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Those privileged interests which balk at the apparently mild "Iowa Idea" are wise; for it is Mr. Henderson who is right when he denounces it as free trade, and not Gov. Cummins who protests that it is good protectionism. Wendell Phillips's remark that no man can jump half way over Niagara Falls, never fitted the efforts to check the advance of slavery into the territories better than it fits the idea of checking the support that protection is giving to trusts. When slavery in any of its manifestations was once boldly attacked the whole system had to fall. It is the same with protection, and for the same reason. The trusts realize what the Iowa Idealists do not, that the feat of jumping half way over Niagara Falls is impossible.

Trusts display a fine objective for free trade attack. They are perfected fruits of the protective system and their taste is not pleasant. Mr. Roosevelt asserted in his Cincinnati speech that there is no relation between the tariff and the trusts, and he instanced the Standard Oil and the anthracite coal trusts as having no protection. But the Standard Oil trust has, in fact, plenty of protection. What it does not get under the tariff, it does get through other forms of monopoly-engendering protection, such as special privileges in rights of way. Highway tariffs and customs tariffs are only different forms of what is essentially the same thing. This is true likewise of the anthracite trust, which is also directly protected by the customs tariff. Mr. Roosevelt says there is no tariff on

anthracite coal. His candor comes under grave suspicion here, for he must know that there is a tariff on coal that would compete with anthracite.

Along the same lines of trust defense it is argued that trusts exist in free trade Europe as well as in protection America. The argument is intended to deceive. Europe has no free trade. The nearest approach to a free trade country is England. Even there they have something in the way of protective tariffs and a good deal of protection in other forms. But in free trade England there are few trusts and they are innocuous. The European trusts are in the protection countries of Europe. Prof. Jenks, employed by the Industrial Commission, found only 35 trusts in England, and their total capitalization is less than \$500,000,000—not half that of our one steel trust. One of them, the borax trust, affords really a good example of a difference between trusts under free trade and trusts under protection. Of this trust Byron W. Holt says that it—

is a world trust, and the Pacific Coast Borax company of this country is the greatest of the twelve companies in the trust, and probably supplies as much borax as all of the other companies combined. This world trust sells refined borax to-day in this country at 7½ cents and in England at 2½ cents per pound. Much of the borax sold in England is borax from mines in California and is refined there or at Bayonne, N. J., and exported to England. The duty on imported borax is 5 cents per pound and was raised from 2 cents in 1897 by the Republicans. When the duty was 2 cents borax sold here at 5 cents. As a matter of history it may be stated that had there been no duty on borax there would have been no world trust. The exorbitant profits of the trust here enabled it to sell borax at less than 2 cents a pound in Europe and to force its competitors to sell their plants at low prices. But this trust is comparatively harmless in free trade England,

while it is most harmful in protectionist America.

Those who urge that the tariff is responsible for no trusts in this country—and send out search warrants for such as do not enjoy tariff protection, with the result of lining up only two—would improve their minds even if it hurt their cause, by remembering that there is a tariff-founded tin plate trust, which raises prices to consumers while forcing down wages of workmen. Also that the steel and wire trust, the window plate trust, the shovel trust, the linseed oil trust, the salt trust, the borax trust, the sugar trust, and scores of others are kept alive and in full flower by the tariff.

In all the dust that is being kicked up about trusts, however, their real relation to the tariff must not be allowed to slip out of sight. It is quite true that the trust system is not made by the tariff and cannot be killed by revising, reducing or even abolishing the tariff. Mr. Roosevelt would have been right in referring to the Standard Oil trust and the anthracite coal trust had he cited them as instances to prove that trusts can exist without tariffs. For the Standard Oil trust's backbone is not the tariff, but the monopoly, directly and indirectly, of great highway privileges and terminal points. The anthracite coal trust's power does not lie in tariff protection, but in monopoly of coal lands and of the highways and terminals that connect them with the market. It is the same with the steel trust. Though the tariff were totally abolished, this combination would still monopolize the best natural supplies of ore and coking coal, together with the necessary highway privileges and terminal points. The trusts can be uprooted only by cutting deeper than the tariff, and up-

rooting the basic system out of which they spring. And that is land monopoly. There are only two ways of dealing finally and effectively with them. One is through the abolition of all legal privileges, including land monopoly, as Henry George has pointed out; the other is by putting the trusts in the hands of government, as socialists propose. This question is certain sooner or later to be the issue upon which the people will have to divide.

Meantime, however, the tariff question is a trust question. Though it is not the fundamental cause of trusts, it does give added power to trusts of every kind and degree—oil, coal, steel and all the rest. No better evidence is needed of this than the notorious fact that American trust-made goods are sold abroad, where they are not protected by tariffs, for lower prices than they are sold for at home where they are so protected. This is the real issue with reference to tariffs and trusts. Not whether revising the tariff would kill them altogether. It would not, though it would kill many of them and cripple many more. But whether it would prevent their extorting higher prices from American consumers than they get for the same goods from foreign consumers. On that point the evidence is overwhelming against the tariff. It proves to be what it has often been called emphatically, a "robber tariff."

The latest bunco "remedy" for trusts is to get a constitutional amendment which would centralize power in the Federal government far beyond the fondest dreams of Hamilton. With such an amendment there would no longer be any States in the Union. The nation would be as much an empire as was France under Napoleon. But even if this were not objectionable, it would require two-thirds of each house of Congress and the consent of the legislatures of three-fourths of the States to secure the amendment. Under favorable circumstances that

would take from two to three years or more. Under slightly unfavorable circumstances it would take much longer. If opposed by the trusts, it could not be accomplished at all. For an obvious evil of rapidly growing power, that is an astonishing remedy to propose. Why the trusts should be alarmed at the strenuosity of a party leader who has nothing more strenuous than that to threaten them with is inconceivable. Constitutional amendment is their best cue.

Secretary Shaw filled a Chicago audience chuck-full of figures Monday night, figures especially cooked by one of the statistical cook shops of the treasury. It would be a waste of time and space to review his figures in detail. The presumption of falsity lies against them at the start, for it is becoming notorious that much of the statistics now being turned out at Washington are picked up and put together upon the principle of the department clerk who, when asked to get up some statistics on a certain mooted subject, innocently asked, "On which side?" But if Mr. Shaw's statistics are in themselves unworthy of consideration by anybody, one of his conclusions from them is astonishing enough to challenge the attention of everybody of common sense. Twenty-two nations of the earth, he says, have an annual balance of trade against them of \$2,000,000,000; and then he boasts that we supply 24 per cent. of it, or \$478,000,000 by our "favorable balance." Put into plain English, what does that mean? Simply that 22 nations receive tribute annually to the amount of \$2,000,000,000, and that we pay 24 per cent. of that tribute. What is there in this to boast of? Doubtless Mr. Shaw, if interrogated, would say that it is not tribute. He would say that what he means is that 22 nations buy \$2,000,000,000 more than they sell, and that we sell them 24 per cent. of that amount in excess of what we buy. But if we do that every year, never getting anything back for what we sell, aren't such

sales tribute? Aren't they in that case a dead loss? If, on the other hand, we do get their value back in the future, shall we not then be buying more than we sell, and won't that knock what Mr. Shaw calls our "favorable balance" of trade higher than a kite? Probably Mr. Shaw thinks as President McKinley did, that it all comes back to us in pure gold. Then let him turn to his own department statistics, which show that we don't get as much of gold and silver in as we send of gold and silver out, and proceed with his explanation.

On the very day on which Mr. Shaw delivered that speech, the Illinois Central railroad made a report which throws light on our "favorable balance" of trade. It shows that 25 per cent. of the stock of that road is owned in foreign countries. Of course, therefore, 25 per cent. of the dividends go abroad, in the shape of American products of farm, ranch, and factory; and for these exports nothing comes back. Which country is enriched by such shipments, the country that takes them in or the country that sends them out? A schoolboy should answer the question correctly, even though Mr. Secretary Shaw of the treasury is all in a tangle over it. Undoubtedly the country that gets dividends and not the one that pays them is enriched by the payment. The latter was enriched by the original investment, but that helped to make an "unfavorable balance," according to Mr. Shaw; but it is not enriched by paying the dividends, though that helps to make a "favorable balance," according to Mr. Shaw. If all the dividends, rents, etc., which are sent abroad by this country as exports, and for which no imports are or are to be received in return,—if all these payments were considered, Mr. Shaw's boasted "favorable balance" of nearly \$478,000,000 would take on a sickly complexion.

We notice that one of the campaign canards which the Hanna or-

gan of Cleveland, Ohio, manufactures in quantities to suit, with the view of discrediting Mayor Johnson in the public mind, is now being circulated outside of Cleveland. We quote it as we find it afloat in the exchanges:

Having granted the Standard Oil Company a perpetual gas franchise in Cleveland, Tom Johnson went to Columbus yesterday to air his views on the franchise question.

This sort of thing doesn't go at face value any longer in Cleveland, where the people have come to know Johnson; but out in the State of Ohio and over the country it may still pass current. It is worth while, therefore, to circulate Johnson's reply. When he went before the Ohio legislature—"to air his views on the franchise question," to quote from the extract given above,—he referred to the "perpetual gas franchise" in the following terms:

Perpetual street car franchises have been suggested and in support of this proposition it has been said that the gas companies all over the State hold perpetual grants. This is not true. The law of Ohio limits gas franchises to ten years. At the end of that time the council fixes a rate for a new term of ten years. If no price is fixed the company can charge no rate for its product. This is different from a provision for a ten-year revision on terms to which the company must agree. Again, there is no limit to the number of pipes a gas company or any other company can put in the street. But with street railways, when you have placed two tracks, or at the most four, in the street you can put down no more. And you can't put street car tracks in all streets. The cases are not parallel. The ten-year gas grants are in no sense perpetual.

These facts were known, of course, to the Hanna organ when it charged Johnson with collusion with the Standard Oil trust to fasten a perpetual gas franchise on Cleveland. The truth is that a natural gas company offered to come into Cleveland and undersell the company already in possession. Johnson therefore properly favored the grant of a franchise to it, as did most of the city council, Democrats and Republicans. The franchise was accordingly grant-

ed, and without express limit as to time. No express limit was necessary or is usual, because, under the law of Ohio, the companies cannot charge for gas without the consent of the city renewable every ten years. In effect, therefore, this gas franchise, which will lower the price of gas in Cleveland, was not a grant in perpetuity but for ten years.

Another charge that the Hanna organs are circulating against Johnson is that he is a tax dodger. It is based on the fact that the tax inquisitor of Ohio has sued him for personal taxes on the basis of a valuation of \$1,000,000. This is twice as much as the valuation of all the other residents of Euclid avenue combined, with Senator Hanna's thrown in for good measure. The bad faith of the charge is therefore obvious upon its face.

It is cold comfort that the Democratic "reorganizers" and their Republican allies are getting out of their efforts to "down" Bryanism by a process of silent negation at State conventions. Their latest success was in Massachusetts. But the Springfield Republican, which is neither "silvercratic" nor "popocratic," condemns their platform as lacking the ring of sincerity and genuineness; as being "a platform of the character made to get in on rather than to stand on," and, worse still, as thereby calculated to "fit in perfectly with the general character and purposes of the new leadership in the Massachusetts Democracy." On the other hand it commends the platform proposed by George Fred Williams and defeated by the "reorganizers," as presenting "in the briefest compass a sharp, direct, ringing and comprehensive statement of principles which any party must stand by that is to represent Democratic tendencies and reasonable aspirations at this time." The "reorganizers'" victory in Massachusetts turns out, like that in Wisconsin, to have been a pretty bad piece of business from

every possible Democratic point of view.

Yet Wisconsin and Massachusetts are the only States in which the "reorganizers" have scored a victory. In California, Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Vermont, Wyoming and Iowa, the only other States that have not in terms reaffirmed the Kansas City platform, local issues dominated all others. In Michigan, at least, Bryan's friends were in control but voluntarily confined the issues to State questions. They were in control also in Iowa, but a large proportion of them were influenced by the "Iowa Idea" to avoid offending Republicans. Even at their best, the "reorganizers" can count only 14 States in which the Kansas City platform is not in terms reaffirmed, while 17 have gone dead against them,—Arkansas, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, Ohio, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Idaho, Colorado, Utah and Washington, and Montana. Besides this, a large majority of the only States in either list that the Democrats have a ghost of a show of carrying on any issue, are in the Kansas City platform column.

#### SUGAR AND POLITICS.

The man who will cheapen the cost of bread 40 per cent. and reduce the cost of living to our people by more than \$100,000,000 a year will virtually make two blades of grass grow where only one now grows and will be hailed as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind. The man, corporation or combination responsible for a 25 or 30 per cent advance in the price of bread or meat deserves the curses of mankind.

An article of food almost or quite as important as either bread or meat is now selling for two prices in this country, three prices in Germany and Belgium, four prices in France, Spain, Austria and Russia and five prices in Italy. Certain men, or

groups of men, some in combinations or trusts and others in official life are entirely responsible for the 100, 200, 300 or 400 per cent advance in prices of this great food product. Yet, instead of being held in execration and treated as enemies of mankind, these price-raising conspirators are honored as industrial chieftains and statesmen in their various countries.

The natural price of refined sugar, if its production and distribution were not interfered with, would be from 2 to 2½ cents per pound. It would probably all be cane sugar and would be produced in the tropics.

But production is greatly interfered with in many European countries and in this country by the giving of national and state bounties—especially to the producers of beet sugar—and distribution has been hampered by import duties and excise taxes. The alleged object of these bounties and duties is to foster and protect the “infant,” but now gigantic, beet sugar industry. The result is that the people in beet sugar countries are paying three or four prices for sugar while people in other countries are eating the same sugar at artificially low prices. As Mr. Hugh Kelly, a New York sugar merchant and planter of the West Indies, told the Ways and Means Committee recently:

You may eat German and Austrian sugars in England at less than two cents per pound, but you must pay eight cents per pound for these sugars in Germany. You may eat French sugar in England for two cents per pound, but you must pay ten cents per pound for that sugar in France.

Mr. Kelly's statement is not quite true now, because England, about a year ago, imposed an import duty of about 9-10 of a cent per pound on sugar, and because the price of sugar in Germany and France is now lower than ever before.

At present, the lowest wholesale price for refined sugar in England is 2.6 cents; in Germany, 6.1 cents; in Russia, 7.3 cents; in Austria, 7.6 cents; in France, 8.5 cents; in Spain, 9 cents; and in Italy, 11.1 cents per pound. The per capita consumption of sugar in England is 90 pounds; Germany, 25; Russia, 9; Austria, 15; France, 25; Spain, 10; Italy, 6

pounds. Thus it is evident that the price of sugar regulates the consumption and that the people eat as much of this wholesome food as they can afford to pay for. As the price is the result of duties, taxes and trusts it is really the governments which, by imposing duties and taxes, out of which the trusts grow, make the price of sugar so high that sugar is a luxury in continental Europe, where it should be one of the very cheapest of foods. The price of sugar is high, and usually so very high that it prevents the poor people from eating much sugar in the beet sugar countries.

This would be bad enough even if the excess of price went to the state or nation and helped to pay the cost of government. But, in fact, most of the excess goes to fatten the protected trusts which exist in all these countries and which to-day, in continental Europe and in this country, are more powerful than kings, emperors, presidents or congresses. These sugar trusts are now the political Frankensteins of Europe and America. The recent international sugar conventions held in Belgium, were to devise means to curb the power and influence of these tariff and bounty fed trusts and to permit the people to eat the cheaper sugar. These conventions resolved that bounties and duties should be lowered, but it is uncertain if any beet-sugar country is strong enough to resist the great influence of the combined sugar interests.

Of course, if the beet growers, sugar makers and sugar refiners were not united and working together they would not be powerful enough to menace their governments and to force the remaining 90 per cent. of the people to pay exorbitant prices for sugar. The sugar-trust leech is found in every beet-sugar country. In Germany it is a three-headed combination and is called a “cartel.” The refiners sell all the sugar and can fix the price inside of the cost of imported sugar; they guarantee a minimum price to the 400 manufacturers of raw sugar. The raw sugar manufacturers, on their part, agree to sell sugar only to the refiners. The thousands of beet growers get their share of the plunder through the high

prices for beets which the guaranteed price of raw sugar enables the manufacturers to pay.

This cartel or trust collects about 4 cents per pound more than a fair price for sugar from the German people. The cartel, by taking advantage of the taxes and bounties, forces Germany to pay \$75,000,000 a year for sugar. Of this sum, \$25,000,000 pays the cost of producing the sugar; \$25,000,000 goes to the government, and \$25,000,000 is left in the cartel treasury and divided amongst the shrewd political sugar makers.

The cartel in Austria-Hungary, which was the model for the German cartel, extracts \$15,000,000 a year from the poor peasants for its own sweet purpose. The French trust, which is of a different nature, apparently only gets about 1.3 cents per pound or \$12,000,000 a year for itself, leaving three-fourths of the \$60,000,000 of sugar tax, collected from the people, in the government treasury. In Russia, Spain, Belgium and Italy similar trusts get smaller amounts for themselves. Holland has no import duty and is without a trust. Switzerland and England have import duties of about .9 of a cent per pound, and their condensed milk and canning and preserving industries are prosperous because sugar sells at from 2 to 3 cents per pound.

It may be remarked, incidentally, that the unprecedented immigration into the United States, during the past year, comes mainly from European countries where, because of high duties and taxes, sugar and other food products are sold at very high prices. Yet the sugar statesmen of Europe are trying to devise laws to keep their people at home!

We in the United States are now cultivating the beet-sugar leech, and its hold is already very strong. We have been easy and, apparently, willing victims of the refiners' trust which, since 1887, has managed to extort an average of about \$20,000,000 a year from us or \$280,000,000, besides the \$150,000,000 or \$200,000,000 which we have donated to our cane and beet-sugar growers in this country and in Hawaii and Porto

Rico, and the \$600,000,000 of sugar tax paid into our treasury.

According to H. O. Havemeyer, in his last "President's Annual Report," we are now contributing \$36,000,000 a year to the sugar growers, as follows:

|                         | Tons.   | Share.       |
|-------------------------|---------|--------------|
| Louisiana planters..... | 350,000 | \$12,600,000 |
| Domestic beet.....      | 150,000 | 5,400,000    |
| Hawaii.....             | 250,000 | 12,600,000   |
| Porto Rico.....         | 150,000 | 5,400,000    |

By taking the figures of Mr. Havemeyer and other refiners, Mr. W. L. Churchill, a large beet-sugar manufacturer of Michigan, shows that the refiners are making a net profit of \$100,000 a day or \$36,000,000 a year. Thus, according to their own testimony, we are contributing \$72,000,000 a year or \$5 per family to the cane and beet-sugar "infants" which are now disputing with each other as to which shall run our government and dictate the division of the spoils.

Our total sugar tax, including the import duty of 1.95 cents per pound on refined sugar and a countervailing duty of .31 of a cent on German and .81 of a cent on French sugar, all of which is utilized by the trusts, is at least 2.25 cents per pound. We consume 5,200,000,000 pounds of sugar a year. Our total sugar tax, then, is \$117,000,000, of which \$63,000,000 reached our treasury last year and \$54,000,000 was divided, partially or impartially, between our sugar statesmen-refiners and cane and beet-sugar growers and producers. Out of this \$54,000,000 the sugar trust must, of course, meet the incidental expenses of conducting the government. The remainder is all "velvet" to them.

As great as are the direct "stakes" of our political sugar interests, they are exceeded by the indirect stakes to be won or lost by the Cuban-reciprocity deal. The sugar production of Hawaii increased over 2,000 per cent. under the free admission of sugar into the markets of the United States, and sugar lands there increased in value from a few dollars to hundreds of dollars per acre. By donating \$10,000,000 or \$15,000,000 a year to Hawaiian sugar-land owners we are adding from \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000 to the value of their lands. The removal of 25 per cent. of the duty on Cuban sugar would

give about \$12,000,000 a year to the Cuban sugar-land owners—mostly Americans or other foreigners—and add \$100,000,000 to \$200,000,000 to the value of their lands. Annexation would add \$400,000,000, or more, to these values. Of course, then, Cuba would soon be supplying—as it is proper that it should—nearly all of our sugar and the value of the beet and cane sugar lands in this country—including those of Hawaii and Porto Rico would shrink quite perceptibly.

These are the great stakes being played for by our Havemeyers and Oxnards on our political chess-board, with 77,000,000 of us as pawns, and which will be continued in our next Congress and, in fact, our Congressional elections. That these are the real stakes is evident from the fact that as soon as he discovered that he was going to lose unless he could succeed in making it a drawn game, Mr. Havemeyer, according to reports, began to buy beet-sugar lands and factories.

Mankind will be doubly blessed when it succeeds in divorcing sugar and politics; when it can have the one without the other. Sugar will then be far cheaper and politics far less corrupt.

BYRON W. HOLT.

## NEWS

President Roosevelt's campaign tour (p. 376), which he resumed on the 19th, with a view to canvassing the Western States, came to a sudden end at Richmond, Ind., on the 23d, in consequence of the necessity for a surgical operation upon his leg for an abscess. The abscess was located on the left shin between the knee and the ankle, and is supposed to have resulted from one of the bruises Mr. Roosevelt received in the recent trolley accident (p. 345) in Massachusetts. His physicians at Richmond issued a bulletin prior to the operation in which they pronounced the President "entirely well otherwise;" and after the operation, which consisted, according to the medical report, in the removal of two ounces of "perfectly pure serum," the secretary to the president, Mr. Cortelyou, issued a bulletin stating that although from indications the President should make a speedy recovery, it was

deemed absolutely imperative that he remain quiet and refrain from using the leg. Accordingly all his speaking engagements were canceled and he returned at once to Washington, where he arrived in the evening of the 24th.

Mr. Roosevelt had spoken on the 20th at Cincinnati, where he argued against the possibility of curing trust evils by revising tariff schedules, and advocated as his remedy for the trust evil, publicity first, and next, a constitutional amendment giving the Federal government power over corporations doing an interstate business. He had spoken also at Detroit. This was on the 22d. The burden of his speech there was reciprocity with Cuba. At Logansport on the 23d he delivered his speech on tariff revision, which was to have been delivered at Milwaukee. In this speech he declared the need to be some machinery by which, while perpetuating the policy of a protective tariff, we shall be able to correct the irregularities and remove the incongruities that are produced by changing conditions. He proposed no particular machinery for that purpose, beyond saying that there are two or three methods and that his personal preference would be that no action should be taken except after a report from a body of experts.

The Ohio campaign for home rule and just taxation which Mayor Johnson of Cleveland and Herbert S. Bigelow, the Democratic candidate for secretary of state, are conducting has met with increasing success and is of growing interest. After the large tent meeting of the 15th at Bowling Green (p. 376), the campaigning party went to Napoleon, in Henry county, which is Democratic, and where Johnson forced the Democratic candidate for auditor, not without difficulty, to pledge himself before a meeting of 5,000 people, that if elected he would do all in his power to make the railroad valuations the same as those of the farmer and the cottager, and that he would not ride on the railroads with a pass. The next meeting was held on the 17th at Defiance, in the Democratic county of that name, where nearly as large an audience assembled, and where Mayor Johnson exacted the same promise from the Democratic candidate for auditor of that county. On the 18th the meeting was held at Paulding, a place of 2,000 inhabitants, in Paulding county, a Republican locality,

where a stormy day and night reduced the audience to 1,000. The illness of the Democratic candidate for auditor here prevented a repetition of the pledging process publicly, but the candidate privately authorized Mayor Johnson to speak for him. As elsewhere, Mayor Johnson announced that he had tried to get similar pledges from Republican candidates for auditor, and was prepared to recommend, regardless of party considerations, all who gave that promise, but they avoided him. The meeting of the 19th was held at Van Wert, in Van Wert county, which is Republican. Though the population of Van Wert is but 7,000, and the night was rainy, the tent was filled to overflowing with about 5,000 attendants. Here Mayor Johnson was unable to get the pledge of either candidate for auditor; but the Democratic candidate turned up at a subsequent meeting and pledged himself as Johnson required, after Johnson had charged at Van Wert that both candidates seemed to be in collusion with the railroads. It was at the Van Wert meeting that a question about Bryan elicited this response from Mayor Johnson:

I believe that Mr. Bryan is a man who loves liberty and who is enlisted with us in the fight against monopoly and special privileges. I was with Mr. Bryan in Congress for two years, and I learned to admire him and to believe in his sincerity. I reckon Mr. Bryan among my dearest friends. I have never been a free silver man, but I have always been a Bryan man.

At Delphos, in the Democratic county of Allen, there was an audience on the 20th of 3,500; and at St. Marys, in the Democratic county of Auglaize, where the meeting was held on the 22d, about 4,000 people attended. The meeting of the 23d was at Lima, in Allen county. This is a Democratic county, but the day was wet and in the evening it stormed, and only 3,000 were in the tent. But the meeting was especially interesting on account of the serious questions, answered as seriously, that were propounded by Republicans.

This campaigning tour is reported for the Cleveland Plain Dealer with extraordinary powers of interesting and picturesque yet faithful description, by Carl T. Robertson, who, in one of his dispatches, referring to Mayor Johnson's red automobile, says:

The "red wagon" is leaving a trail of mangled auditors along its progress

through the State. On the road ahead they are building earthworks and fortifications against its attack. The Republicans fare badly enough, but the Democrats suffer far worse, for it is the recognized leader of their own party that smites them, and they shudder at the approach of inevitable political death.

The significance of this allusion will be better understood when it is remembered (see vol. iv., pp. 83, 100, 115, 172) that it was the board of auditors that first frustrated Mayor Johnson's attempts to have railroad property valued upon the same basis as other property—60 per cent. instead of 10 or 15 per cent. of market values.

To supplement this speaking campaign a unique and instructive campaign document has been issued in quantities sufficient to place it in the hands of every voter in the State. The portrait of Bigelow, the leading candidate, surmounts two smaller portraits, one of Mayor Johnson with the words "equal taxes" and the other of Senator Hanna with the words "special privileges," these two phrases being described as "The Issue." Two or three cartoons lighten up the reading matter, which consists chiefly of a chronological statement in briefest and most intelligible form of the experience of Mayor Johnson with privileged corporations, auditors, boards of review and the courts, regarding local taxation, railway taxation, ripper litigation, 3-cent street car fares, etc. One column of statistics, grouped by counties, shows that the taxes paid by steam railroads in 1900 were \$2,149,979.83, that they should have paid \$5,933,764.61, and that therefore the ordinary taxpayers of the various counties had to make up an aggregate of \$3,783,784.78 which railroads ought to pay.

The complexities of Ohio politics are further complicated by a disagreement between the State senate and the lower house, now in special session (p. 376) for the enactment of a municipal code. On the 16th, the senate, in committee of the whole, adopted the "board plan" of government as proposed by Gov. Nash and approved by the Republican caucus; while the subcommittee of the code committee of the lower house completed what is now called the "state plan"—so-called because modeled after the Ohio state government.

The report of this subcommittee was made on the 17th to the full committee and adopted. It gives even less power to mayors than the "board plan" does, and thereby still further distributes and minimizes responsibility to the people of the municipalities. On the 3d the senate in committee of the whole inserted a clause restoring the 50-year franchise for street cars, in the interest of Senator Foraker's road in Cincinnati, which the courts have held to be unconstitutional. The Democrats and one Republican voted against this clause; the rest of the Republicans voted for and carried it. The same body by a strict party vote—the Republicans for and the Democrats against—adopted on the 24th Senator Hanna's plan regarding street franchises.

Republican politics in New York this week becomes interesting in consequence of the assembling of the State convention. It met at Saratoga on the 23d. Ex-Congressman Quigg was made temporary chairman and State Senator Ellsworth permanent chairman. After permanent organization the convention adjourned for the day. A controversy then broke out among the leaders, which, according to the Chicago Tribune (Republican), "threatened to disrupt the party in the State." Though this battle was ostensibly between Senator Platt and Gov. Odell, yet, says the Tribune, "as a matter of fact, it was a struggle between two of the greatest financial interests of America for control of New York; it was J. Pierpont Morgan against E. H. Harriman, with all the old Northern Pacific bitterness involved." It seems that Platt is a Morgan man, while Gov. Odell is a Harriman man. Platt had slated for candidate for lieutenant governor, George R. Sheldon, a New York banker of Morgan affiliations, and Odell broke the slate by refusing a renomination if Sheldon were to be his running mate. After a bitter conflict lasting all night, Sheldon agreed to withdraw, and Senator Higgins was slated in his place. Accordingly, on the 24th, Gov. Odell was renominated for governor and Mr. Higgins was nominated with him for lieutenant governor. The platform approves Roosevelt's administration and declares:

We look forward with confidence to his election to the presidency in 1904, and so far as this convention has the

power we pledge thereto the earnest efforts of the Republican party of this state.

The Michigan Democrats will be obliged to nominate another candidate in place of George H. Durand (p. 281) for governor. Mr. Durand has been seriously ill and now his physicians advise him that he would be physically incapable of performing the duties of the office of governor if elected. For this reason he resigned the nomination on the 24th.

At the Democratic convention of Montana, held at Bozeman on the 24th, Senator Clark was in complete control. The platform demands a tariff for revenue only and pledges the party of the State to "continuing loyalty to the principles of the Democratic party, as enunciated at the national convention held in Kansas City." John M. Evans was nominated for Congress.

Ex-Gov. Horace Boies opened his campaign for Congress in Speaker Henderson's district, Iowa, on the 24th, with a letter of acceptance in which he couples the tariff with the trusts, pledges himself to the principles of tariff for revenue only, and in concluding says of the trusts: "Do not understand that I would do nothing more. There is not a missile any human being could invent I would not help to use if I could drive these monsters from every inch of our soil and scatter them at once into their component parts."

Activity in Colorado in connection with the constitutional amendment for home rule in taxation (p. 376), has very greatly increased within the week, and prospects are better for a full understanding by the people of the measure at issue—the Bucklin amendment. This is due in no small degree to the hostile action of members of the Denver Real Estate Exchange, the Denver Chamber of Commerce and the Denver Commercial Club, who held a meeting on the 16th and organized the "Anti-Bucklin Amendment League," which has adopted the following motto: "The Bucklin amendment means the Single Tax, Confiscation, Confusion, Panic." It has issued a personal letter to sympathizers over the State calling upon them to organize local leagues and to prosecute the work of defeating the amendment. In re-

sponse the Australasian Tax League has sent to each member of the Chamber of Commerce and to every business man of Denver, and is circulating over the State as widely as its narrow means permit, a challenge to the hostile organization. In its challenge it shows that the New York Chamber of Commerce, the New York State Commerce Convention of 1900, the New York Board of Trade, and Transportation, the Real Estate Owners Association of New York, and the Building Trades Council—all conservative bodies—besides such conservative men of New York as Mayor Low and George Foster Peabody, support a similar but even more radical measure there. The challenge points out furthermore that the Bucklin measure is simply "the initiative and referendum applied to local taxation," that it is permissive only, and that home rule by the people is its essential principle; and this explanation is followed by an invitation to the hostile organization to debate the issue. As an offset to what it calls the "lying shibboleth of the Anti-Bucklin League," the Australasian Tax Reform Association adopts as its war cry the words, "Shall the people rule?"

Complete returns from the Maine election (p. 359) are for the first time available. The result, as compared with the presidential years of 1896 and 1900 and the "off-year" of 1898, is as follows:

|                | Rep.   | Dem.   | Rep. plu-ral-ity. | Rep. per-cent-age. |
|----------------|--------|--------|-------------------|--------------------|
| Governor, 1896 | 32,764 | 34,337 | 43,377            | .70                |
| Governor, 1898 | 54,266 | 29,497 | 24,779            | .65                |
| Governor, 1900 | 73,965 | 29,323 | 34,132            | .64                |
| Governor, 1902 | 66,094 | 39,238 | 27,368            | .63                |

The vote for Congress for 1898, 1900 and 1902 was as follows:

|                 | Rep.   | Dem.   | Rep. plu-ral-ity. | Rep. per-cent-age. |
|-----------------|--------|--------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1st Dist., 1898 | 14,598 | 9,072  | 5,526             | .61                |
| 1st Dist., 1900 | 17,883 | 10,040 | 7,763             | .64                |
| 1st Dist., 1902 | 16,227 | 11,076 | 5,151             | .60                |
| 2d Dist., 1898  | 15,149 | 8,126  | 7,023             | .65                |
| 2d Dist., 1900  | 19,216 | 11,439 | 7,776             | .63                |
| 2d Dist., 1902  | 17,365 | 11,733 | 5,622             | .60                |
| 3d Dist., 1898  | 12,364 | 6,634  | 6,220             | .66                |
| 3d Dist., 1900  | 17,067 | 10,241 | 6,816             | .62                |
| 3d Dist., 1902  | 16,651 | 7,902  | 7,749             | .61                |
| 4th Dist., 1898 | 12,480 | 5,534  | 6,946             | .69                |
| 4th Dist., 1900 | 13,223 | 8,705  | 9,508             | .68                |
| 4th Dist., 1902 | 16,253 | 7,776  | 8,477             | .61                |

It appears therefore that the Democrats made slight gains in percentage, but not enough to indicate any marked change in public sentiment. In the State senate there will be 30 Republicans and 1 Democrat, the same as before, while in the lower house there will be 129 Republicans and 22 Democrats, a Democratic

gain of 3. The Prohibition and Socialist votes were as follows:

|                           | Prohibition. | Socialist. |
|---------------------------|--------------|------------|
| President, 1896           | 1,570        | .....      |
| Governor, 1898            | 2,335        | .....      |
| Governor, 1900            | 3,638        | 622        |
| Governor, 1902            | 4,570        | 1,970      |
| Congress, 1st Dist., 1900 | 1,533        | 30         |
| Congress, 1st Dist., 1902 | 536          | 11         |
| Congress, 2d Dist., 1900  | 714          | 138        |
| Congress, 2d Dist., 1902  | 664          | 8          |
| Congress, 3d Dist., 1900  | 510          | 291        |
| Congress, 3d Dist., 1902  | 583          | 14         |
| Congress, 4th Dist., 1900 | 746          | .....      |
| Congress, 4th Dist., 1902 | 1,064        | 110        |

Within a few days disquieting reports of riot and bloodshed in the region of the anthracite coal strike (p. 376) have been published, followed immediately by accounts of the movements of State troops. The Pennsylvania 13th regiment, with headquarters at Scranton, was ordered out on the 23d, making four regiments now in the field—the 8th, 9th, 12th and 13th—besides two companies of the 4th, the governor's troop of cavalry and the Second or Philadelphia City troop. As soon as it had assembled, the 13th regiment was sent to Oliphant, whence the most serious rioting was reported, this being the place where the coal trust had determined to make an effort to resume operations. Another force was sent, also on the 23d, to Lebanon, where the American Iron and Steel Co. was attempting to break a strike. The regiment was not ordered out until the 24th, and is still quartered at its armory in Wilkes-barre.

At an open air meeting held at Madison Square, New York City, on the 20th, attended by 10,000 people and addressed by President Mitchell and Samuel Gompers a resolution regarding the coal strike was adopted, declaring that "the time has come when no individual or corporation may longer be allowed to remain in sole ownership and control of a prime necessity for the whole people," and demanding the—  
collective ownership and operation by the people of the coal mines and the railways dependent on them as the only way out of the present state of social war between a few capitalists who own all the means of production and the masses of the toiling people who use them.

The Philippine question has been reopened by the publication this week of a letter dated September 6, to the President, from the anti-imperialist committee of which Charles Francis Adams is chairman (p. 265). The letter reminds the

President of his neglect to answer the letter of July 22 from the same committee, and then refers to his slighting reference to the work of the committee in his speech of August 28th at Weirs, N. H., which it makes the occasion for submitting a specific case of wanton and officially authorized cruelty on a Catholic priest in the Philippines, accompanying the charge with details. The communication was referred by Secretary Root, on the 22d, to the judge advocate of the army, Gen. George B. Davis, with instructions to make a thorough investigation of the allegations, and if any of the offenses can be placed upon officers or men of the army to have such persons brought to trial. The dispatches explain that as some of the allegations are against volunteer officers, who under recent court decisions cannot be reached by military tribunals of the regular army, it is the intention of the Secretary to have these investigated through the department of justice, if the inquiry of Gen. Davis develops facts which will warrant a trial.

Following this first step toward placing responsibility for the cruelties in the Philippines and the suppression of the facts regarding them, upon the administration, the New England anti-imperialist committee issued on the 25th an elaborate review of the Philippine situation, written by Moorfield Storey, counsel for the committee. The point of Mr. Storey's argument is that the responsibility for the conditions in the Philippines does not rest primarily with our soldiers and officers in the islands, but with Secretary Root. The document is a blistering review of the history of army management in the Philippines from the time of the American occupation of the islands to the present. It is stated to be entirely based upon official and authentic evidence, and its statements are supported at every point by citations of the reports of commanding officers, or of unimpeached testimony given before the Senate Philippine committee. At the outset Mr. Storey calls attention to the promises repeatedly made by President Roosevelt that all cases of barbarity, or of violations of the laws of war, occurring in the Philippines should be visited with severe punishment. These promises are then viewed in the light of Secretary Root's statements on the same subject in

speeches and letters. It is charged that there is direct conflict between Mr. Root's contentions and the facts given in the reports of the commanding officers in the Philippines, which must have been known to him. It is sought to show that the secretary has made no effort whatever to carry out the promises of rigid investigation and condign punishment made by the President, but has concealed information known to him from the public. Mr. Storey then reviews the history of the various investigations and courts-martial instituted at the request of the war department, and maintains that, in every instance, such investigations were either farcical or designedly incomplete, and that the selection of the investigating officers or courts-martial boards was such as to make it impossible to secure a conviction.

Just at this time, also, come disquieting reports from New York of financial conditions. Vague rumors of possible collapse had circulated during the summer, and Mr. Wellman, the press correspondent, became authority some two or three weeks back, for a significant interview with the secretary of the treasury. Mr. Shaw intimated in this interview that the financial outlook was not hopeful, most of the reserves of Western banks being in the banks of New York, and most of these being deficient in reserves, a vast bulk of the money they control having been loaned out on "industrial" securities. In line with this uneasy interview there came word on the 23d of a jar in Wall street and the closing out of small traders, together with the urgent calling in of loans by New York banks. It appears that within the past six weeks deposits in the New York banks have decreased over \$47,000,000, that loans have been contracted over \$22,500,000, and that the reserves required by law are deficient by more than \$1,500,000. The dispatches of the 24th are more soothing in tone.

Secretary Hay has opened an international question over the domestic affairs of Roumania, which is exciting comment in the diplomatic circles of Europe. Roumania, which borders on Russia and Austria-Hungary to the south, asserted its independence of Turkey in 1877, and its independence was confirmed by Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Austria and Turkey in 1878 through

the treaty of Berlin. Recently a considerable immigration of Jews from Roumania to the United States has been noted, owing it is said to maltreatment at home; and the immigrants have been an impoverished class, owing as Mr. Hay observes, to the same cause. On the ground, therefore, that the ill-treatment and impoverishment of Jews by Roumania causes an undesirable immigration to the United States, Mr. Hay requests of the Roumanian government a reform in the treatment of those people, and asks the powers that confirmed Roumanian independence by the treaty of Berlin to intervene authoritatively. Mr. Hay's letter was followed immediately by one from the British government inviting action in the matter by the powers that signed the Berlin treaty.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The Queen of Belgium died on the 19th. She was a great-granddaughter of the famous Maria Theres, of Austria.

—Lieut. Peary, whose return was reported last week (p. 377), failed to reach the North Pole. The farthest point he got to was 84:17 north latitude, 343 miles from the pole.

—A conference of employers and employes, addressed by Carroll D. Wright, Prof. Bemis, Prof. Ely, Prof. Clarke and others, met at Minneapolis on the 22d, having been arranged for by citizens of that city.

—The death of the Emperor of Korea—Chao-Hsien—is announced by way of Paris. He came to the throne in 1864, and assumed the title of "emperor" in 1897. The heir to the throne, Eni Wha, is a man of European education and habits.

—Maj. J. W. Powell, director of the bureau of ethnology at the Smithsonian institute at Washington, and reputed to be one of the foremost geologists and anthropologists of the world, died on the 23d at his summer home in Haven, Me.

—Hobart S. Bird, editor of the San Juan News, Porto Rico, has been sentenced at San Juan to four months' imprisonment for libel. He was denied what in the United States is a constitutional right, the privilege of testifying in his own behalf.

—The Boer generals, Botha, DeWet and Delarey, have issued an appeal to the civilized world for charitable contributions to allay the distress which they say is devastating the colonies, and which, as they add, the British government refuses to further alleviate.

—Stanley Spencer, an English aeronaut, made a successful experiment



with a dirigible airship on the 19th, traveling some thirty miles over London, at an elevation of 300 feet or more, with his ship under perfect control. The propelling apparatus is in front and draws the ship instead of driving it.

PRESS OPINIONS.

SPEAKER HENDERSON'S DECLINATION.

Buffalo Enquirer (Ind.), Sept. 18.—The situation in Iowa, which forces Henderson from the lists, is nothing more nor less than a miniature of the conditions which hold over the Republican party at large the imminent threat of disintegration.

Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 18.—The truth is that Mr. Henderson has consulted administration interests rather than his own. He has sacrificed himself on the altar of Rooseveltism. Incidentally he has made himself solid with the trusts. His future will therefore be provided for in some way worthy of the high service he has done.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), Sept. 17.—The Iowa Republicans in State convention assembled builded better than they knew. By the insertion of a bit of good Democratic doctrine in their State platform they have paved the way for a Republican defeat in the Congressional elections, and in so doing they will have contributed materially to the welfare of the people.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Sept. 19.—We think this indicates a state of feeling in the West on the tariff question that the party at the East cannot or will not appreciate or understand. In Pennsylvania Republicans are enjoying a delusion that the tariff cannot be made too high, and that there is no connection between the tariff and the trusts. They do not understand the West.

Dubuque News Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 19.—It seems clear that the Speaker feels that his enemies in the party have "stacked the cards" against him, and he naturally refuses to become entangled in such a "jack pot." Speaker Henderson can well afford to abandon the present canvass, and trust to the future to show that the tariff programme of Cummins & Co. is as shallow as it is showy.

Springfield Mass. Republican (Ind.), Sept. 19.—He declines because he believes that the tariff in relation to the trusts should be let alone; while he finds among the Republicans in the district and the State "no little sentiment, and a growing sentiment," that the tariff as a shelter to trust monopoly should be removed. This, he declares, is Democratic doctrine, and he will have none of it.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), Sept. 19.—Nothing has before occurred so vividly to bring to the public a realization of how serious the split in the Republican party over the tariff question has become, or to enforce the President's recognition that the power of protected monopoly, which in the past he helped to encourage, looks very coldly upon his ambition for another term as the head officer of the nation.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Sept. 17.—Iowa can get along without Henderson better than the trusts can get along without so faithful a servant for speaker or as an ordinary member of Congress. Having made his choice, the most consistent thing for Mr. Henderson to do now would be to shake the dust of Iowa from his feet and go to New York or New Jersey where he can go into the trust business openly, and go into it right.

Albany (N. Y.) Argus (Dem.), Sept. 23.—Speaker Henderson perceived that he was between the upper and nether millstones. Re-elected he could not be, without forswearing and stultifying his own public

record and his party's, and even in that event, the result was doubtful. It would take more than protestation to rehabilitate him as a trustworthy tariff reformer, and sincere opponent of trust monopoly and greed. He, therefore, decided to cast his lot with the trusts.

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 18.—Imagine the President, on the very eve of his departure for a Western tour of uncommon magnitude and vast pretensions, receiving a message from his chief henchman in the West to the effect that the free trade sentiment is so great in a rock-ribbed Republican State that he, the said henchman, does not feel that he can be elected in that State—a State, too, in which he has been elected with almost unbroken continuity for about twenty-two years.

ROOSEVELT'S UNREADY REMEDY.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Sept. 19.—It is apparent from the comments of the press and what we gather from other sources of public opinion that the President's proposed Constitutional amendment as a trust remedy has fallen flat.

Chicago Evening News (Ind.), Sept. 22.—The argument that the big corporation must be protected in its special privilege in order that the little one may not be subjected to foreign competition seems to overlook the fact that the latter ordinarily sells at a profit only so long as the trust chooses to let it do so.

Kansas City World (Dem.), Sept. 22.—The long promised and much heralded speech of President Roosevelt on the trust question has been delivered to the country and spread on the public records. It shows careful preparation, much weeding, changing, transplanting and grafting, and is as lucid as a puddle on a moonless night.

The only plan suggested by the President, and not withdrawn in the next breath was that the Constitution should be amended to the end that the government might have more power in dealing with the evil. He does not seem to have a clear idea as to just what the amendment should be, but is confident that there should be one.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Sept. 22.—President Roosevelt's speech shows not only that he believes there is no reasonable hope of curing trust evils by the removal of tariff duties on trust made goods, and that such a remedy would be worse than the disease, because all competing business would be ruined, but that any general revision of the tariff at present would cause widespread disturbance of business interests.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 20.—President Roosevelt has studiously avoided a discussion of the tariff in its relation to industrial combinations. His programme includes no revision of the Dingley schedules in the interest of freer competition. On the contrary he recommends Mr. Bryan's futile remedy of publicity and the latter's dangerous suggestion of Federal regulation. He demands that the control of inter-State trade shall be placed in the hands of Congress and he proposes an amendment to the Constitution empowering the Federal government to usurp the functions of the State and to subject practically all industry to the national authority.

REPUBLICAN PROSPERITY.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Sept. 19.—Ten years ago bank failures and bankruptcies of all kinds and soup houses were gleefully exhibited by the Republican press as evidences of "Democratic times," and "panic" was the password to all Republican councils. To-day we witness the most adroit jugglery of words to conceal panicky conditions, and ambiguous apologies for failures of all kinds like the "heavy loss" of this Syracuse bank; but never a word in

the Republican papers about the "financial stringency" on Wall street, the meatless dinner palls and the empty hods as being conspicuous evidences of the much boasted Republican "prosperity."

TOM L. JOHNSON'S IDEAS.

Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 17.—It is stated that public libraries in various parts of the country have observed a somewhat unusual demand for "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems," "Protection or Free Trade?", "The Land Question," "A Perplexed Philosopher," "The Principles of Political Economy" and other writings of Henry George. It is suspected that the growing political power and prestige of Tom L. Johnson has something to do with this. He is known as an ardent disciple of the Prophet of San Francisco and it is understood that if he wins in the Ohio contest he will be perhaps the commanding factor in the presidential fight two years hence.

MISCELLANY

THROUGH THE TRANSOM.  
For The Public.

We plutocrats magnificent, all mighty as we've grown,  
On several occasions have had trouble of our own;  
But all into the shade are cast by what we now forebode  
When we see Tom Johnson's circus tent start out upon the road.  
The Interstate Commission of Commerce labored long,  
But could never disentangle from our rights the people's wrong.  
Their efforts really serve to guard our privilege from attack,  
But Tom Johnson with his tax list is a harder nut to crack.  
We disapprove some unions that among our men we find;  
Our taste inclines to Brotherhoods with leaders to our mind.  
But a universal tie-up now almost a blessing seems  
Compared to Johnson's circus tent which haunts our nightly dreams.  
The battle Bryan offered us was random as 'twas rash,  
And while it cost us roundly in anxiety and cash,  
It was nothing to the terrors that our inmost being strike  
When we see Tom Johnson's circus tent parading down the pike  
For O, he knows his business, and the day may not be far  
When he'll snub the locomotive up that draws our triumph car.  
Among our federal judges name us one that can invent  
A suitable injunction for Tom Johnson's circus tent!

JAY HAWKINS.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the original MS.  
Dear John: You know something about finance. What do you think of this asset currency? You see, my bankin' boys must put up government bonds to cover the currency they issue. Money's scarce, and Shaw, my treasurer, called on them for more.

It's an elastic currency I have; and when I want money I call on my national banks to issue more notes; an' the bankin' boys they put up more money for the good of the country. Well, Shaw called, and the currency didn't stretch. The bankin' boys were in the saddle, and they could make more a loanin' money when it was scarce; and they were not doin' business for their health this year. I didn't think of that when I got up this elastic plan.

But the bankin' boys made this proposition to Shaw: "Tell you what we'll do, Shaw," says they, "the law is that the currency must be secured by 'government bonds and otherwise.' Now, we've got about two billions of bonds of the Irrawaddy, Shanghai and North China Railroad company. Let us put them in the treasury as 'otherwise,' and we'll draw out and issue the notes, and if anything goes wrong the treasury can realize on the railroad. We didn't care about passing the asset currency bill before the elections; but we can do a fine asset business under that 'otherwise.' What do you say?"

An' do you know, John, that man Shaw has the treasury door half-open, thinkin' whether he won't let 'em in. I've a notion to spell him with a P—spell him Pshaw.

I have a new Irish poet. He comes in off the bog with a story, hinting that Dave

#### BLEW UP THE SHIP.

Dave Hinderson he paced the deck  
Whence all but him had fled,  
And yelled high tariff loud and long,  
High tariff though we bled.

But whin he saw that he was lone—  
The rank, and file had skipped,  
The Prisdint was tra-adin' him,  
The cabinet had flipped—

Says Dave: "They don't consider me,  
I'll show 'em how it feels,  
Hinceforth each polittician skins  
His own especial eels."

A rip, a roar, a tearing sound—  
The Pa-arty—where were they?  
Ask of the winds that all around  
With fragmints strew the say.

UNCLE SAM.

#### A TARIFF ARGUMENT.

For The Public.

My respectable fellow-passenger seemed desirous of entering into colloquy with me, so I gave him the opportunity by plying my ever-ready little interrogation mark.

"Going far?" I asked.

"All the way to Washington."

"Political business?"

"Sure! And I'm not overly good at it, I'm afraid. We've an uphill fight ahead of us, I'm thinking; but the arguments are all on our side.

The trouble is that most people are so miserably selfish—no regard for the good of the country. Looks as though patriotism is dead."

"What side are you on?"

"Me!" Why, man! I'm an undertaker. I am on my own side of course. I'm against this new bill now pending before the Congress—that cowardly measure for the Abolition of Death."

"Why cowardly?" I ventured.

"How can you ask? Just as the human family was beginning to understand the text: O grave, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? along comes this Prof. Dolthead with his scheme for abolishing death, which requires only congressional sanction to become the law of the land. What's to become of my industry if the bill becomes a law?"

My silence showed him he had scored a point, and he seemed willing to practice on me further, in preparation for the task of addressing the senatorial committee at the capitol next day.

"Think of the iniquity of it," he exclaimed. "That law would throw thousands out of employment. There are 80,000 undertakers in this country. We employ some 200,000 men. There are manufacturers of coffins and of coffin trimmings and all their hands. There are manufacturers of mourning goods, of hearses; there are hearse drivers, and carriage drivers, and tombstone makers, and lawyers who draw wills and contest 'em. Not less than seven millions of our population live on death! And all of these buy one thing and another from other people. Think of the customers they would lose, think—"

"Sounds just like a tariff argument," I ventured.

"Quite so, sir. In fact it's the same thing. In spite of the fact that the tariff is the best thing for the country, many people still hanker to buy cheap, just as the cowards want to avoid death, though millions live on death, and give employment to other millions. For the death of me, sir, I don't understand how people can be so shortsighted and so uncharitable."

"Is there a question of charity involved?" I asked.

"Well, I should say so! Look at the poor Widow Deathrate. This measure would deprive her of her means of earning a livelihood. She's doing pretty well now—runs four

hearse and twenty-one carriages. And think of the thousands who—"

"But you forget the poor people who now have to pay so much for funerals."

"Not at all, sir. If the poor would save their money instead of spending it for drink, they'd not be poor. Anyway our national legislature should not be influenced by the clamors of an unthinking populace. They should be governed only by the most lofty purposes, like Senator Gravestone, who has large interests in the coffin trust, and who is adamant against the vaporings of the agitators on the abolition side. And see the noble attitude of Senator Casquette, the chairman of the committee that has the bill in charge. His quarry supplies the most suitable marble for tombstones. He is a tower of strength on the side of Right, Justice and Patriotism."

Had I not been awakened just then I might have dreamed the remainder of the argument against the abolition of death. But I console myself that I have heard its counterpart many times in discourses on the beneficence of the blessed protective tariff.

HERMAN KUEHN.

#### OLNEY AND TOM L. JOHNSON.

A letter from William Lloyd Garrison to the Editor of the Boston Herald, published in the Herald of September 11.

Mr. Henry Loomis Nelson, whose independent and fair-minded contributions to the Herald are to many readers one of its most attractive features, recently contrasted in your columns the possible candidates for the next Democratic presidential nomination, Richard Olney and Tom L. Johnson. They are men of distinctly opposite types, perfectly representing the irrepressible conflict that divides the present Democratic organization. Clear-sighted as Mr. Loomis usually is, he fails to see the unbridgeable chasm which separates the followers of the two leaders. When the impending party alignment comes, sooner or later, it may be safely predicted that Olney and Johnson will find themselves in widely different camps.

Mr. Olney's high character and proved ability may be readily conceded, but he bears the stamp of the ante-bellum Democratic party, in which he was reared and to which his early political life was devoted. It misappropriated the title "Democratic" long after the spirit of democracy had left it and it had be-

come the special representative of oligarchy and privilege. The attempt to perpetuate and enthrone the system of slavery in the United States was made by aristocrats in the interest of oppression and monopoly. Although out of that baneful school many pupils emerged into the light of freedom and justice when the true nature of slavery revealed itself, there is no record to show that Mr. Olney was among the number.

Very different is the case of Tom L. Johnson. Born in a slaveholding state and in a family actively identified with the Confederate cause, he has emancipated himself from his early influences and stands unflinchingly for universal rights, regardless of race, sex, color or condition. A disciple and close friend of Henry George, the greatest exponent of democracy since Jefferson, he has grasped the fundamental principle upon which alone self-government can rest. Although no rhetorician, he has exceptional clearness of thought and the rare ability of brief and direct statement, scorning evasion and not afraid of a logical conclusion. To this moral and intellectual quality is added an unexcelled experience in the realm of practical affairs. He is not a closet dreamer, and declines to pose as a reformer or idealist, although in the best sense he shares the qualities of both. He understands the road he is traveling and knows that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points. His genius leads him to use political methods for the accomplishment of his ideas, and how clean his methods are may be judged from his disdain of unworthy ones. He professes no fealty to civil service reform, but shames civil service reformers by his disregard of party or machine in the choice of officials, to the dismay and chagrin of many of his own supporters. It is doubtful if he is hated as much by his Republican opponents as by the Democratic spoilsmen of Ohio.

Indeed, were it not for Republican votes, this new leader never would have gained a seat in Congress nor been elected mayor of Cleveland. In every case where he has asked the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, he has wrung Democratic majorities from Republican districts. Instead of calling together faithful partisans to listen to perfunctory speeches in his campaigns, he appeals directly to his Republican hearers. Republicans help crowd his meetings and fill his

spacious tents. He makes no set speeches, but invites interruptions, and begs for questions or controversial statements. He never dodges an inquiry nor tries to silence his questioner with sarcasm. Patiently and respectfully he endeavors to find out what is in his objector's mind, and then with unflinching good humor and courtesy does his best to explain the matter at issue as he sees it.

Should Tom Johnson be nominated for the presidency, there would be an educational campaign without a parallel. It is the writer's conviction that it is this opportunity of spreading the light, and not the bauble of the presidential office for which he is ambitious. And what a refreshing change from current campaign methods, one truly befitting democracy, where stump speakers would be obliged to face their political adversaries and run the gauntlet of searching questions!

It is natural that Tom L. Johnson should be misunderstood and distrusted by men who assume that politics must be essentially crooked. This straightforward politician confounds them. His very sincerity and frankness is held to conceal some nefarious plan and the cry of "demagogue" is raised against him. Mr. Hanna's perplexity was pathetically amusing when he conceived the idea of personally visiting the wealthy wards of Cleveland, and by a house to house appeal to persuade the inmates no longer to uphold this dangerous mayor. That a politician can be influenced by other than material considerations is undreamed of in the Hanna philosophy. It may well seem strange when a candidate for office deliberately defies the money power of the country and places his reliance on the reason and good sense of the common people. Yet that is democracy.

Mr. Nelson seems to misapprehend the single tax philosophy, of which Tom Johnson is at present the most prominent living exponent, when he intimates that "there may be some doubt as to his (Johnson's) democracy, for he favors municipal ownership of street railroads, and in other respects has drifted away from the individualism which in the coming politics of the country must be the basic principle of one of the parties." An individualist party that favored the private ownership of natural monopolies like street franchises would have a fraudulent name.

Whether municipalities assume the direct management of such industries or accomplish the same purpose through taxation, the prime object is the preservation of individual rights. No taint of state socialism attaches to such action. If any man in this country clearly understands the rights of property, those of the individual, as distinguished from those of the community, it is Tom L. Johnson. Let him who fears the specter of socialism press this point upon Mr. Johnson in his daily tent meetings. He will get not only a courteous answer but a lesson in political economy as well. He will learn that while socialism would generalize privilege, Johnsonian democracy would abolish it.

The interesting movement now attracting attention in Ohio marks an acute stage of the conflict between monopoly and self-government. It is no fight between capital and labor. Rather it is a fight in behalf of both against special privilege. Privilege has its grip upon both parties absolutely indifferent to the name, while it controls and dictates legislation. It would cheerfully be satisfied with Mr. Olney in the presidential chair. Tom Johnson would affright it, but capital and labor would have no need to tremble, for he is their champion, and represents the safest conservatism, and the only policy that can avert future industrial wars and financial disasters.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.  
Wlanno, Mass., Sept. 10, 1902.

#### WHAT WORKINGMEN SHOULD DEMAND.

\*An address delivered by Edward Osgood Brown, of Chicago, at the picnic of the Trades and Labor Assemblies of Kane County, Ill., on Labor Day, Sept. 1, 1902.

I appreciate the honor you have done me in asking me to address you. I appreciate it the more because I know you asked me from no desire to hear patriotic platitudes, or commonplace truisms about the dignity of labor and the right of organization and combination among working men.

We will all of us take the deluge for granted. There is no need anywhere to talk much of the abstract dignity of labor or indefinitely of the rights of laboring men, for in the last analysis everyone who has the intellectual capacity to think clearly and the moral rectitude to wish to do so, knows that there are no other dignities and no other rights than those of workingmen. By workingmen I do not mean alone the artisans or the

tillers of the soil, nor even those who in their daily toil have some admixture at least of manual labor, although they are of all laborers by far the most important, as they are the most numerous; but I include every man who renders service for service—the very vital and essential principle in all our social and moral life—the man who by honest work whether in the factory or the field, the workshop or the study, the office or the store, by spade or pick, knife or thread, plane, pen or brush, puts himself into the class of those whom nature alone intends should live and thrive. The rest of mankind—those who are not in this sense workingmen—must be beggars or thieves.

This was the sense in which I learned to understand the words labor and laborers, and work and workingmen, from that great man and that great teacher, Henry George. It is, I am sure, because I was known to hold to his beliefs and to try when I could to uphold and spread the ideas and ideals to which he gave his life, that I was invited here to-day at all; and I may therefore fitly say, as he would say to-day were he here, as he did say on the day before his death, as he stood before the people of New York in the political campaign which cost him his life: "Do not speak of me as on the side of the poor man, or the laborer. Do not say I stand for the rights of workingmen! I am for the rights of men!"

But while you and the people whom your associations represent are not the only workingmen, or the only men whose voices are to be heard and considered on these matters, you and your brothers in the labor unions do represent—although far and away beyond the mere confines of your Federation—that great band and mass of men whose voice under our fortunate political institutions is omnipotent in public affairs; that great band and mass in whose hands, therefore, lie the future destinies of this great country, that some of us have fondly hoped was to be the flowering of all civilization—the great example to the world that personal liberty, even-handed justice and equality of opportunity were the best assurances of advance in the arts and refinements of life, as well as in the higher domains of character and conduct.

It is to you, therefore, that most of all and most urgently, it seems to me, on occasions like this when you have the opportunity to listen to them and consider them best, there should be

said those things which seem most important as to those tendencies in our political, in our social, and in our economic life, which justify criticism if not alarm. Therefore I desire briefly to call your attention to what I deem such tendencies to-day.

After all that may be said in criticism, we are to-day the freest people of the world, and as far as we are from the ideal state (and God knows I realize how far that is!) yet we approach nearer to equality of opportunity among the people than any other country. But even to keep that which we have of good in these things, not to speak of that advance towards purer democracy, higher ideals of justice and nobler laws, our eternal vigilance is necessary; and our watchfulness and attention must center upon that which is and must be the very kernel and essence of our political and social welfare—the so-called labor problem. And what is the labor problem? Nothing else but this: How best to make wages high; how best to keep them so? I do not mean by wages, the mere nominal amount you may receive in cash each day or week. The question is, How much of other men's service that we need, can we each receive for an honest day's service of our own? How much, not only of the mere material necessities, but of the pleasures and comforts and luxuries of life as well, can we and our families obtain year by year, if we in our turn by reasonable and conscientious service for others contribute to their necessities, comforts and pleasures? "To make wages high, and to keep them so," when we use the word "wages" in this sense, means, then, that all well-deserving men shall advance together along the paths of material and moral progress, and that is the end and aim of all political and social economy.

What militates against it now and here? That which, although it may be resolved into several different forms, and expresses and develops itself in several different ways, is comprised in the one word "plutocracy"—the reign or rule of those of the very rich, who are at the same time grasping and selfish, supported by those not rich themselves, but who are the mere sycophants and parasites of those who are.

And at the outset of what I have to say about the evils in which the tendency to plutocracy has enveloped or may envelope us, I would say we should not despair in the fight against them, nor take a hopeless or disheartened view. How vastly you outnumber the very rich and their mere dependents and creatures, who would so frame and

administer the laws as to exploit your labor, and deny you the fair return for your work that they may thrive and fatten upon it, you must fully realize. In this country where each man who will, can vote, and the ballot is secret; where each can therefore help to make the laws and institutions and social customs under which and in accordance with which he must live, why, should the people who are in vast numerical majority be either misled or intimidated to their own injury? They need but to be definite in their ideas of what causes the evils of which they complain, and definite and persistent in seeking their remedy through political action, to accomplish all they can desire.

What then are definitely the evils of to-day which threaten the integrity of your wages as they now are, and which militate against the advance of those wages with the march of invention and material progress, to what they should be?

There is, first, Unequal Taxation. Our present laws for collecting the necessary expenses of the government, municipal, county, state, and national, are not worthy of a great, enlightened, progressive democracy, where the welfare of all the people is supposed to be an object of concern. They are borrowed, and developed from, and framed upon those of states and countries where the object of those who made the plan was to save the rich, powerful and idle from the necessity of contributing at all to public expenses, and to make those who toiled the hardest pay the most. They were framed so as to pluck the goose with the least squawking—so that the workingmen, who paid all the taxes, should not know how and when they paid them, but be deceived into supposing that the payment was made by those from whom they bought the necessities and simple luxuries of their life.

By this system of taxing those things from which the tax can be and is at once shifted to the price paid by the consumer—taxing, that is, houses, barns, tools, machines, groceries, clothes, all the good things which everybody must have and which must be made by wearisome labor, instead of taxing ground rents or land values belonging to the landlords and monopolists to whom society gives the privilege of monopoly without return of work or service, and from which things alone, a tax cannot be shifted—the expenses of

government are deftly extorted from those least able to pay them. They are taken from them, not in proportion to what they get from the government, not even in proportion to their consumption. Do you realize what this means? It means that, by this system of taxation, you are taxed for being married, taxed for having a child, taxed more for having more than one, taxed additionally for each new one you have, and taxed for keeping those children at home and educating them, instead of launching them too young into the world to shift for themselves; taxed for being generous, hospitable and charitable; relieved from taxation if you are miserly, penurious and hardhearted!

It has been said that the system of taxation makes little difference, so that it is administered justly and equally, because in the end labor must pay it all. This is a false and pernicious doctrine. Of course, labor in some form must pay all the expenses of the government, as it must pay everything else. There is nothing good and hardly anything bad to be had in this world except by forming it by labor. But to say that the system by which this burden is ultimately to be borne by the laborers, is of no consequence to them, is no more sensible than to say it makes no difference to a horse if he have to carry a ton weight, whether you tie it to his tail and let him drag it through the mud, pack it on his back and let him lug it that way, or put it in a cart on wheels and let him draw it so.

But even this miserable system, which no administration, however well intentioned, could make anything but oppressive to the toiler, is never and nowhere equally or justly administered.

I have no time to stop to refer you to the proofs of this. It is needless, however. You have them before you all the time. On one thing, politicians, political economists, statisticians, judges, clergymen, college professors and plain common sense men of the people seem to agree. They all unite on the declaration that the administration of our taxing laws is bad, unjust and unequal. You all know that the poor cottage of the workingman is taxed out of all proportion to the magnificent holdings of the land speculator; that his tools and his cows and his work horses and wagons, if he have them, pay the taxes which automobiles and wine cellars ought to bear.

Of all the approved devices for making the rich too rich, and keeping the poor always poor, our bad system of

taxation, badly administered, is the most powerful and efficacious. It is the most deadly weapon of plutocracy and the greatest cause of the inequalities from which have sprung those swollen and abnormal fortunes, which in their turn have given rise to that portentous phenomenon of the present day, The Industrial Trust.

Do not misunderstand me. I am far from believing that all combinations of capital and all combinations among producing and manufacturing enterprises by which undoubtedly the cost of such production to the consumer may be lessened and the processes improved, are evil things, either to the employee of the business, or to the customer for the product. But bearing in mind the truth that the whole labor problem and the whole problem of our material civilization lies in making wages high and keeping them so, and that wages in truth consist of all the things that we want that we can procure by our day's work, we can easily see how gigantic combinations like the anthracite coal trust must result in reduced wages and in retrogression, instead of progress for the workingman.

The main purpose of the coal trust is to make a necessary of life to all of you dearer. That lessens your wages, because it lessens the purchasing power of your daily pay. Another purpose is to increase the profit of its members by reducing the amount paid for labor in production—that is, the wages of the laborer. The very principle of your organization is that such an injury to one class of workmen is an injury to all. But to accomplish the results for which they aim, the men who control these combinations must have, and they procure, all sorts of legislatively and judicially-made special privilege. They buttress themselves with it and entrench themselves behind it. They buy the enactment of tariff laws which shut out foreign competition with the trust-made product; they secure from bribed legislators and courts corrupted, not by money, but by love of power, laws and decrees which give them the monopoly of means of transportation; which suspend in their favor, laws against immigration enforced against others; and they employ against labor and against laborers who but demand their rights, two most formidable weapons, one new and the other old, the new-fangled device of Government by Injunction, and the old resort of tyrants of every name, Military Organization and the Military Spirit.

It is not the old writ of injunction in

itself, which is the subject of my criticism, or of that of workingmen anywhere, however much sophistical lawyers and judges would like so to make it appear. It is a use of it which if not entirely new was so unusual in times past as never to have excited the necessity of comment and criticism until it began to be made in labor troubles by the great combinations and monopolies to prohibit in terms always vague and general, acts which either amount to a crime, and should therefore be subject to indictment and to trial before a jury of one's peers, or acts which are legal and innocent, and should neither be interfered with nor punished. The object is always the same. It is to break by intimidation the power of the workingman to combine, and his influence in combination. By making the terms of the injunction purposely vague, and the trial of its violation summary—before a judge without right of appeal instead of before a jury likely to sympathize with the accused—the trial by one's country for alleged crime is abolished. The cause of the whole system is the feeling of hostility to trial by jury which the privileged and powerful have always felt. The remedy is in your own hands.

But to sustain their fight for unjust privilege and the exploitation of labor, to aid themselves not only against the workingmen at home, but against the native toilers of countries across the sea, these men, are busy in encouraging the military spirit; in prating loudly of the "Honor of the Army;" in demanding greater navies and greater arrays of soldiers; in fostering the spirit of war under all sorts of fallacious names; in educating in the school-room and in the playground, your children and mine to love the gaudy trappings of parade, and the discipline which makes men unthinking machines.

For what is this spirit used? To encourage ten thousand miles away attempts—for the benefit of a few seekers for government monopolies and privileges, for public franchises in other words—to subjugate a whole foreign population striving for liberty; and at home to intimidate and overawe workingmen wherever their numbers in combination make them formidable to the pecuniary interests of these grasping, greedy plutocrats.

It cannot be that you do not realize this. It cannot be that you have forgotten the lessons which every great strike of the last twenty years

should have taught you, of the dangers in military interference. You must remember Pittsburg and Chicago and the Coeur D'Alene! But above all you must all know—some of you doubtless from personal experience—how the bitterest evils from which the workingmen suffer in the older countries in Europe, spring from militarism. Each workman there, it has well been said, carries a soldier on his back.

Let no workingman in this country be misled, as too many of his brethren in France have been, to deem it the part of patriotism to echo silly cries about the dignity and honor of the army! The truth is that the dignity and honor of the army is the so-called dignity of an economically idle and useless class. It is not that kind of dignity which belongs to the toiler in the arts of peace. The soldier among us too often lives in an unreal atmosphere, where everything that is really useful and honorable seems cheap and insignificant compared with his own trade of war—a sad inversion of the truth. He is puffed up with an utterly unjustifiable sense of his own importance in the scale of things, and the higher he gets in rank the more absurd and arrogant and offensive his pretensions become.

God forbid that I should undervalue courage and fidelity to duty! But these gentlemen of the army and navy are strangely at fault in apparently thinking that they have almost a monopoly of them, whereas in truth they are in them far behind the more honorable and useful people who practice the arts of peace. I prefer to the courage of the soldier on the battlefield, the courage of workingmen risking their lives for one another in the simple discharge of their every-day duties in hazardous employments, of the engineer faithful at his post in the face of imminent death, of the physician and the priest in the plague-stricken city, of the fireman amid a thousand dangers imperiling his life to save our property. These men, with none of the circumstance and false glory of war about them, are to my mind nobler and more honorable than the epauletted heroes for whom our admiration is sought. An army can be at the best but a necessary evil. I believe it to be to-day an unnecessary evil. I would be glad to see that old jealousy of a standing army which distinguished the earlier days of the republic, revived with a thousandfold intensity. It

makes me fairly shudder to think how cheerfully the workingmen of this free country pay taxes to support an aristocratic, nonproducing class, whose trade is slaughter!

Let me sum up briefly. Against freedom and equality of opportunity, against high wages and the consequent prosperity of the workingmen—these things militate:

First, unjust and unequal taxation, which breeds a plutocracy! Then, harmful combinations to destroy free competition and individual opportunity, which that plutocracy once established encourages and sustains by bestowing upon them special privileges and franchises. Then comes the wresting for the behoof of that plutocracy of old legal remedies and procedure, to new methods of repressing the individual liberty of the workingman. And lastly and most insidious, if not most dangerous of all, militarism, which not only at the best of times increases the burdens, already too heavy, of the industrious worker, but may be turned most dangerously and suddenly at any moment into a weapon which the workingmen cannot successfully resist.

Do not forget that it is still true that in America the people rule, and that you here to-day are fairly representative of the people of America who can successfully resist all these tendencies. But it will not do to sleep on your power, nor to hesitate and compromise when you have recognized the proper channels in which to use it. By united effort and efficient organization you are able to wield an influence which experience has shown no political party or body and no legislature or executive can withstand. Demand, then, and demand in precise terms and irrespectively of all partisan politics, that unjust and unequal taxation be destroyed, and an equitable system established in its place. On study of this subject you will, I believe, come to see that the system which Henry George so clearly expounded is the only scientific and workable one. I am not here to-day to explain it to you, but I pray you to interest yourselves in it. Look into the whole subject of taxation more seriously and thoroughly—each one of you—than you have hitherto done. Recognize its tremendous importance to your fortunes, and see to it that the people you place in legislative and administrative positions recognize it too.

As to the trusts, determine that at least they shall not be buttressed and

made omnipotent by special privilege in the shape of tariff duties! Should you demand from your representative in Congress—should your fellows in almost any District in the United States demand of theirs—that trust made or trust controlled articles should be put on the free list, which is a simple, definite proposition, you would find but few congressmen who would dare refuse to obey the instruction. On that day the worst and most dangerous power of the trust would be over.

As to government by injunction, it is of no use to spend your time in denouncing individual judges. As long as courts exist, you may be sure there will be judges improperly influenced by wealth and social position, and led astray by the love of power. But you need not fear this new tool of privilege, if you but insist on legislation from congress and state legislatures—(Remember, you make congressmen and legislators)—which shall provide for trial by jury of all contempts which are violations of injunctions.

And, finally, fight with all your might the spirit of militarism. Hold fast to the good old doctrine that a standing army is a menace to a free people; that the occupation of the farmer, the carpenter, the smith, the machinist, the shoemaker, the tailor and the watchmaker, are all more honorable than that of the professional soldier; that industry and simplicity and honesty of life rank far above the bombast of military glory!

Thus will you tend to fulfill in the end, the grand ideal of the Federation of Labor: the expansion of organized industry into the dream of the poet—The Parliament of Man, The Federation of The World!

The patience of fishermen who really love the sport is the theme of many stories. One is told by a man who, traveling on foot through part of England, came upon a solitary fisherman, who looked as if time and the world might pass away without disturbing his content.

"Have you fished long in this stream?" asked the traveler.

"Eighteen year," was the calm response.

"Get many bites?" was the next question.

The fisherman scarcely turned his gaze from the rod in his hands.

"Five year ago in this very spot I had a fine bite," he answered, hopefully.—Youth's Companion.

FIGURING IT ALL UP.

The Captain strode the quarterdeck;  
The crews were at the guns;  
The powder flames leaped fiercely out,  
Like as the lightning runs.  
Afar the fortress rose, all grim,  
And bellowed in reply,  
Till smoke and fire and thundersound  
Shook both the sea and sky.  
And the Captain took  
His little book,  
And figured away, while his fingers shook:  
"2 into 10 goes 16 times,  
And the square of 12 is 4;  
79 is the cube of 6,  
And my deck is wet with gore.  
53 is the G. C. D.,  
And 7 plus 2 is 5—  
And my ship is shot to a battered hulk,  
And I haven't a man alive!"

The other Captain, in the fort,  
Stood sadly on parade;  
The gatlings, siege, and other guns  
A fearsome racket made.  
They boomed across the troubled waves,  
Against the swooping ships,  
And as their echoes thrilled the air  
The Captain bit his lips.  
And he also took  
His little book,  
And figured it out with a worried look:  
"6 per cent. of a dozen men,  
And the sine of 18 more,  
All bisected by 25,  
And the arc of 34;  
3 plus 8, to the decimal,  
And the tare and tret," he said,  
Combined with the subdivided sum,  
Shows all my men are dead."

Thus each side lost and each side won,  
And each side fought the fray,  
And now they're figuring upon  
The powder bills to pay.  
Grim war is awful, at its best,  
But who will lose or lick  
If he relies entirely on  
The old arithmetic?  
—Baltimore American.

The nation's indignation culminated in the banishment of the princes of the blood.

"Their royal highnesses are not earning their salaries," said the arrogant proletariat.

Retribution was swift and terrible. It was only a few months until the occasion arose, in the natural course of business, for the cementing of some bonds of amity with the United States of America.

The nation sent over a mere statesman.

Of course the captains of industry could not see this person. He had to pay his own bill at the Waldorf-Astoria. The administration at Washington received him as coldly as if he had been the lieutenant general commanding the army. The plain people remarked lightly on the crust of him and passed on, while the great metropolitan newspapers interviewed him only on the days when there were no

murders and rain stopped the ball games.

Naturally no bonds to speak of were cemented.—Puck.

The hot-headed, to say nothing of those whose heads are cool but copery, will naturally seize on the incident, related by Admiral Dewey in his testimony to the senate committee, of the Filipino patriot who did not accompany our fleet from Hong-Kong to Manila because he couldn't take his tooth brush along.

Of course a people are not necessarily ripe for autonomy just because they do not go on journeys without their tooth brushes. There are different types of uncivilization. There are, notably, two types: the candid uncivilization, such as the British encountered in South Africa, where the Boers frankly slept in their uniforms, not even the field officers having nighties; and the disingenuous, subtle uncivilization, such as we have to deal with in the Philippines, where the exterior aspect of culture is largely affected.

But will the masses see this?—Life.

John Smith No. 1 stole one chicken. He was sent to jail for 30 days. While there he reformed and became another man. He became John Smith No. 2. John Smith No. 2 organized a chicken trust, took 2,000,000 chickens as his fee for organizing it and sold the chickens when the market was at its highest. Thus he was enabled to endow the jail with a library.—Judge.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT.

The 1611 translation of the New Testament will of course be reckoned a possession and treasure for all time. The main cause of its supreme excellence is that it rendered the Greek original into the plain, unaffected language of the people of its day. Hence its freshness, its vividness, its splendid simplicity.

This Twentieth Century New Testament has succeeded admirably in doing the same with the common English of to-day. People who have become so familiar with the old translation that they can hardly think of the New Testament in any other phraseology will sometimes be shocked by the new words. But this is just what some of us need. Slavishness to mere words and expression is one of the worst forms of idolatry. Those who may oppose the new translation can offer no argument save the break of old association and the bare modernness which at first shocks the ear. But this modernness is the very strength of the new translation. What the translators—whose names are not given—have done is simply this: to put the original into the every-day language that people talk nowadays on the street, and they have done this in a conservative way. Take, for example, the following expression from Luke xiv,

33: "Every one of you who does not say good-by to all he has—he cannot be a disciple of mine." Some will be shocked at the expression "say good-by;" and yet how vivid it is, and how familiar—just the kind of English that was used in the authorized version in its day. And notice that the old word "disciple" is retained, because there is no word which fits better and is more familiar.

That there is need of a new version is sufficiently evident from the following paragraph in the preface:

"Since the publication of the Authorized Version of 1611, more than 1,500 manuscripts of the New Testament have been discovered or become accessible, and among them are the three oldest and most important."

The present translators deserve the thanks of the whole English-speaking world; because they have taken the very best original text, according to latest discoveries, the text of Westcott and Hort, and have put it into modern idiomatic English. The work has been done silently and modestly, and the translators invite criticisms and suggestion before publication in final form. The present edition has been made in three parts at 50 cents each, the American publishers being the F. H. Revell company. Part I contains the Gospels and Acts. Part II consists of Paul's letters to the churches. Part III contains the other epistles and the book of Revelation.

In this brief notice we have had in mind principally the matter of language; but the question of text and correct reading is perhaps of even greater importance in certain passages. There is, to take a single example, a notable instance of a correction in the interest of truth in the famous passage about the rich young man as told in Mark. Two verses, Mark x, 23, 24, of the authorized version, read as follows:

"And Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the Kingdom of God! And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answered them again, and saith unto them, Children, how hard is it for them that trust in riches to enter into the Kingdom of God."

In the new translation these verses are given thus:

"Then Jesus looked round, and said to His disciples: How hard it will be for moneyed men to enter the Kingdom of God! The disciples were amazed at these words of his. But Jesus repeated the statement. My children, he said, how hard a thing it is to enter the Kingdom of God."

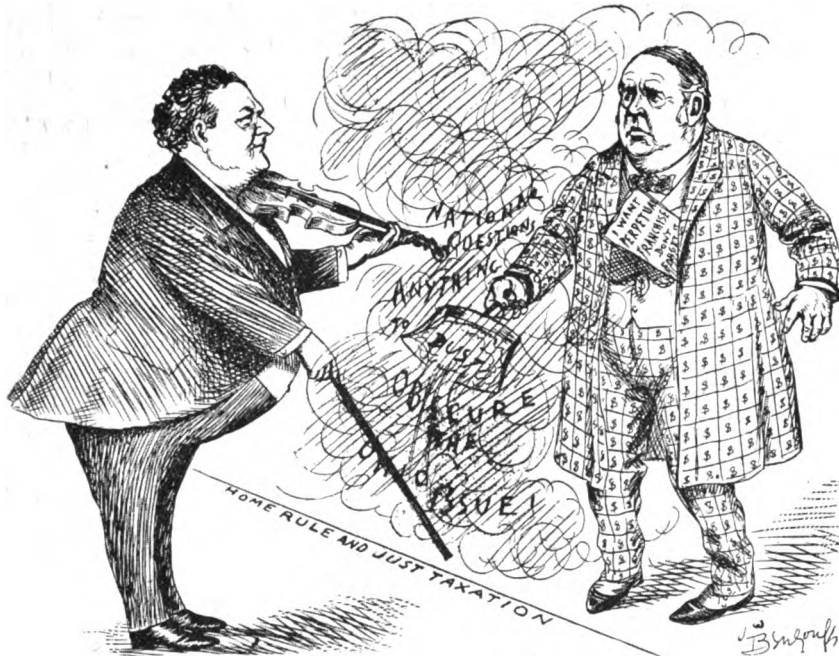
The apparent substitution which Jesus is said to have made, according to the old version, namely, "trust in riches" for "have riches," has no good authority, and is evidently what scholars call a gloss, that is, a marginal annotation on some manuscript, which gradually got incorporated into the body of the text. The amount of false service which this single false read-

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**TOE THE MARK, HANNA !**

Come, Mark, you've got to toe the scratch and dance to the music of justice this time.

ing has been made to do, ought to be a lesson to any who put their trust in literalism, and should make them open-minded to receive the work of progressive scholarship. J. H. DILLARD.

**PERIODICALS.**

—Miss Vida D. Scudder has an article in the September Atlantic Monthly on the "Need for Socialization." The article shows a fine spirit, worthy of the gifted author, but its weak point may be seen in a single sentence. "Before democracy can do its perfect work," says Miss Scudder, "men must be in democratic relations to one another, not only politically, not only professionally, but socially." If she had written "economically" in place of "socially," she would have hit the nail on the head, and might have driven the social argument home with more effect. But so long as equal economic rights are neglected, so long as special economic privileges are allowed to be held by any members of a democracy to the injury of other members, it is idle to expect fine-spirited social relations between them. We cannot jump over justice into a social paradise.—J. H. D.

—The New York Outlook and Churchman both end comments on the St. Louis bribery disclosures with the same sentiment. The Outlook says: "The conviction and imprisonment of one wealthy bribe-giver, or responsible officer of a bribe-giving corporation, would be a public service of national importance, and of far greater consequence even than the conviction of any number of bribed officials." The Churchman concludes: "No deep-seated improvement in American city government is likely until the criminal law is amended so as to make the offer of a bribe to a public official by an agent of a corporation implicate his real principals, the directors. Corporation directors seeking profits are the real corrupting agency in American city life." That both papers are right in placing the emphasis of crime on the bribe-giving corporations, there is no doubt; but it must be doubted whether the occasional conviction even of the great bribe-givers will cause any "deep-seated improvement," so long as the possibility of getting monopolistic franchises and other special privileges continues.—J. H. D.

—Wanamaker's Everybody's Magazine for September is a strikingly good number. There are half a dozen articles in it which are well worth reading. Mr. Frank Norris's Life in the Mining Region, from its timeliness, will likely be turned to first. It

is somewhat disappointing, either because his view strikes one as hurried, or because much is expected of the author of the Octopus. But there will be no disappointment in two of the articles, both of which are as instructive as they are interesting. The first should be read at one sitting: The Woman That Tolls and the Unemployed Rich. The first gives the experience of a working-girl in a Pittsburg pickle factory; the second describes a day in the life of a New York lady of fashion. When one gets through the reading of them, it is a puzzle to decide which is more to be pitied, the pickling girl or Madame Butterfly. "Think of us," says the first writer, "as we herd to our work in the winter dawn; think of us as we bend over our task all the daylight without rest; think of us at the end of the day as we resume our suffering and anxiety in homes of squalor and ugliness; think of us as we make our wretched try for merriment." "Poor little lady," says the second writer. "There are a great many things she is debarred from the fun of—wanting things, contriving things, going without things until their final possession becomes a real joy. All she can do is to spend money, and she has not even learned to do that in the way that will give her and others any lasting pleasure." It should be said that these two quotations give little idea of the style of the articles, both of which are full of interesting detail. J. H. D.

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