disarm the critics who seek to censure you for making a novel—if much needed—law on the subject. I prefer your style of law-making to the more cumbersome methods prescribed by the constitution. However, we must yield something to popular clamor, if only to demonstrate how law-abiding we can be when it does not cost too much. We may be even constrained to secure legislation to legalize modern and beneficent injunction pro-

ceedings. This may cost more, as congress comes higher than the Pennsylvania legislature; but we will not cross that bridge till we are up against it. Let me have the benefit of any suggestions you can offer about the bill outlined below.

Gratefully yours,

HERMAN KUEHN.

A BILL to Prevent the Clamor of the Gastric Juice in the vitals of persons of the Feminine Sex from Inciting to Disrespect to the Uniform, Equipments, Accoutrements, Trappings, Persons or Impediments of the Militia of the Commonwealth.

BE IT ENACTED, etc., etc.—It shall be unlawful for any person of the feminine sex within the state of Pennsylvania to look upon, witness, see or behold any of the militiamen of the commonwealth, whether said militiamen be in or out of battle array, while said persons of the feminine sex are in the condition of hunger, said condition being calculated to disturb the serenity, placidity, self-satisfaction and complacency of said militiamen, in that it is calculated to incite said persons of the feminine sex to jeer, scoff, ridicule, belittle, annoy and molest said militiamen.

Any person violating the provisions of this act by looking upon any militiaman or militiamen without having first partaken of provisions sufficient to fully appease and allay the clamors of the gastric juices, shall be subject to the penalties hereinafter set forth; provided, however, that no conviction shall be valid under this act unless same be approved by the second sergeant or the third corporal of the command toward which, or any member of which, said offense may have been committed.

* * * * *

[The other sections of the bill are briefly synopsisized below, in order, my dear general, to avoid troubling you with the full text.]

Section 13 provides that any fines are to be worked out by the convict in any of the collieries of the state at the rate of 90 cents per week; provided, however, that no offender under six years of age shall be required to work more than 144 hours in any one week; and that the proceeds of said fines, to be paid by the operator employing such convicts, shall be paid into the state treasury to be held as a fund to be paid as a prize or prizes to any person or persons who shall discover a method of depriving working people of the sense of hunger without interfering with their ability to perform manual labor.

Section 14 provides the following penalties:

For shouting, vociferating, ejacu-

lating or in anywise saying to any militiaman while wearing the uniform of the Pennsylvania national guard, or any part of such uniform, "Aw, go soak your head!" a fine of \$1,000, to be worked out in the mines as heretofore provided. A like fine for any modification of said jeer, jibe or invocation in which the verb "to soak" is employed in any of its moods or tenses.

The use of the term "scab" within the hearing of any militiaman is punishable by a fine of \$2,000.

Section 15 provides that any terms of opprobrium, reproach or comment that may be regarded as distasteful or unpleasant to, or that shall in anywise shock the modesty or tranquility of any militiamen, shall subject the offender to a fine of \$1,000.

Section 16 provides that any militiaman feeling himself insulted by unfavorable comments upon his person, such as, "Get onto his bow-legs!" or, "Say, cock-eye, are you goin' to shoot where you're looking?" may shoot at such offender; provided, however, that if such shot or shots prove fatal any fine or other punishment incurred by such offender may be remitted.

Under section 17, 60 per cent. is added to aforesaid penalties where officers are insulted.

Women over 84 years of age escape, under section 18, with one-half the above penalties; provided, however, their offenses have not been committed against the commander in chief.

The act shall be in force from and after the passage of the troops.

A PREACHER IN POLITICS.

Speech of the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, pastor of the Vine Street Congregational Church, Cincinnati, made at the Democratic state convention at Sandusky, O., September 3, 1902, in accepting their nomination for Secretary of State of Ohio, as published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of September 4.

Fellow Democrats: I thank you for the honor of this nomination. In accepting it I have misgivings as to my merits as a candidate, but I shall enter upon the duties of the campaign without any doubt as to the righteousness of our cause.

It is so unusual for a clergyman to enter the field of politics that a word of explanation may be in order.

The world has never had but one political issue. The struggle between the rights of the many and the privileges of the few—that is the eternal issue. That issue is not always apparent. There are long intervals in politics when the chief contest is over the offices; when there seems to be little choice between the parties. But about

once in the life time of each generation there comes a period of awakening, such as we are experiencing to-day, when men, startled by the bold assaults that are made upon their liberties, break away from their old party lines, and with a fresh enthusiasm unite to resist the aggressions of a common enemy.

Like the struggle of our forefathers to make the doctrine of divine rights a heresy on American soil; like the struggle of our fathers to put an end to chattel slavery upon this continent; like the struggle of Cobden and Bright to repeal the laws which taxed the bread of English labor for the benefit of English lords—our struggle, like these, is a contest between monopoly on the one hand and popular rights on the other; it is a struggle between the few who have grown powerful by the aid of unjust laws, and the many upon whom recreant legislators have laid burdens grievous to be borne.

At such a time as this politics is more than a contest for offices. At such a time the moral forces of the nation rally for the impending struggle, and men find in politics not a "career, but a crusade." At such a time the line between religion and politics is lost sight of, for the reason that political aims become distinctively humanitarian and hence truly and deeply religious. When human rights are at stake you cannot keep politics out of the church, neither can you keep preachers out of politics. When the times are ripe for the overthrow of some great wrong, rightfully enough pulpits are turned into political platforms and politicians become preachers. Politics and religion have got so mixed of late that even Senator Hanna has taken to preaching. (Laughter.) In his Chautauqua address he declared that he and his associates of the Civic Federation remembered the golden rule and tried to live up to its principle. He concluded this address with an exhortation which would have done credit to any preacher. These were his words:

I hope that you will remember that there is an individual responsibility that calls for each and every one who has the means and the opportunity, to do what he can to help this cause of the Golden Rule along.

That sounds well. Now observe how the deeds of Mr. Hanna compare with his words:

Here is a girl working for five dollars a week. In going to and from her work she spends 60 cents a week for car fare. We will add another dime for church. Now Mayor Johnson has found capitalists who are

glad of the chance to undertake the operation of street railways on a three-cent basis. This reduction of two cents for every ride would amount to an increase of nearly three per cent. in the wages of the working girl.

If Mr. Hanna is trying to live up to the principle of the Golden Rule, what should be his attitude toward the question of this three-cent fare enterprise? If he were compelled to work for five dollars a week, would he object to a three per cent. increase? A reduction of 40 per cent. in the cost of transportation would be a great relief to the poor. What a splendid opportunity the senator has of proving his friendship for the workingman! But beyond these Golden Rule speeches of his, what has he done? He has professed to believe that a three-cent fare would not pay, and then, as if fearing that it might pay, and that the fare on his own roads might be forced down to the same level, he has resorted to every conceivable shift to prevent the construction of this new road. So determined has he been to protect the privilege which he now enjoys of charging the public exorbitant fares that he has appealed to court after court, and has thus far succeeded in tying the hands of the Cleveland council and defying the popular will. This is the friend of labor and the champion of the Golden Rule!

There is another matter in which Mr. Hanna has had a chance to show how he believes in the Golden Rule. It was proposed by Mayor Johnson that the franchise holding corporations should pay as much taxes in proportion to their value as corporations which do not enjoy special privileges. What could be more just than that? But did this champion of the Golden Rule favor such a measure? Was he willing to be taxed as other citizens were taxed? On the contrary, he has used his great influence to induce state officials to repudiate their public obligations in order to serve his private ends. These officials have disallowed a just increase of \$20,000,000 in the valuation of the Cleveland monopolies, and by so doing they have deprived that one city of an annual revenue of \$450,000. Virtually they have reached their hands into the vaults of the city treasury and withdrawn hundreds of thousands which they have placed in the private pockets of their masters. And now, my friends, this Caesar, grown great on the meat of legis-

lative privilege, goes down to Columbus to cap the climax of his daring by asking for franchises that shall be perpetual. If we may believe the newspaper reports, it was a pitiful tale that Mr. Hanna told those legislators about his hardships as a railroad magnate, and the great need of perpetual franchise to which he has been reduced. It might be inferred from his remarks that his railroad enterprises had been quasi public charities, operated very largely from philanthropic motives, and that the generosity of the senator was richly entitled to a reward, in the nature of a few perpetual franchises.

Mr. Hanna says that it is necessary for the sake of stability and to guarantee him an interest on his investment that the streets of his city should be made over to him and his heirs forever.

One is reminded of that rhyme of Mother Goose:

Hark, hark, the dogs do bark,
The beggars are coming to town,
Some in rags, some in tags,
And some in velvet gowns.

(Prolonged laughter.)

So long as we have beggars in velvet gowns eating unearned bread at the front doors of the legislature we must expect to have beggars in rags and tags eating crusts of charity at the back doors of the nation.

Yet one cannot help having respect for the abilities of a man who can tie the hands of a city council, checkmate the popular will, make legislators vote him public money, revolutionize the laws of the state to protect his interests, demand perpetual franchises to the amazement of his own partisans, and calmly assure the public meanwhile that his one ambition in life is to obey the Golden Rule and prove the friend of labor. (Loud cheering.)

Turning now to the subject of the municipal code we see another excellent opportunity for Mr. Hanna to help the cause of the Golden Rule along. As between the federal or Cleveland plan of city government and the board or Cincinnati plan, can there be any doubt which accords most with the principle of the Golden Rule? Democracy is the Golden Rule applied to politics. The federal plan is democratic. It places the powers of administration in the hands of an individual who is directly answerable to the people and holds office only on their suffrage. The board plan is undemocratic. It divides and subdivides responsibility so that it is next to impossible to locate

it. The board plan places the power out of the reach of the people. In its complicated machinery it is admirably adapted to further the designs of the political boss.

Now, then, we are going to the cities of Ohio. We are going to tell them the kind of government which has been the curse of Cincinnati; and we are going to ask them if they want to vote to spread that sort of government over the rest of the state.

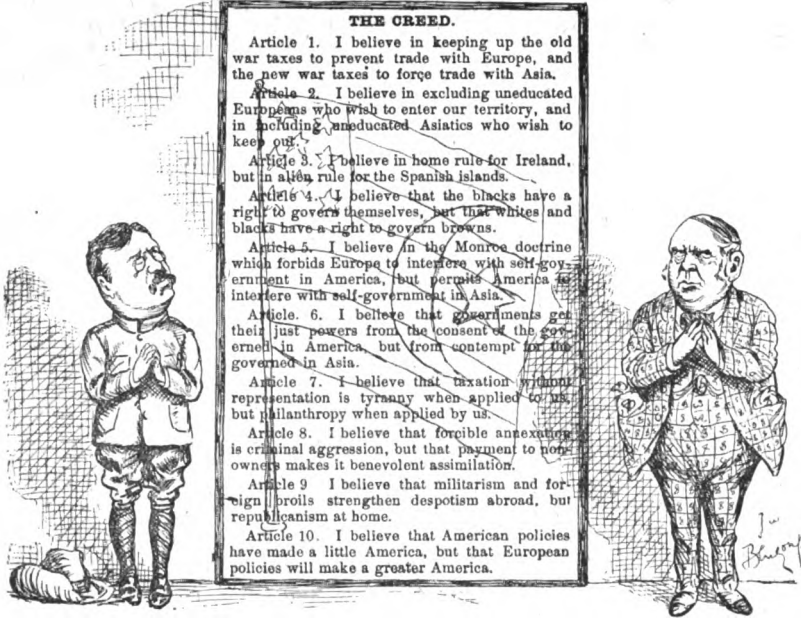
We are going to the farmers of the state. We are going to tell them that the railroads are robbing the counties of \$4,000,000 every year. We are going to ask them if, after they have paid their own taxes, they are willing to add more bushels of wheat and more heads of cattle and more days of their labor in order to make up to the state what is lost by reason of these exemptions of railroad property.

We are going from hamlet to hamlet. We are going to talk to the small property owners. We are going to tell them that the great monopolists are paying taxes on from ten to twenty per cent. of their actual holdings while the homes and the competitive enterprises of the state are paying taxes on from 60 to 80 and sometimes over 100 per cent. Mr. Hanna says keep on letting well enough alone. We are going to ask the small property owners all over the state if they want to keep on paying the taxes of the monopolists in addition to their own.

In a word, we are going to take Mr. Hanna's advice, now that we have the opportunity, and do something to help this cause of the Golden Rule along. We are going to begin by demanding the sacred right of self-government to every city of the state. We are going to demand the protection of the taxpayers of the state by putting the holdings of the great monopolies on the tax duplicate for what they are worth. Nay, we are going to inaugurate a new era in American politics. Out of Cleveland has come the leader and out of Ohio are going the impulses of a mighty movement that shall marshal the conscience and the heart of the nation to sweep away the privileges by which the few have been appropriating the substance of the many.

Mother—Why is it, Harry, that you can't get up the first time that I call you?

Son—I suppose it's because you are



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a woman that you can't understand so simple a matter as that, mother; but to us men folks it is plain enough.—*Woman's Journal.*

Better a battered book borrowed from a brotherly beggar than a variety of valuable volumes vested by monopoly millionaires in mendicant municipalities.—*Whim.*

This "harmony" 's a curious word, Its purpose is polite; Yet every time you mention it You start another fight. —*Washington Star.*

The beef trust is going right ahead making vegetarians and democratic voters.—*Washington Post.*

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