

The Public

Fifth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, APRIL 4, 1903.

Number 261.

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

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

Before the lapse of another week three important municipal elections will have been held. They are important, not locally alone but generally, because they turn upon civic issues of universal concern. One is to come off in Toledo, one in Chicago, and the third in Cleveland.

In the Toledo election no problem in particular is at stake. It involves rather the endorsement of a local administration which for more than five years has identified itself effectively with the policy of honest and truly democratic municipal government. The defeat of Mayor Jones would be a public calamity. It would mean that the high ideals for which he stands are repudiated by his fellow citizens, and that political "bosses" and party spoilsmen are really preferred to a non-partisan administration.

Mayor Jones is a candidate upon petition. Either political party would have been glad to nominate him had he consented to join the party organization. His prestige is not to be despised even by party "bosses." They know that with him as its candidate the lucky party would sail into power with colors flying. But since his first election Mayor Jones has steadfastly refused to be a party candidate. He describes himself as "a man without a party," and simply offers his name to voters who want a non-partisan city government.

Here is an opportunity for those citizens of Toledo, and doubtless there are many, who profess to object

to partisanship in local elections. Not only does Mayor Jones meet the very extreme of their requirements in this particular, but he is also a candidate whose ability and fidelity have been proved by three successive terms at the head of the Toledo government. The people of Toledo are in the balances at this municipal election of theirs, and it remains to be seen whether or not they will be found wanting.

The Cleveland election is doubly important. Not alone does it involve local issues of general concern, but the leaders in the contest are political antagonists of national prominence—Marcus A. Hanna and Tom L. Johnson. To Mr. Hanna the struggle is of supreme importance. His political prestige is at stake, and with it his large investments in the watered stock of Cleveland street car corporations, his "savings bank," as he calls it.

The franchises of Mr. Hanna's corporations are about to expire. Unless renewed the water in their stock, amounting to millions of dollars, will soon be valueless. Mr. Hanna is urgent, therefore, to secure renewals of franchises at the old five cent rate of fare; though Johnson has pressed him so hard that he is now reluctantly willing to concede seven tickets for a quarter, provided cash fares are fixed at five cents. But Mayor Johnson has always been opposed to the ticket subterfuge; and, knowing from experience that 3-cent cash fares would be profitable, he insists upon establishing 3-cent fares throughout the city. Moreover, he demands that reservations be made in favor of municipal ownership, so that the city can adopt this traction policy as soon as the Ohio legislature grants it the power.

In furtherance of these views Mayor Johnson has for two years tried to introduce the 3-cent fare system. He secured the necessary ordinance, and found the capitalists, who actually began constructing a new road under a franchise pledging municipal ownership ultimately and 3-cent fares meanwhile. But Mr. Hanna was able to bring corporation judges and "boss"-ridden legislators to his aid, and with their assistance he has thus far balked Mayor Johnson's efforts, though to do so his judges were driven to the length of "ripping" every city in Ohio, and his legislators to making a new municipal charter system under which established street car corporations are given peculiar protection.

This "ripping" was sought partly to save Mr. Hanna's watered stock from the depressing effects of a competing 3-cent fare street car system, and partly to save it from taxation. For Mayor Johnson had undertaken to tax the local monopolies on the same basis that homes and general business are taxed. The ordinary rate of valuation in Cleveland is 60 per cent of true value, but the public monopolies were taxed at valuations varying from only 15 per cent down. Mayor Johnson caused the latter valuations to be raised, with the effect of vastly reducing the general tax rate. But judges and courts and legislature, bossed by Mr. Hanna, were brought to the rescue, and nearly all the increased taxes upon local monopolies which Mayor Johnson had secured, were remitted.

Mr. Hanna is now at the end of his tether. Unless he can defeat Johnson at the coming municipal election, he will have to submit to three cent fares, he will have to face the probability of early municipal ownership of street car lines, his monopoly in-

terests will have to pay the same proportion of taxation that small home owners pay, and he will at the same time be discredited in his own party as a leader. Hence the desperation with which he contests this election. He has forced upon his party for its mayoral candidate one of his own corporation lawyers, a man whose business firm finally secured the "ripping" of the Ohio cities to protect Mr. Hanna's street car interests; and to promote this man's election the street car combines of the whole country have been assessed for a campaign fund, which is being poured out in Cleveland to defeat Johnson. Some of it is spent among certain classes of labor leaders, to secure their "influence" with "the labor vote." Some of it is used to stimulate the hostility of former city employes who have been displaced by Johnson's adoption of the merit system of civil service. The rest of it might not be so easy to trace.

In this election it is the people of Cleveland who are on trial. They know that the Republican candidate is one of Mr. Hanna's business representatives. They know that the issue is Mr. Hanna's private interests versus the interests of the city. They know that low street car fares at once and municipal ownership at an early day will come with Johnson's reelection, but be indefinitely postponed with his defeat. They know that equality in taxation would be promoted by him if elected, but would be frustrated in the interest of monopoly corporations in the event of his not being elected. They know that Mayor Johnson has given the city of Cleveland its first taste of good administration. They know that he has kept the streets clean, that he has put the water works under the merit system of civil service, that he has prevented enormous land grabbing, and that in all other respects he has managed the affairs of the city as a sacred trust. Partisanship wholly aside, Cleveland has never had so satisfactory a mayor. The

people of Cleveland know, furthermore, that all the corporate interests in both parties and all the political rings in both parties, are working together like beavers to defeat him.

Chicago is passing through a political crisis which, while similar in some respects to that of Cleveland, is different in others. The people here are without a leader such as Cleveland has developed in Tom L. Johnson; but here, as there, the traction question is the burning one. As in Cleveland, so in Chicago, franchises are about to expire, and the popular demand for public ownership is insistent.

A labor party, with Daniel L. Cruice as its candidate for mayor, stands squarely for that policy; but there are no indications that it can bring forward even a small fraction of the vote that sympathizes with it. It is an honest movement, however, with an able and sincere man at the head of it. Attempts to charge Mr. Cruice with being in the field to help the Republican candidate are without justification. He is not a man of that character, for one thing; for another, the votes he gets will probably be at the expense more of the Republican than of the Democratic candidate.

The Republican candidate, Graeme Stewart, was supported at the primaries by "Boss" Lorimer, who secured his nomination over John M. Harlan, the anti-"boss" contestant. Mr. Stewart's nomination was distinctly a Lorimer triumph within the Republican party, and his election would doubtless place Lorimer in full control of the Republican organization of the State of Illinois. What this would mean with reference to the traction question in Chicago is obvious.

Mr. Stewart does declare for municipal ownership, and against the fraudulent 99-year franchise act which the traction companies are using as a club to drive the city into

assenting to a further extension of franchises. But he gives no real assurance that he will fight "vested interests" or defy the orders of his party "boss," either to get municipal ownership or to get rid of the 99-year act. On the contrary, his emphasis is placed upon the importance of settling the traction question at once so as to have better accommodations. This has all the significance of a proposal to surrender to the traction companies. They are in no hurry to lay the foundation for municipal ownership. They are in no hurry to abandon the 99-year franchise. And if the city gets in a hurry for better accommodations the traction question will be settled as it was 20 years ago (when the city was before in a hurry), by postponing its settlement for another 20 years and damming in the watered stock by new franchises meanwhile.

That is what Mr. Stewart's election would mean. Not only is he Lorimer's candidate, but he is supported by all the leading beneficiaries and manipulators of the traction interests, including, along with "Boss" Lorimer (the Republican leader), the nominal head of the Illinois Democracy, John P. Hopkins, and the principal Democratic investor in monopolies, John R. Walsh, whose paper, the Chronicle, supposed to be Democratic, is also supporting Stewart. These interests are not behind Mr. Stewart merely for exercise. They know what they want, and they may be presumed to know where to get it.

On the other hand, we have Mayor Harrison as the Democratic candidate for reelection. He is not an ideal candidate. But he is the only alternative to Stewart; and far short as he falls of being an ideal candidate in such a crisis as now confronts Chicago, he is clearly preferable, both with reference to the policy he is pledged to pursue, a policy from which he cannot escape, and to the kind of support he is receiving. The traction interests are doing all they

can to defeat him; while the municipal ownership interests, those that believe in municipal ownership and not merely make believe to believe in it, are for the most part supporting him.

Mayor Harrison is pledged to two things, upon which he has made his emphasis so strong that there is no mistaking the significance of his declarations. One of these is that there shall be no extension of traction franchises until all claims under the 99-year act are abandoned. This condition is of the utmost importance. An extension of franchises before those claims are abandoned would postpone the whole question, leaving the traction companies in full possession of the club they are wielding now. The other thing to which Harrison is pledged is that there shall be no extension of franchises until the legislature has passed an enabling act empowering the city of Chicago to adopt municipal ownership. Mr. Stewart's pledge to the same effect can count for little. He is vague, while Harrison has committed himself to a definite and acceptable plan. In addition, Mr. Stewart's own party is in control of the legislature and could pass a proper enabling act at once if it intended to do so. The fact that it has hung up the whole matter until after the Chicago election is sufficient evidence that the pledge of the Republican candidate is nothing but a "good enough Morgan" till after election. Nor does Mr. Stewart's eleventh hour appeal to his party in control of the legislature to legislate in some way for municipal ownership before election, help the matter. It only advertises his own weakness and draws attention to his vacillation and to the fact that his pledges are nothing but campaign talk.

The single tax vote in the House of Commons on the 27th is an encouraging tribute to the excellent work that has been done by British single tax men to popularize their cause. They have wasted no energy in try-

ing to establish impossible side parties; they have waged no fights for classes or against classes; they have not made the welkin ring with empty boastings of the all-absorbing progress of their movement. But by working patiently with the Liberal party, and appealing to the sense of justice common to all classes instead of invoking class hatreds, they have one by one secured the favor of hundreds of municipalities toward their policy, and this in turn has secured them the organized support of the Liberal party in parliament for their primary legislative measure—the right of municipalities to adopt land values taxation. Though their measure was not carried, it drew so many of the ministerial party over to the Liberal side that in a House overwhelmingly Conservative its defeat was effected by only 13 majority. The important fact, however, is that the Liberal members of parliament have now by their action on the measure committed their party to it as part of its programme. When that party comes into power, as it is likely to do at the next general election, it will be obliged to secure for this single tax measure the sanction of parliament.

The growing popularity of the single tax idea of home rule in taxation and of the taxation of land values, is not confined to Great Britain. A committee of the Bar association of New York recommends the local option feature; and the Tax Commission of the same State has, in its annual report recently made, rather crudely, yet unmistakably, suggested the advisability of land values taxation. Protesting against what it aptly calls fining men for improving their real estate, the report of this commission goes on to say:

Under our existing law the assessors cannot be fairly criticised, but it is prejudicial to the State, to communities and to civic and individual progress and pride that improvement and advancement should be discouraged by fines. Could unimproved houses and vacant lands be the heavier assessed, sale of material and employment of labor would increase, handsomer com-

munities would materialize, and the State take a long stride forward.

And the Boston Post makes an unqualified defense of the single tax idea, simply as a fiscal reform. After commenting editorially upon the inequitable results of attempts at personal property taxation as disclosed by the personal tax scandals of New York, the Post of the 27th closes with these words:

Could there be any more forcible illustration of the advantage of a system which levies taxes on property which cannot be concealed or sworn off or lied about in any way? The assessment of taxes on the basis of ground rent would put an end at once to the shameful evasion of responsibility of which we have such a vivid example in New York to-day.

There is something queer about the action of the Federal judge at St. Louis in connection with the injunction against the Wabash strikers. Judge Adams now holds, after hearing both sides that the officers of the labor organization affected by the injunction did not purpose to order the contemplated strike officiously, but that they were about to order it as the result of a vote of the employes, acting without coercion and directly authorizing it. For this reason the injunction is dissolved. It would not have been granted in the first place, such is the implication, if the judge had not been made to believe that the truth was the reverse of this. Yet the fact which Judge Adams now learns was notorious at the time he granted the injunction. He himself must have known it. Everybody else did.

The railroad officials who swore to what Judge Adams now decides to have been false must have known its falsity. Yet they were able to swear hard enough to its truth to mislead him into granting an absurd injunction not only improvidently, but with extreme haste. If the Federal statutes against perjury are of any value, here is an opportunity to prove it. Judge Adams himself should be indignant enough at the fraud that

has been perpetrated upon his court to lay the matter before the grand jury, with a judicial suggestion that perjury indictments against certain railroad officials would be in order under the law.

ANNIVERSARY REFLECTIONS.

By way of celebrating the close of its fifth year, which occurs with the present issue, *The Public* may perhaps be permitted the unusual indulgence of saying something about itself.

It has no intention of boasting of its future. Having had the benefit of a great deal of experience, both of its own and of that second hand kind which comes much cheaper yet is quite as useful when assimilated, it realizes that the future is no man's oyster. Perhaps a vague superstition also affects it. It has learned that the sixth year (there or thereabouts) of a paper that survives its first, is a dangerous and not infrequently a fatal period.

Neither will *The Public* boast of its past. It leaves its completed record, as all along it has left its record in the making, to speak for it.

But there are things about *The Public* and in its experience which may be worth the telling; and although this will necessitate some talk about itself, by itself, that may perhaps be excused on the score of an anniversary retrospect.

When *The Public* was projected, now five full years ago, it was designed to be what its management has tried to make it, a radical democratic review.

Inasmuch, however, as radical democracy was at that time absorbed in economic discussion, *The Public* aimed to be for the most part, if not exclusively, an economic publication. But at once it was confronted with the problem of the Cuban war, which for the moment threw economic subjects into the background. As a review of public affairs *The Public* was consequently obliged to subordinate economic to military subjects.

The cry of "Remember the Maine," it held in contempt, as it did and does hold every other shibboleth of the hateful types of patriotism. It realized, too, that cunning men would play upon war passions to serve selfish

ends by carrying the results of the war beyond the original purpose. Yet it saw no other reason for not approving the war than the Quaker doctrine of absolute non-resistance, in which it did not and does not believe. Nor are we able to see at this time any other reason, upon the basis of the facts that were then publicly known. It is only in the light of recently disclosed diplomatic correspondence, showing that although the legitimate objects of the war could have been secured by our minister to Spain he was forbidden by his superiors to negotiate for peace and commanded to plot for war, that we are able to denounce the war from its inception.

When this war began it was believed very generally that economic problems had been relegated to the rear permanently in the popular mind. In that belief *The Public* did not share. It held that the time had gone by when public sentiment could be long diverted by martial excitement from the spectacle of impoverished industry in the midst of luxurious leisure. And that is demonstrated now to have been true. Instead of silencing economic discussion, the war has intensified it; while the elemental issues growing out of the war have pressed all public questions closer down to the primary tests of human rights and public duties.

The course of *The Public* with reference to the Cuban war, and subsequent related issues, drew out lesson after lesson in the domain of independent journalism.

In consequence of its approval of the war some absolute peace men who had become subscribers because they agreed with its economic views, peremptorily stopped it. A little later, when the war for the independence of Cuba had degenerated into one for the subjugation of the Philippines, and *The Public* had taken the only course that a democratic review consistently could take, others of its subscribers dropped it because of its "treason" in denouncing the Philippine conquest. But this defection was quickly offset by democrats who hungered for a paper so truly democratic that it dared criticize even its own government for entering upon a war of subjugation.

Some of those democrats were Britons, and some of these, alas, were more patriotic than democratic. The British government having set about

making a conquest of the two little Dutch republics of South Africa, *The Public* applied the same democratic principles to Great Britain that it had applied to the United States, and suffered in consequence for its pro-Boer policy a loss of some of the friends whom it had made by its pro-Philippine policy. But this also was in turn more than made up by the friends it gained among Hollanders and sympathizing Americans. Yes, and Britons, too.

So it has gone throughout the whole list of the problems which *The Public* has been obliged to subject to the test of democratic principles. Its experience with the race question has been similar. So has its experience with the question of free press and free speech, of suffrage and of civil rights in general. Even in the economic field it has gained and lost friends who regard themselves as democratic, because on some specific question or other *The Public's* democracy does not lead it to their particular conclusions. But in all instances of this kind it has invariably gained more than it has lost.

The first lesson of all this seems to be that many who think they want an independent democratic paper—one that is really and truly such at all times and under all circumstances—really want something else. What they in fact desire is a paper that teaches exactly as they believe—not upon principle alone but upon particular points, and not upon one point but upon all.

This is natural. None of us like to believe in the independence of a paper whose independence does not lead it to our way of thinking in all respects. We are apt to prefer a detested organ which once in awhile agrees with us, to an independent paper which once in awhile disagrees with us. We expect an organ to be against us most of the time; but an independent paper has no business ever to be against us. By that token, if we are independent it ceases to be so.

But there is a second lesson to be drawn from the circumstances indicated above. If some persons are driven away from an independent paper when its independence goes their favorite ox, many more are attracted to it because that particular ox is their especial detestation. And out of this new accession may be winnowed in time those who care less for

the conclusions of a paper on particular subjects than for the principles to which it yields allegiance—people to whom even just conclusions mistakenly made from vicious principles are not attractive, while mistaken conclusions from sound principles are not offensive.

Such are the men and women all over this country and from other English speaking lands, who gladden the heart and strengthen the elbow of *The Public* with their assurances that they read it from title page to cartoon, and, though not agreeing with all it says, recognize its loyalty to principle and swear by its sincerity.

These five years of *The Public's* life have been momentous years in the history of the world. To look over its indexes is to pass in review a succession of events that are big with possibilities. It is a period upon which the philosophical historian of the future will be forced to dwell. To some the evil portent of this period is overshadowing. To others it is ablaze with gold and glory. But to us all it is what we as a whole decide to make it. Its evils have no power over us unless we adopt them. They may even be turned to good use as bad examples to be rejected.

The fight between public right and wrong is still on, and *The Public* will be in the fight so long as its service is in demand. Neither an optimist of the happy-go-lucky variety, nor a pessimist of the hopeless type, but a thorough believer in tearing down the bad in order to build up the good, yet with no malice toward persons, it will continue to fight wicked institutions and tendencies and to stimulate righteous possibilities with all the vigor it can command.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

New Orleans, March 30.—Lincoln's greatest strength in his famous debates with Douglas lay in his insistence that the real issue was whether slavery was right or wrong. "That is the issue," he said, "that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles which have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of

humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle, in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle." It was this boiling down of the question to the eternal struggle between right and wrong which gave his speeches strength to withstand all the fiery darts of his keen adversary.

Underlying the best speeches in the recent woman suffrage meeting in New Orleans—and there were many very able speeches during that meeting—there was the same insistence that the reform proposed is at bottom a question of right and wrong. This appeal to ultimate principles gave to these speeches, as it always does in any cause, an earnestness, an elevation of tone, a spirit of unselfishness and of devotion to humanity such as are rarely found in similar gatherings. Even opponents of the doctrine of woman suffrage could not fail to feel the fine enthusiasm that pervaded the meetings. No one could leave without having received new impulses to stand up and do something in this or in some other good cause, "in honor of the helpers of mankind."

We do not mean to say that there were lacking speeches which met definite arguments with definite arguments. There were old, familiar arguments in old familiar words and old arguments in new words and some new thoughts infused into old words; but, as I have said, back of all special arguments and back of all the details of facts there was the assurance of faith that the cause was right and just. I do not believe I should be wrong in saying that the keynote of the convention was the right of each human soul to self-government and self-development, and that this right depends upon equal rights.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS

An extraordinary vote in favor of land values taxation was cast on the 27th in the British House of Commons, upon the second reading of a bill empowering municipalities to

adopt the single tax method of raising local revenues.

The bill in question had been introduced by Dr. Macnamara, the Liberal member for North Camberwell. It was backed also by the influence of such members as John Dillon, Mr. Burns, Dr. Douglas, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Lloyd-George, Mr. Robson, J. H. Whitley and Mr. Trevelyan, who, more than a month ago, assisted Dr. Macnamara in having his bill made a special order for March 27th. In an explanatory interview, published at that time in the *New Age of London*, Dr. Macnamara said:

Nothing is more urgent than the taxation of land values. At present the burden of communal expenditure is grievously heavy upon the occupying tenant; and it is bound to grow heavier and heavier. Meantime the ground landlord is the residuary legatee of the value of our rate-expenditure [local, as distinguished from imperial, expenditures]. We must tax him to find new revenues for our housing and other schemes. . . . Every municipal council, whether it be Tory or Liberal, is keen on the problem. It daily sees the glaring injustices of the present system. If social reformers on every municipal Council would put down a resolution for their next Council meeting in favor of the principle of my bill, the result would surprise many people. Then there are two or three associations for the reform of the land system. They too ought to lend a strong hand. We have a month. Wonders can be worked in that time.

Wonders were worked. When Dr. Macnamara's bill came forward on the 27th, pursuant to the order made by the House a month before, the leader of the Liberal party, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and all his lieutenants in parliament, supported it; the solicitor general for Scotland in the last Liberal ministry, making a radical speech in its favor, while many Tories and Liberal-Unionists abandoned their party to vote for it. In the Liberal party, not only did the leaders support the bill, but it was treated rather pointedly as a party measure. It came within only 13 votes of passage.

Regarding the importance of this vote the London correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* cables the following which appeared in that paper on the 28th:

Political specialists regard the vote in the House of Commons last night by

which the single taxers reduced the Government's majority to 13, the lowest in the history of the present ministry, as a significant test. The vote is a record for England on the single-tax question. The bill, the second reading of which was rejected by so slim a margin, was framed on Henry George lines and bore the indorsement of all the single-tax propagandists in the country. It proposed to give discretionary power to local urban authorities to levy a rate on the capital value of land, whether occupied or not, and distinct from the value of any structures thereon.

The political significance of the vote is described as follows by Lewis Henry Berens, a distinguished single tax advocate of Great Britain:

The vote shows nothing can stop this movement. The Liberals now stand definitely pledged to taxation of land values and must bring in a bill providing therefor whenever they succeed to power. Ordinarily the movers of private measures are compelled to appoint private tellers, but last night the official Liberal whips told for Macnamara's bill and the leader of the Liberal party and the whole front Opposition bench supported it. Mr. Soares, solicitor general for Scotland in the late Liberal administration, made a rattling single-tax speech, and many Tories and Liberal-Unionists voted against the government. Others, especially the urban members, disappeared rather than face the music. Liberals are proverbially more sensitive to public opinion than Conservatives, and it may be accepted as certain that the single-tax sentiment is even stronger in the country than appears in the House of Commons' vote. Indeed, almost every constituency with large centers of population petitioned its representatives in Parliament to support taxation of land values.

In France a vote was taken in the Chamber of Deputies on the 26th with reference to the enforcement of the law for the suppression of the Catholic orders. The Carthusian monks had applied for permission to remain in France on the ground that they were engaged in industrial pursuits as well as charities and were a class apart from the other orders. It was urged among other things that their removal would cause serious financial loss to the Department of Isere, in which their monastery is situated; and, further, that they do not meddle with politics. Replying to the first point, the premier, M. Combes, argued that it is debasing to associate religion with commercial enterprises. Regarding the

second, he asserted that while it is true that the Carthusians have not meddled in politics openly with drums and trumpets, like the other orders, they have conducted an active propaganda against the Republic. The Chamber rejected the Carthusian application by a vote of 338 to 231.

On the 27th the French ministry formulated their programme for executing the law for the suppression of the Catholic orders. Official notification is to be sent to each congregation of every order, and all that refuse to disband are to be prosecuted in the courts. The courts will be called upon also to appoint receivers to take charge of the property of the dissolved orders. Each case will be examined separately, with a view to considering special circumstances. The teaching orders will be allowed to delay their departure until the end of the school year, in July, if no governmental schools are available. Where such schools are available these orders also must wind up their affairs within one month.

The Dominican revolution (p. 809) is reported to be still in the heated stage, a battle having been fought on the 28th at Juan Calvo, in which the government forces were defeated with a loss of 27 killed and 43 wounded. The revolutionist loss was 3 killed and 11 wounded. Nevertheless government authorities insist that the revolution, at no time general, is nearly subdued. Gov. Caseres, of Santiago, telegraphed the Dominican consul at New York on the 30th as follows:

Gen. Horacio Vasquez captured the cruiser *Independencia* at Macoris; all the chiefs of revolution on board imprisoned. Revolution confined to San Domingo city, where they are besieged by government troops. Rest of country is with the government.

Cuba has ratified the reciprocity treaty with the United States (p. 809) as amended by the American Senate. A majority of the foreign relations committee of the Cuban Senate, to which the amended treaty had been referred on the 24th (p. 809), reported on the 26th in favor of ratification, but with a proviso that the interchange of ratifications must be completed before December 31, 1903. When the question came finally before the Cuban Senate, how-

ever, which was on the 28th, that body ratified the amended treaty absolutely without conditions, by a vote of 12 to 9. The time limit proposed by the committee was dispensed with by the Senate upon the positive assurance of Secretary Hay that President Roosevelt will call a special session of the American Congress before December 1. On that point the American minister to Cuba, Mr. Squiers, was reported on the 28th to have said:

The ratification of the treaty without amendment is due almost entirely to the assurances given by President Roosevelt that he will call an extra session of Congress before December 1. This action of the President will be appreciated and accepted by the Cuban government and people as an additional evidence of the most sincere friendship and interest on the part of a man in whom they have ever had unbounded faith and confidence. Having ratified the treaty, the special session of the Cuban Senate at once adjourned sine die.

A decision has been rendered in the Wabash railroad strike injunction case (p. 775) by Judge Adams, the Federal judge who granted the injunction. His decision appears to be a sweeping one in favor of the strikers. Judge Adams explains in his opinion that the railroad lawyers had laid before him charges of what appeared to be a conspiracy to precipitate a strike undesired by the men, and thereby to interfere with interstate commerce and the mail service of the United States. For that reason he granted the preliminary injunction. But the strikers have met these charges, says Judge Adams: and after fully considering all the proof on both sides he finds that the statements of the complaint, to the effect that the employes were satisfied with their wages and conditions of service, are not supported; that irrespective of the question of whether the men of the committee of the brotherhoods representing them first suggested the increase of wages and change of rules, the employes themselves, at and for a long time prior to the injunction were dissatisfied with their wages and conditions of service; that a real difference of opinion existed between the railroad and a large majority of its employes, members of the brotherhood, with respect to their wages; that the defendants as officers and committees of the brotherhood were fully au-

thorized both by reason of their official relation to their members and also by direct written authority to represent them in the effort to secure higher wages and changed conditions of service; that the proposed strike, instead of being officiously ordered by defendants, was a result of a vote of employes acting without coercion and directly authorizing the same; and that the charge of conspiracy to interfere with the inter-State commerce of the United States or the mail service of the United States is not sustained. Accordingly the preliminary injunction is dissolved.

NEWS NOTES.

—President Roosevelt left Washington on the 1st to complete his tour of the West which was cut off by his illness last Fall (p. 389). He is to be absent from Washington until early in June.

—The 11th National Conference for Good City Government, and the 9th annual meeting of the National Municipal League, are to be held at Detroit and Ann Arbor on the 22d, 23d and 24th of April.

—For the death of the school children in a collision last Winter at Newark, N. J., between a locomotive and a street car (p. 737) the grand jury has indicted the officials of the traction company instead of the conductor and the motorman.

—John Mitchell, president of the United Mineworkers, submitted to the Department of Justice, on the 31st, a large mass of documentary evidence to sustain the claim that the shooting of striking miners by Deputy Marshal Cunningham and a posse, near Charleston, W. Va., in February (p. 810) was unprovoked by acts of violence and entirely unnecessary.

—The members of the New Orleans local Council of Women refused to attend a reception given on the 26th by officers of the National Council of Women of the United States, in session in that city, because two Negro women belong to the National Council who might on some future occasion and in some other city attend such a reception. No Negro women were at the New Orleans reception.

PRESS OPINIONS.

CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.
Chicago Tribune (Rep.), April 1.—A majority of the people of Chicago desire municipal ownership legislation. Apparently Mr. Cicero J. Lindly [Rep.], chairman of the house committee on municipal corporations, does not. Otherwise he would not insist stubbornly that his committee shall not consider the subject until the 9th of April. If he approved of the proposed legislation he would do what lay in his power to get the matter before the House at the earliest moment. To delay a measure at this stage of the session usually means to defeat it.

PRESIDENTIAL MATERIAL.
The Commoner (Dem.), March 27.—“What care the mass of the Democratic party as to what men or class of men have the conduct of the campaign?” inquired one of the speakers at the Iroquois banquet. Well, suppose J. P. Morgan is chairman of the national committee, Rockefeller treasurer and W. C. Whitney general corruption fund collector? What would such a victory be worth to the party or the country? An extreme case has been supposed, but what if the leaders are men who think like Morgan, Rockefeller and Whitney, but are not so well known; will the people fare any better? Plutocracy is never so odious as when it hides under a democratic name.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF JURIES.
Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), March 24.—Every now and then there is an account in the newspapers of a judge who “scores the jury” because they have not decided a case as he thinks they should. It has grown to be a habit with the prosecuting attorney in this county to “score,” which means “scold,” such juries as do not convict those who are brought into criminal court. All this is about as far wrong as it is possible for anything to be. A judge or a prosecutor is far out of his sphere when he goes into the “scoring” business. The jury is as much a part of the court as a judge or a prosecutor. It would be as proper for the jury to “score” as for the judge. It was to do away with too much judge and too much prosecutor that the jury system was invented and it has worked very well up to date. To be sure juries make mistakes. So do judges and prosecutors. But juries are as apt to be right as either of the others.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.
Chicago Chronicle (Ind. Dem.), April 1.—Perhaps it might be as well, on the whole, to stop treating the Negro as a problem and begin to treat him as a human being. . . . Of the speakers on the race question at the Physicians' club on Monday night the majority regarded it as a “problem” to be solved by doing something for or against the African race. Only one seems to have perceived that the only thing needed is to do justice—afford the African the protection of the laws, opportunity and recognition according to his merit. . . . One white man in the South has common sense about the color question. A. F. Fox, a candidate for the governorship of Mississippi and a Democrat, says that the proposal to stop schooling the Negro is an assault upon the constitution of the State. Fox asks the voters to let the race question alone and devote their time to the industrial development of the State. Fox ought to be elected governor in the interest of common sense.

REMEDIES FOR INEQUITABLE TAXATION.
Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), March 27.—The first and most important one is local option in taxation, the application of the home rule principle to the problem. Under local option certain counties would abolish the futile and farcical tax on personalty, and some would doubtless stick to the discredited system. Local sentiment, local conditions and needs would govern the matter of exemptions, as they should, and each county would be free to make experiments as its own cost. The State board of equalization would find its occupation gone. In addition to local option the Bar association [of New York] recommends a bill requiring the assessing officers to state the values of land separately from the improvements thereon. This is an excellent proposition calculated to simplify the task of the honest assessor and to prevent much confusion and injustice.

MISCELLANY

INDUSTRIAL PEACE.
Peace between capital and labor, is that all that you ask?
Is peace then the only thing needful?
There was peace enough in Southern slavery.
There is a peace of life and another peace of death.
It is well to rise above violence.
It is well to rise superior to anger.
But if peace means final acquiescence in wrong—if your aim is less than justice and peace, forever one—then your peace is a crime.
—Ernest Crosby, in The Whim.

THE DOUKHOBORS CONFORMING TO THE LAWS.

We learn from the Manitoba Free Press that since the arrival of Peter Verigin, the Doukhobor leader, the religious craze that led to the pilgrimage of last winter has died out. Through his influence the pilgrims will proceed to take out naturalization papers, enter for their homesteads, and in other respects conform to the requirements of Canadian departmental regulations. In regard to the fund realized by the government from the sale of the Doukhobor stock, it has been decided that after paying for all the charges caused by the pilgrimage the remainder, about \$9,000, shall be applied to the entry fees of the Doukhobors for their homesteads. About 2,000 homesteads will be required in order that each adult Doukhobor may have his own farm. The questions of schools and vital statistics registration have yet to be dealt with, but owing to the moderation and firmness of the department and the personality of Verigin, it is believed that these will be satisfactorily adjusted.—Friends' Intelligencer, March 21.

RULES FOR ARBITRATORS.

According to the Chicago Inter Ocean Joseph W. Morton, president of the Steam Power council, and Hugh McGee, president of the Truck Drivers' union, have drawn up a code of rules for the guidance of arbitrators. The rules do not instruct the arbitrators on what they should do, but warn them against certain things they should not do. They are in the shape of a series of “don'ts,” as follows:

- Don't split the difference, on the theory that neither side should object. Any fool could do that without taking evidence.
- Don't waste months in taking evidence which no one will read and which is entirely foreign to the question at issue.
- Don't go outside the trade in question

to get evidence, and try to compare the conditions of an American-born workman with that of a Hungarian, and then strike an average between the two.

Don't hold your meetings at the Auditorium Annex. The surroundings embarrass our witnesses.

Don't use legal verbiage in rendering your decision. Call a spade a spade. Our men understand it better that way.

Don't be afraid to say what you think for fear of being called a Socialist. Socialism is becoming popular.

Don't be influenced in your decision by the strength of the labor vote. It doesn't amount to anything.

Don't work on the theory that the interests of labor and capital are identical. Each is trying to get all it can; therefore, the interests are divergent. If this was not the case, you wouldn't be an arbitrator.

Don't spend three months in trying to arrive at a decision and then give the men an increase of one cent a day and hand their union a bill for \$5,000. It would be cheaper for the union to pay the increase from its treasury.

Don't meet and exchange cigars, and adjourn for a week, charging the union five dollars an hour for your services. If you employ men yourselves you would not like to have them waste their time in that manner.

Don't hand down a decision covering 384 typewritten pages. There is no time to read it; and, besides, the men are not interested in the science of arbitration. What they want is more money.

Don't lose sleep over the God-given rights of the nonunion man. He is no better than the union man and is entitled to no more consideration.

Both Morton and McGee believe that if these rules were adopted as a working basis better results could be obtained. They intend to have a number of copies printed, and, as each arbitration board is selected, to hand the members of it a copy, with a request that they give the matter careful consideration.

TRUSTS WROTE "ANTI-TRUST" BILLS.

For The Public.

That the Republican party, the legislative tool of the trusts, would in no way injure the trusts is self-evident to all right-minded men. That the so-called "anti-trust" bills which the Republicans permitted to become laws last winter are not bills to in any way curb the trusts and benefit the people, is also self-evident to any man who has carefully read the bills. Nothing in the Party record and nothing in the bills, except the titles, forbodes evil to the trusts. It will, therefore, surprise but few to learn that the real authors of the bills were the trusts themselves—the very ones that tried to further hoodwink the people by sending telegrams to Senators ordering them not to pass these "anti-trust" bills. The facts in regard to the "Nelson amend-

ment" "anti-trust" bill have not yet leaked out, but the New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin of March 25 contains the story of the authorship of the Elkins anti-rebate bill. It is as follows:

Chicago, March 25.—During the progress of a meeting of western railway executive officials to-day to discuss the Elkins law, it was stated that A. J. Cassett, president of the Pennsylvania; Paul Morton, second vice president of the Sante Fe, and E. D. Kenna, first vice president and general counsel of the same road, are authors of the bill.

It is stated that the first draft of the bill was made by Mr. Kenna and embodied the ideas of the three men named. This draft was submitted to the President, the Attorney General and the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and subsequently was amended. As finally introduced, however, the bill was essentially the bill prepared from the suggestions made by Messrs. Cassatt, Morton and Kenna, after repeated conferences at the Executive Mansion.

Mr. Morton said to-day: "I believe that the Act will secure the maintenance of the freight and passenger rates, and this will be of inestimable benefit to the entire country, to the railroads, to shippers and to consumers."

In view of these facts will the Republicans continue to call the Elkins an anti-trust bill? Do they imagine that the people are such everlasting chumps that they will believe that the trusts are going to cut off their own heads, with a weapon which they themselves forged for that purpose? Mr. Morton says that the Elkins bill will benefit the railroads. His statement that it will also benefit shippers and consumers is a gratuitous insult to our intelligence. The railroads can be benefited only by increased freight rates and these must be paid by shippers and consumers. The railroads will get the benefit and the people will pay the freight. It's a clear case of "heads I win and tails you lose." The people can't beat such a game as long as they let the trust sharks and the Republican political mountebanks shuffle the cards and hold the stakes.

BYRON W. HOLT.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

OPENING CAMPAIGN SPEECH.

Mayor Johnson's first tent speech of the present campaign, delivered March 25, as reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

I consider it a misfortune that my opponent, Mr. Goulder, has declined to discuss with me the issues of this campaign. I had hoped that when the Republicans nominated a great lawyer, a man, they say, understanding marine law better than any other man in the United States, a man gifted with oratorical ability, that he would probably be only too glad to

join with me in a presentation of the issues and discussion of the aims of our respective parties. I did not believe that he would hesitate to enter into such a discussion with one who has been only a business man. I had considered it but proper that the people should be informed in this manner as to the merits of the claims of either party.

But Mr. Goulder won't discuss. He won't debate. He says he is not afraid, and I shall have to take his word for this, for Mr. Goulder is an honorable gentleman, but I think, my friends, that the reason why he declines my invitation is that he does not wish to have to answer embarrassing questions. He says we are following him about. If we are, there doesn't seem to be any danger of his allowing us to overtake him. If he is unwilling to discuss with us we will have to content ourselves with a sort of long-distance debate. I have a stenographer who attends each one of Mr. Goulder's meetings, and who takes down verbatim all he says. The next day I read these reports and then I proceed to answer Mr. Goulder at my own meetings. This is not entirely satisfactory, but it is the best we can hope for under the circumstances.

Up to date Mr. Goulder has made three principal charges against the present city administration. He has said that we have not kept our promises. He has said that we have conducted the city's affairs extravagantly. He has said that we have made Cleveland a football for political ambitions, and that we have devoted our time to the promulgation of "fads" and "isms."

He says that we have not kept our promise to obtain three-cent fare for the city of Cleveland. This charge sounds strangely, coming from a member of the firm which labored most diligently at Columbus to prevent our obtaining three-cent fare. We had done everything in our power. We had advertised routes for three-cent fare lines. We had obtained bids on these lines. Capitalists had come forward who were willing to construct these lines, and who deposited \$50,000 as a pledge of good faith. We had awarded the lines, and had successfully conducted the long struggle against the money and influence of the old companies to obtain the consents of the property owners. We even changed the names of streets to obtain this end. Then we were enjoined on a technicality by the circuit court. Not discouraged,

we commenced all over again, making our ordinances correspond to the orders of the court. Then it was that Mr. Goulder's partner, Mr. Sam Holding, went to Columbus and obtained the injunction from the supreme court which bound the city hand and foot, and prevented the granting of any franchises whatsoever. We did all that men could do, and the charge that we have not kept our promise comes in bad taste from Mr. Goulder, who did nothing to help, and whose partner was chiefly instrumental in driving the last nail in the coffin of our efforts.

Again Mr. Goulder says that we did not keep our promise to equalize taxes. Did we not get \$20,000,000 added to the duplicate from the public service corporations, and did not the board of Republican State officials, friends of Mr. Goulder, and very particular friends of Mr. Hanna, throw it off again? Do you wonder that Mr. Goulder does not wish to debate? Do you wonder that he does not wish to answer these questions?

Mr. Goulder says that the city of Cleveland has been made a football for political ambitions. When he makes this charge he probably refers to your humble servant. How could Cleveland be made a football for political ambitions? What can I do to induce the people to send me a step higher? I must have accomplished some good, some benefit for the people. But I am in the fight right here in Cleveland, to stay until it is won. I do not feel the slightest doubt but that I'll be elected on April 6 by a larger majority than two years ago. But it makes no difference whether I win or lose. I'll be in the fight clear to the end just the same.

Fads and isms! Is it fads and isms to open the parks to the people of the city, to make them attractive to all classes, to establish public playgrounds in the heart of the crowded districts for the children, to establish public bath houses where they have long been needed, to complete the water-works tunnel at a reduced cost to the taxpayers when it had been left in such a state by the contractors engaged under previous administrations that its completion baffled many of our best engineers, to provide for water meters to equalize the cost of water and prevent waste—are these fads? If so, let's have more fads! Is it a fad to have cleaner streets, more lights? Does Mr. Goulder complain of our extravagance in obtaining 60 new policemen, in cleaning the

streets, in replacing the antiquated flat burners on the street lamps with Welsbachs, in laying sewers and paving streets where these improvements are needed? Mr. Goulder does not specify his charges of extravagance. Would he go back of any of these steps in advance? Does he not rather know that whatever useless additions have been made to the city's expenses have been caused by the last Republican legislature, and that the additional expense thus caused far exceeds anything which has been caused by the city administration?

In his speeches up to date Mr. Goulder has made four glaring errors. He has made others, but I will confine myself to four.

He had stated that when the lower court enjoined us in the three-cent fare matter we did not appeal to the supreme court. Mr. Goulder is a lawyer. He well knows that the Republican legislature passed a bungling bill known as the Royer bill, which specially prohibited the appeal of any such cases to the supreme court. The bill was evidently a mistake, and Mr. Goulder, as well as every other lawyer in the city and state, was cognizant of it. To repeal this bill was one of the specific causes of the calling of a special session of the legislature. Mr. Goulder must have known these facts, and, in making the statement that we refused to appeal from the circuit to the supreme court Mr. Goulder has left a false impression, and has made a mistake which he ought to correct.

Mr. Goulder's second mistake is in saying that we promised to obtain a three-cent fare within two years. I never made any such promise. I said it was my aim to point out facts as they existed, to prevent the renewal of franchises without provisions for three-cent fare, universal transfers and ultimate municipal ownership, to show that three-cent fare lines could be constructed and profitably operated, and to do all in my power to obtain three-cent fare. We tried so hard that it took the combined efforts of Mr. Goulder's law firm, Mr. Hanna, the Republican managers, the Republican legislature, and the supreme court to tear down our city government, to abolish the federal plan; all to prevent the completion of our plans to establish three-cent fare in Cleveland. Mr. Goulder well knows that I did all that was humanly possible to obtain three-cent

fare. It was Mr. Goulder and his friends who stopped me.

Further, Mr. Goulder declares that you can safely leave this street railroad question to such men as Mr. Henry Slatmeyer, Mr. Spencer Knight and Mr. Towson. These are the candidates on the Republican ticket for directors of public service. Certainly Mr. Goulder, the candidate for mayor, has studied the new municipal code. If he has done so he must know that these three officials, of all the officials to be elected, have nothing in the world to do with the street railroad question. They will not even be called upon for advice. The matter will come before them at no stage of the proceedings. It is the council who will pass upon this street railroad question. What Mr. Goulder should have said is:

"You can trust this street railway question to Mr. Bernstein, to Mr. Beilstein and Mr. Hawkins."

Mr. Goulder has mentioned the names of three men who will have nothing to do with the matter from start to finish. He has said nothing in regard to our distinguished fellow citizen, Mr. Harry Bernstein, nothing in regard to our distinguished fellow citizen Mr. Beilstein, nothing in regard to our distinguished fellow citizen Mr. Hawkins. This is another mistake which Mr. Goulder certainly should correct.

His fourth mistake is less important. He has said that the west franchises do not expire for seven years. He has only added two years to the time admitted by the companies themselves, who own up that their franchises run out in five years.

If Mr. Goulder is a fair man he will take occasion to correct these mistakes and misstatements.

The Republican candidate for mayor is a great lawyer. He is the attorney for the Lake Carriers' association. He says he is not in any way interested in the Cleveland street railroads. Probably he is not personally interested. But the chief men in the Lake Carriers' association, his clients, are the men who own the Cleveland street railroads. Mr. Goulder represents these people and these interests. He says that he does not know whether he is for three-cent fare or not. He says he wants to end the agitation quickly and find some solution to end the uncertainty and dispute. But we do not desire to be in such a hurry. The supreme court injunction expires May 4. Two

years ago we could not tell you of men on hand with \$50,000 guarantee already deposited, ready to build three-cent fare roads.

Will you elect Mr. Goulder and his associates, or will you elect those who will represent the people, and who will not get tired and go to the railroads with a proposition to settle the question in accordance with the railroads' terms?

In conclusion I would say a word in regard to Mr. Goulder's statement that the reduction in fare would mean a reduction in the wages of employes, and that it is not permissible on this account. There is absolutely no foundation for this allegation. In Detroit, where the fare is lower than in Cleveland, the wages of the men are higher. In Cincinnati, where the fare is higher than in Cleveland, the wages are lower. Reduction of fare means competition, more business, an increased demand for conductors and motormen, and consequently higher wages.

THE MAKING OF A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

For The Public.

ACT III.

Scene I. Library of Push mansion. J. Head Push and Frank Push discovered at curtain seated at table, R. 2 E., conversing.

Mr. Push—But I tell you, lad, the two great factors of business are push and pull. Lacking the latter, you must have an immense deal of the former. I do not altogether like the term "push." It's too weak. "Crowd" comes much nearer to expressing the fact.

Frank—It does, all right, in your beautiful New York.

Mr. Push—Ah, boy! If I could but make you see the glory of that metropolis as I see it. How could it be grander? Is it not all pure business? See how it leads the race in cities. Mark its evolution. Once it was moral, even as most other places have been moral; then it became to a considerable extent immoral, again like most other places; but at this point it left the great mass of the world behind, and passed on to the grand third ethical stage, the un-moral, where all that foolish sentiment regarding "right" and "wrong" gives place to the grand utilitarian commercial "can" and "can't."

Frank—Which last term, father, leads me to ask how it happens that you, with your peculiar views, are a pillar in the Presbyterian church? It

doesn't seem to me quite consistent.

Mr. Push—What was that our Concord philosopher said about consistency? You'll remember that he did not think much of it as a test. I must confess, my son, that from your point of view, my course needs explanation. Now, there is in this world a factor called "public opinion"—a sort of trial balance struck from the beliefs, the prejudices, and the superstitions of the masses. This public sentiment is too powerful to ever be safely allowed to properly estimate its own strength, and we captains of industry find it wisest to use as a tool that which, as a weapon, we might be powerless to resist. For this reason, we subsidize the press; we drown the voice of the pulpit in the clink of our gold; we "salt" the springs of learning under ground; we make spellbinders golden-tongued with specie; we endow libraries and found institutions—in short, we spend money wherever we can do so, in a spectacular way likely to modify this aforesaid public opinion in our favor.

Frank—But do you consider that honest?

Mr. Push—I consider it good business, and that should be enough. I may add, however, as a gratuity, that it is perfectly honest. Public opinion is a commodity we need in our business. We buy it and pay the market price.

Frank—But you do not always create a true opinion.

Mr. Push—Frank, there are times when I almost wonder if you haven't an open-circuit intellect, you so palpably fail to connect! I particularly insisted that at college you should be well filled with classics and German philosophy. The latter has been of inestimable service to me. Do you not remember that sublime utterance of one of these sages, to the effect that only our friends deserve the truth?

Frank—No.

Mr. Push—What! Why, that grand postulate constitutes the very basis of the present Philippine investigation, and you know it not. When will you ever get into affairs? I forget the philosopher's name, but he said it, and the Republican party has, therefore, good authority for its course. How has it helped me? Add to it that equally just, beautiful and true saying: "There is no friendship in business," and you will see just how I stand on the conclusion that

there is no need of truth in business. No friend, no truth; in business no friend, therefore, no truth; Q. E. D. See?

Frank—The reasoning is sound, whatever one may think of the premises. It has been said, however, that nations have lost their liberties through a chain of right reasoning from wrong premises.

Mr. Push—Don't you worry about us captains. We don't bury our heads in the sand and fancy ourselves invisible. We know that the source of our power was, is and ever must be in our own correct discernment of a few primary essentials. Who was it that said there were but a few things to learn if we but learned the right few?

Frank—Pope.

Mr. Push—What! Not Pope, the industrial captain?

Frank—No. The "little interrogation point."

Mr. Push—Hum. Just so. As I was saying, we ourselves must know thoroughly the few primary essentials, while we hopelessly confuse the public in a maze of tertiary non-essentials. "A mighty maze, but not without a plan," but we high priests are the only ones that hold the labyrinthine clew to it. We must know all about wampum, money cowries, the "macute" of the African tribes, by which value is computed as we compute it in terms of dollars, only in their case their unit is purely an abstraction, there being no such thing as a piece of money called a "macute." We must know all about the first trade relations of primitive society preceding that common denominator of all desires, that greatest of labor-saving inventions, which we call "money." We must learn all this—learn thoroughly how few articulations there are in this skeleton which we rattle with such tremendous and complicated effect; and then when we talk, we must be careful not to allude to this simple, fundamental bony structure, but invite attention to the astral body of finance, and skyscraper like a Theosophist or a Christian Scientist. You know our argot: gold "standard," complicated banking, international exchange, in short, anything that will keep the farmer from realizing that he buys his mortgage money with wheat, as truly as he buys his coffee with money. Anything, I say, which will prevent the laborer from realizing that he is rich in terms of what he has, and poor in terms of what he must pro-

cure; and, at all hazards, must we prevent his perceiving that it is all a matter of the ratio which the one bears to the other. Shade of Bryan! If the farmer should learn that he wants to pay that fixed charge of his with a "cheap" dollar requiring the transmutation of a minimum amount of wheat into a maximum number of dollars, as well as we coupon-clipping, currency-contracting, gold-appreciating (not bad that last, boy) creditor-class have learned that "dear" money—and the dearer it becomes to us the dearer we make it to others—as well I say (I'm in for a horribly Germanesque sentence) as we have learned that "dear" money means cheap labor, and the maximum amount of labor's product for the minimum number of dollars, I don't know what would happen. Something dreadful, I'm sure. To avoid this we talk about "honest" money.

Frank—But, Father, do you consider it honest where a man contracted a debt a few years ago when that debt meant a hundred bushels of wheat, to make him pay now, through that appreciation of gold of which you spoke, a hundred and twenty-five bushels? Or, if he owned a small equity in a house, to so manipulate matters as to freeze him out entirely? Honor bright, would you, as my father, treat me in that way?

Mr. Push—Business is business—ahem! I believe I have never heard that proposition controverted.

Frank—You avoid the issue.

Mr. Push—Frank, I am human and have human frailties. I fear I might backslide from my high business ideals, but it would not be through ignorance of my "plain duty" as a business man. I ought to "nail you like a dried beetle to the wall," and I should know it. Yet I am weak, and I fear I should yield to the temptation of letting you off with double the agreed interest on the originally understood indebtedness, if all the factors could be as plainly seen as you state them.

Frank—And you call this money "honest"?

Mr. Push—That is my business term for it. To you I don't mind saying that it doesn't show the same kind of honesty the Bible teaches.

Frank—And you, who teach a class in Sunday School and who give so liberally to the church, do you not believe in the Bible?

Mr. Push—In an academic way, yes. You don't appear to comprehend, Lad. I am surprised that your teaching has left you so little intellectual nimble-

ness. Certain truths are purely academic. Take for example the asymptote, a line which forever approaches nearer and nearer to some curve, but which if prolonged to infinity would never reach it. Isn't that purely academic?

Frank—A mere trick of definition. Half way to Chicago to-day and half the remaining distance each day. You'll never get there. It's that sort o' thing.

Mr. Push—Well, then, take that postulate of Descartes about which so much fuss has been made: "Cogitur, ergo sum"—"I think, therefore I am."

Frank—It's all in the "I." He might just as well have left off the "think, therefore, I am."

Mr. Push—Well, take the term "caloric" as still used by the French. It's purely academic. There isn't any such thing, and no one has thought there was since the days of Count Rumford and Joule.

Frank—Pa, if you want an illustration of the "purely academic" in the sense you are using that term, why not take President Roosevelt's anti-trust strenuousness?

Mr. Push—Frank, I wish you wouldn't say such things. Our president is one of us, and when you say anything against him you not only strike your own father a blow, but you level at every trust-fed or monopoly-fed captain among us. Our Mr. Roosevelt is not like our Mr. Hanna, though both are Republicans. He is very fearful lest the party shall prick through its coating of respectability—

Frank—Which is about as thin as the black spot in a soap bubble.

Mr. Push—Ignoring the interruption, I pass on to remark that Mr. Hanna—our Uncle Mark is—what shall I say?

Frank—More frank and less squeamish.

Mr. Push—Perhaps that is a just characterization in a way. Uncle Mark is older than the President and not so fearful of passing the limit. He knows what the people will stand and still continue to cringe, and this, I think you will admit, renders his course rather noble. Our Uncle Mark fights the open fight. He tells in advance what he is after. Do you not think that grand, to warn your adversary before you strike?

Frank—Humph! Rattlesnakes!

Mr. Push—Boy, you seem incorrigible, but I'll not give you over yet. Enough, however, for to-day. Send James to me as you go out.

Frank (turning back at door)—I say, father, just a moment. Want to tell you what I saw in a trolley car yes-

terday. You know those electric buttons on each window-frame for signaling the conductor? Well, a near-sighted old lady sat opposite me and when she got to her street she motioned to the conductor, but he didn't see her. Then she got panicky and, wheeling about, she ran her hand along the window frame till she struck the protruding head of a round-headed screw. This she pressed tragically and waited results in sublime confidence.

Mr. Push—Why did you turn back to tell me this?

Frank—Because, Dad, when President Roosevelt essayed to start the anti-trust machinery of the law, he put his finger on a dead screw-head, and not a live button. I thought you might like to tell him how still a still alarm he had rung in.

Exit Frank, followed by a paper weight.
(End of Act III.)

MELVIN L. SEVERY.

"Do you mean to tell me that you were paid for voting as you did?"

"Well," answered Senator Sorghum, "I had to have some motive, didn't I? A man who would vote that way without any excuse at all would be an example of total depravity."—Washington Star.

Arthur's Answer.—Pleasant Old Gentleman—Have you lived here all your life, my little man?

Arthur (aged six)—Not yet.—William Morse Hedrick, in Lippincott's Magazine.

Of course, the Indians would have been exterminated long ago if the American small boy had been let loose at them.—Puck.

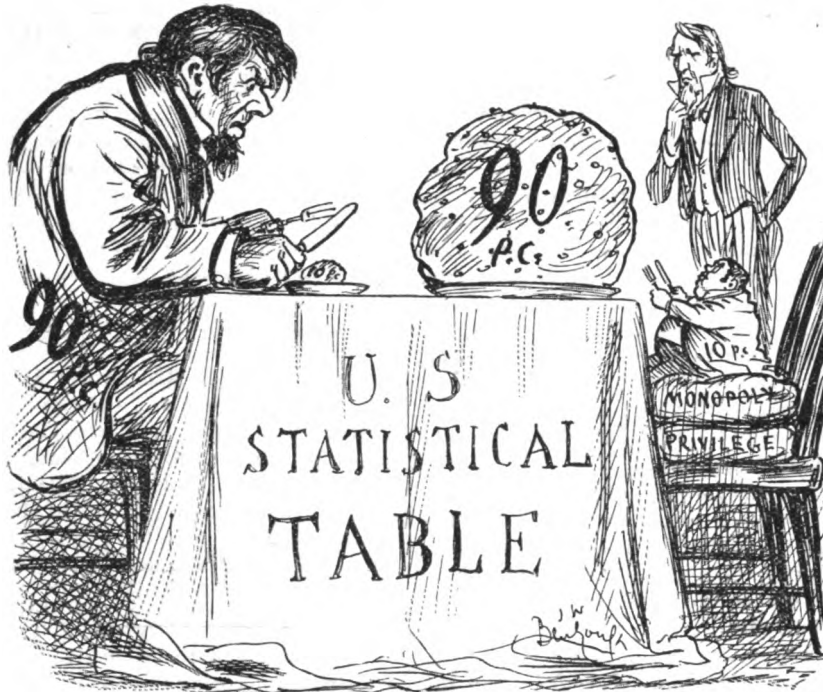
John Bull—What I want to know is this, Mr. Brodrick. Am I an island or am I a continent? If I'm an island, I want a big navy and a small army. If I'm a continent, I want a big army and a small navy. I can't afford to be an island and a continent too!—Westminster Gazette.

That St. Louis court forgot to authorize the Wabash to sell or lease its trainmen.—The Detroit News.

The men who had been playing poker on the head of a beer-barrel took their arrest rather hard.

"It is because we are poor!" they exclaimed, with something very like bitterness in their accent. "Observe, the gilded den of infamy across the way is not molested in the slightest."

The police laughed good-naturedly. "You seem extremely simple,"



THE PIGMY GORGED; THE GIANT STARVED.

Ninety per cent of the wealth of the United States is held by ten per cent of the people!

quoth they. "Surely you must know that if you squander all your substance at gaming, you cannot pay your taxes. And if you do not pay your taxes, where are our salaries to come from? It is nothing to us what the rich do with their substance, since they pay no taxes, anyway."

"You might resort to blackmail," urged the poor men, still sullen.

"But we are reform police," retorted the officers, a little irritably. —Puck.

"Is your husband the kind of a man who believes in killing two birds with one stone?"

"Gracious, no! Why, he's president of the Audubon society!"—Yonkers Statesman.

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY

THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
 1641 UNITY BUILDING
 CHICAGO, ILL.

All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

Payment of subscription is acknowledged up to and including the first issue of the month printed on the wrapper. The figures following the month, refer to the year in which the subscription expires.

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