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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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Tom L. Johnson's triumphant reelection as mayor of Cleveland must have jarred the political nerves of those Republicans and Democratic "reorganizers" who had fondly hoped that he was "snowed under" last Fall. It must seem to them like a resurrection.

But the truth is that Johnson was not "snowed under" last Fall. Newspaper reports to the contrary were inspired by desire, not by knowledge. Although his candidate for Secretary of State of Ohio, Herbert S. Bigelow, suffered defeat by an adverse plurality of 93,939, this was about the same as the Republican plurality for governor in 1895, and 43,000 less than the plurality of 137,087 that had been rolled up against the Democratic candidate for Secretary of State in 1894. And, what is of most importance, Bigelow gained wherever Johnson spoke (with the single exception of Cincinnati), the gains in the 19 northern counties in which he made his campaign tour aggregating 10,000 votes.

Notwithstanding those Democratic gains, however, the plurality against Bigelow in the whole State did rise to 26,000 more than that polled against the Democratic candidate for governor in 1901. This is the reason Johnson's enemies said he had been "snowed under." But that increase in the Republican plurality of the State was due entirely to the corrupt combine in Cincinnati between the Republican machine of Boss Cox and the Democratic ma-

chine of Boss Bernard—John R. McLean's political manager. The same combination has now defeated Melville E. Ingalls, the Democratic candidate for mayor of Cincinnati, by a majority only about 10,000 less than that cast against Bigelow in the same city last Fall, although Ingalls had what Bigelow had not, the nomination and support of a powerful non-partisan Citizens' Association. Mr. Ingalls had the additional advantage—or what Republicans and "reorganizing" Democrats call the advantage—of being "uncontaminated with Bryanism." Yet he lost none of the benefit of the Bryan vote, for Bigelow loyally supported him and Johnson personally endorsed his candidacy. Under these circumstances, Ingall's defeat in Cincinnati by 16,000 plurality, when compared with Johnson's election in Cleveland by 6,000 plurality, is a sufficient indication that whatever may have been "snowed under" in Ohio last Fall it was neither Johnson nor Johnsonism.

So far from his having been "snowed under," Tom L. Johnson's political career, since he undertook to rescue Ohio from the rings of both parties and began with Cleveland two years ago, has been one of steady advance. He was elected mayor of Cleveland in the Spring of 1901 by 6,000 plurality. In the Fall of 1901 he advised the nominations of his party in Cuyahoga county for the legislature and secured the election of the candidates by good majorities—3,000 to 6,000. This was the first time in many years that the Democrats had been able to elect a legislator from that county. In the Spring of 1902 Mr. Johnson advised the local nominations and won at the election by majorities ranging from

a few hundred to 6,000. His next success was to wrest the machine of the Democratic party of the State from John R. McLean's Cincinnati ring, and to bring to the front as the party candidate for head of the State ticket that brilliant speaker and profound thinker, Herbert S. Bigelow, who will yet make his mark upon a wider field. In the campaign that followed, the rings of Cincinnati "stabbed" Bigelow, as might have been expected; but Johnson increased the vote for him in all the northern counties, and carried Cuyahoga county by 2,500 and its city of Cleveland by 5,000. This series of successes that Johnson has made in the past two years he has now supplemented with his own reelection as mayor by a plurality of 5,985, and the election of his entire party ticket by pluralities ranging from 10,436 down. Nor that alone. He has secured the election of a city council in which 23 members out of a total of 32 are supporters of his municipal policy and the candidates of his choice.

Let no one suppose that these successes have been easily won. Johnson is in a fight against plutocracy, and plutocracy fights hard. In the campaign he has just won, it fought with especial vigor and the ferocity of desperation. Johnson's administration in the past, and all his declarations for the future, gave warning that with him there was to be no compromise; and every wire was pulled to defeat him. Street car money from all over the country was poured like water into the campaign by the Hanna managers. Labor "fakirs" were brought into requisition, and one of them (a professed Democrat less than six months before) was nominated for the second highest place on the Republican ticket. This ven-

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ture of Hanna's proved unprofitable, however, for the nomination had no other effect than to lift the plurality for the second highest place on the Democratic ticket some 4,500 higher even than Johnson's own plurality. But that blunder of Hanna's was not unnatural, and others brought less obvious punishment. The number of lucrative offices to be voted for had been multiplied by his legislature eight times, thus enormously increasing the difficulty of a straightforward campaign. A select lot of pharisees was lined up, so as to make Johnson appear to be out of harmony with the religious element. The Municipal Association, professedly a non-partisan civic body, but really a collection of stock investors and Republican tax-dodgers, who feared Johnson's just taxation policy, marched out against him with a pronouncement so manifestly partisan that he had no difficulty in tearing it to tatters. The temperance element was set on him because he hadn't closed all the saloons during all the "dry" hours; and the saloon element was rallied because he had closed them as well as the limited police force at his command enabled him to. Civil service reformers were set on edge with stories of spoilsmen in one department; and spoilsmen were reminded of the perfect merit system he had established in another. And so it went. Hanna himself came out into the open, and before the campaign closed the Republican candidate had been forgotten. The contest settled down to a test of strength between Hanna and Johnson—between plutocracy and democracy.

Inasmuch as Mayor Johnson received a plurality of 5,985, while Mr. Lapp, the candidate for vice mayor, received a plurality of 10,436, the inference is natural that Mr. Johnson ran considerably behind his associate. But that is not so. With the exception of Mr. Lapp's vote, Mr. Johnson's was the highest cast; and Mr. Lapp's was only 1,417 more

than Mr. Johnson's. The reason Mr. Lapp's plurality is so much larger is because his adversary was Senator Hanna's "labor" candidate—the labor leader who tried to make it appear that organized labor in Cleveland is opposed to 3-cent fares on street cars, and got the second highest nomination on the Republican ticket in consequence. He polled the lowest vote cast. Some of the Republican voters who "scratched" him gave their votes to Mr. Lapp; the others didn't vote at all for vice mayor. Mr. Hanna's "marriage of capital and labor," in the persons of Goulder for mayor and Sontheimer for vice-mayor (as one of his principal spellbinders called it), was a disastrous nuptial failure.

That Johnson should have won so signal a victory under circumstances so adverse as those that prevailed in Cleveland this Spring is a tribute not to his fidelity and abilities alone, but also to the loyalty of the masses of the people when their confidence is won. Johnson had proved himself to them. Upon the basis of radical and far-reaching democratic principles he had just begun a crusade for 3-cent fares on street cars immediately and municipal ownership ultimately, and in fiscal concerns for just taxation. His policies were opposed by traction company lawyers and obstructed by "gray wolves" in the council, by judges on the bench, by a corporation lawyer in the attorney general's office, and finally by the Supreme Court of the State, which overturned every Ohio municipality and for nearly a year has governed Cleveland by injunction, all for no other purpose than to save Senator Hanna's street car investments from the competition of cheaper lines and to shield rich tax dodgers from the equal operation of tax laws. But through it all Mayor Johnson has proved himself a leader who is both able to lead and worthy the confidence of all good citizens. He has been trusted accordingly, and now the day of the

realization of his plans for municipal improvement, real improvement, begins to dawn.

The reelection of Mayor Jones of Toledo—"Golden Rule" Jones as he is sometimes sneeringly but more often affectionately called—is another tribute to the loyalty of the masses to leaders in whom they believe. Mr. Jones has served three terms as mayor of Toledo, and the genuine democracy of his administration has attracted national attention and inspired local confidence. The political machines are powerless either to control his official conduct or to keep him out of the office.

In the recent campaign he went before the people of his city upon a nominating petition. He was literally what he calls himself, "a man without a party." Worse than that—if such things ever are bad, worse and worst—he had no newspaper support. The local papers (excepting one German paper) refused even to publish his brief address to his constituents, which was reproduced in these columns (p. 810) two weeks ago. Some of them refused to publish it even as a paid advertisement, though others did admit this piece of news, interesting and important to thousands of people, upon those commercial terms. And all through the campaign, both the local press of Toledo and the Associated Press at that point were as silent as the grave about Jones's candidacy. Though he is a man of national fame, it was no fault of the news agencies if anyone knew he was a candidate until the day after election, when his reelection was announced. The papers were in a conspiracy of silence, but the people were on the alert.

Toledo is to be congratulated upon this evidence of civic virtue, though it cannot be congratulated upon its civic prospects. For Mayor Jones will have no support in the city government. As mayor his power is very limited under the new municipal

code of the State; and since he had no associates upon his "no party" ticket, the Republican machine candidates (except mayor) have been elected to positions where they can harass and balk him. Probably the best service he will be able to render his city under these conditions will be as a watch dog and an example.

It is to be regretted that Mayor Hinkle, of Columbus, Ohio, failed of reelection. He was an honest and progressive mayor and a democratic Democrat; and his defeat was a triumph not of the Republican party, but of the corporation interests that have preempted that party in some places. Writing from Columbus of Hinkle's defeat, ex-Congressman John J. Lentz says:

We had an election here yesterday, the result of which was to defeat the most thoroughly honest mayor we have had for years; but three of the subsidized newspapers of the city have maligned and villified him throughout the entire two years in behalf of the franchise grabbing corporations, and they succeeded in planting a certain impression in the minds of a few hundred people, who are so easily gulled as to be incapable of self-government. In addition to this class, who believe that whatever is in print is inspired, we had a certain set of traitors within our own ranks, who are in politics for their own benefit and not for the purpose of promoting any cause for the general good. Personally, looking the whole State over, I feel that the cause of democracy is just as strong, and probably a little stronger in Ohio than it has been for several years. The election of Tom Johnson, in Cleveland, keeps the fire burning on the altar.

While President Roosevelt boasts on his travels of the "period of great material prosperity" we are passing through, the evidence of which is derived from the increased incomes of monopolists, it will be well to consider the increased outgoes of the masses of the people and the actual suffering from want to which many are obliged in these "marvelously prosperous times" to submit. Only the other day the Fresno Federated Trades Council of southern California sent out an official warning to the workers of the country in which it stated that average wages in the or-

chards and vineyards in that especially prosperous region are only \$1.25 a day, while cottage rents range from \$20 to \$30 a month, and all food products are very dear. Similar or worse conditions exist on the Atlantic coast. We have all heard of the starvation wages of the anthracite miners whom Providence has for some inscrutable reason entrusted to Mr. Baer's profitable guardianship. And now from New York City we are told by an investigator who sends the facts to the New York World, that opportunities for paying work are oppressively scarce. A well known medical man had advertised for a healthy person willing to take \$5 in exchange for a small quantity of his blood. The replies crowded the physician's mails, most of them coming from men who were unable to find work to do. "In almost every case," says the writer, "the applicant was out of work." When times are really prosperous no man is out of work. Even beggars and tramps are drafted into industrial service. But Mr. Roosevelt says that this is a period of great prosperity. So does Mr. Morgan. So does Mr. Hanna. So does every other man of the type that Kipling referred to when he wrote, "There are some men who, when their own front doors are closed, will swear that the whole world's warm."

When a legislator has the courage to do what Clarence S. Darrow did in the Illinois legislature last week, his action should be reported far and wide as an example of faithfulness to public obligation in trying circumstances. A bill had come before the lower House appropriating \$5,000 to the widow of Gov. Altgeld. As appropriations go it was a legitimate bill. Many appropriations of public money much more personal in character than this, and far less deserved, have been made and approved. But any appropriation of public money for private purposes is wrong, and so it appeared to Mr. Darrow. Yet John P. Altgeld was his friend. Every personal consideration, every

individual emotion, naturally called upon him to vote for that measure. It is all the more to Darrow's credit, therefore, that he voted against the bill. We give his explanation as he made it upon the floor:

No man ever lived whom I respected and loved outside my blood relations as I did John P. Altgeld. There is no woman more worthy of respect than the woman who is to be relieved in this bill. I know, and we all know, what John P. Altgeld sacrificed for the State of Illinois and for his devotion to duty as he saw it and as he believed it to be; and no man ever followed his duty more devotedly than did John P. Altgeld. A few weeks ago I voted against a bill to erect a monument to the memory of a good and great woman who lived and died in Illinois (Frances E. Willard). I voted against the appropriation to give \$5,000 to the Swedes and Finns who doubtless were in need. I do not intend to vote against all appropriations. There are appropriations which must be made and which should be made liberally. But I do not see how we have the right to vote the money that must be paid by the property holders of this State, great and small, to any private individual, no matter how much I respect them, no matter how high they stand in the common esteem. Much as I regret it, I believe that this sort of legislation is not proper legislation and that there is nothing for me, at least, to do but to vote no on this bill.

If the weekly newspaper which calls itself Public Opinion were as non-partisan as it pretends to be, or as frank in its partisanship as it surreptitiously is therein, it would be less misleading and correspondingly more useful.

In his recent campaign, Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, set a valuable example in Democratic campaigning which may also prove valuable elsewhere. He completely frustrated one of the methods which, under Hanna, the Republicans have adopted for coercing the employes of big establishments. Mr. Hanna's candidate for mayor, true to the Hannaistic method, had begun a speaking campaign at noontime in the big factories. His meetings there were called by the proprietors; and everything was put in shape to create an im-

pression among outsiders that factory workmen were unanimously for Hanna's candidate, and among the workmen themselves that they had better be for him or jobs in their shop would grow scarce. But Hanna had counted without Johnson. Immediately after this kind of campaigning began, Mr. Johnson wrote courteous letters to the proprietors of each establishment in which Hanna's candidate had spoken or was announced to speak, demanding, in the name of common fairness, that he be given similar authority and facilities for presenting his cause. The first factory owners to receive Johnson's letter were thrown into a panic, and referred the matter to Senator Hanna's committee for advice. Of course, only one kind of advice could be safely given. The committee dared not sanction openly so marked an exposure of attempted coercion as a refusal to allow Johnson to speak at factories where Hanna's candidate had spoken would have been. So Johnson had his innings. And he made such good use of them in his speeches that the Hanna combination quickly gave up that kind of campaigning.

THE "PROTECTIVE SPIRIT."

The cleverest part of Buckle's "History of Civilization" is that in which he points out and combats the idea of the Protective spirit. To see what he means by this term, and then to determine where one stands with reference to its doctrine, is the most vital exercise to which the modern mind can apply itself. To fix one's self definitely on one side or the other—at least so far as one's ideals are concerned—is absolutely necessary as a basis for clear judgment of social, political and economic problems.

We pass over the religious phase of the question, except merely to call attention to the fact that the thought runs into this realm as well. Is religion something external to yourself, managed for you by authority, by the church? is it a government, dictatorial and "protective"? Or is it

within yourself, a play of your own free spirit? is it, so far as any other man whatsoever is concerned, independent and democratic? Right in these questions we have the determination of the kind of religion one believes in and lives by. Right in these questions we have the great dividing line between the two religious attitudes of men—a dividing line far deeper than that between the various denominations.

So in the political and economic world the great dividing line is to be found in the attitude of men with reference to this same question. Do you believe that men are to be governed from without, to have things done for them from without; in other words, are to be protected and cared for by some external authority, apart from and superior to themselves? Whoever believes this believes in the Protective spirit. It is the antithesis of the Democratic spirit, whose ideal is the equality of men, and not that some are so much better than others that they are called upon to think for them and protect them in paternal fashion.

The Protective spirit in government begins by believing in absolute monarchy with a favored aristocracy. If it must descend a little from this ideal, it comes next to a limited monarchy with a somewhat extended aristocracy, the two constituting a superior oligarchy. If it must descend still lower and accommodate itself to a republican form, it believes in a restricted suffrage, which cuts out the poor and ignorant—and women, of course.

On the economic side the Protective spirit believes in lords of the manor, in great landed estates, in large proprietors, in great fortunes. It believes that great landlords can manage better for the tenants than the tenants themselves, that great capitalists can distribute wealth for the people better than the people themselves.

The Protective spirit believes that the good of most people, the development of most people, must come from without. It does not believe that the great majority can develop themselves even if they have equal

opportunity and a fair show. This lack of belief in the capability of people to develop themselves is the benevolent basis of all landlordism and special privilege.

The Protective spirit is rampant in American life to-day. It has taken on subtler forms than in ruder days, but it seems to be enjoying renewed life in a modern reaction. It is far more potent than it was fifty years ago, if we except the one feature of actual slavery, which was, of course, the acme of the Protective spirit. There is not to-day the enthusiasm for democracy and republicanism that there was when Kossuth came over here, and when all America glowed in sympathy for the revolutions of '48. There is not the same spirit of independence in business and determination to be one's own employer. Concentration under a great manager is rather the prevailing tendency. Even in practical politics, even in the centers of urban democracy, the spirit of managing and being managed has manifested itself in a queer way. The modern boss represents essentially the protective idea. He directs our voting; it is he that nominates our candidates. Whichever way we turn, in business, in educational matters, in economics, in politics, there is a lack of the freedom and independence and individual initiative which belong to real democracy.

During a good part of the nineteenth century we thought we had got emancipated. Alas, we find that the work was but half done. The people are still servile, still subject to this same Protective spirit of which Buckle wrote.

There were tremendous strides in political freedom and intellectual enlightenment in the century beginning with the last quarter of the eighteenth. The American revolution and the French revolution, each in its kind, were great steps forward, and their influence pulsed onward, in spite of conservative forces, into ever widening circles of political and individual freedom. But in this material world, as we are just now beginning to see, there cannot be substantial freedom of thought and ac-

tion without a further freedom, namely, economic freedom. Unless men are made equal in their economic rights, it is idle to prate about maintaining political freedom and the spirit of individual independence.

The emancipation of man from the lordship of special privilege and from the whole spirit of Protection, depends upon the enacting of actual human laws which shall embody this fact. This means, in largest terms, that we must acknowledge the equal right of every human being to the common gifts of God. This alone will make each man free among his fellows. To educate the people to this thought, to fire them with enthusiasm for this truth, is the next great work in the evolution of human freedom.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Apr. 9.

After one of the most strenuous campaigns (vol. v, pp. 778, 790, 791, 796, 813, 817, 824) that any American city has ever experienced—in which Senator Marcus A. Hanna, Republican, and Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Democrat, were the opposing leaders,—Mayor Johnson won a signal victory on the 6th in the city of Cleveland. It is conceded to have placed him, beyond challenge, at the head of his party in Ohio, and in the front rank of national leadership. Besides this, it gives him what the State legislature had sought to divest him of—a free hand in the administration of the city which has again elected him to its principal office.

The principal specific issues in the campaign were—(1) 3-cent fares on street cars; (2) municipal ownership of street car lines; and, (3) just taxation. Mayor Johnson headed his party ticket as candidate for reelection, and the remainder of the ticket was composed of men who were publicly pledged to his municipal policies and most of whom had been tested regarding them. The Republican ticket was headed by Harvey D. Goulder, as candidate for mayor. His associate as candidate for vice-mayor and president of the city council was Sol Sontheimer, recently a Democrat,

who had been selected by the Republicans for this nomination because he is president of the central labor federation of the city and had committed himself and endeavored to commit his labor organization to opposition to 3-cent fares (vol. v., pp. 701, 722, 787). Mr. Sontheimer was defeated for vice mayor and president of the council by a plurality of 10,436. Mayor Johnson was reelected mayor by a plurality of 5,985. The reported vote is as follows:

Mayor—Johnson (Dem.).....	36,164
Goulder (Rep.).....	30,179
Johnson's plurality	6,985
Vice-Mayor—Lapp (Dem.).....	37,581
Sontheimer (Rep.).....	27,145
Lapp's plurality	10,436
Auditor—Madigan (Dem.).....	35,791
Townsend (Rep.).....	29,134
Madigan's plurality	6,657
Treasurer—Coffinberry (Dem.).....	36,974
Smith (Rep.).....	28,750
Coffinberry's plurality	7,224
Solicitor—Baker (Dem.).....	35,019
Mooney (Rep.).....	29,268
Baker's plurality	5,751
Public Service Board:	
Cooley (Dem.).....	35,048
Springborn (Dem.).....	35,798
Leslie (Dem.).....	35,010
Slatmeyer (Rep.).....	31,295
Towson (Rep.).....	30,545
Knight (Rep.).....	31,333

For councilmen at large there are three Democrats and three Republicans for the long term, and three of each party for the short term.

Besides scoring this victory on the general ticket, Mayor Johnson has secured a city council which represents his policies overwhelmingly. The legislature had designed to cripple his administration by providing in the new municipal code that mayoral appointments must be confirmed by two-thirds of the council, the appointments to be made by the governor if more than one-third of the council refuses to confirm. But the Cleveland election frustrates that design. The new council is distributed as follows: Democrats, 23; Republicans, 9. As the Democratic members are publicly pledged (vol. v, p. 303) to support Mayor Johnson's 3-cent fare and related policies, there is little danger of the gubernatorial interference for which the municipal code provides.

The general character and scope of Mayor Johnson's victory may be inferred from the following special dispatch to the Chicago Chronicle, a paper of Johnson's party, but hostile to him:

Cleveland, O., April 7.—The victory of Mayor Tom L. Johnson yesterday brings with it much power. By virtue of the "ripper" legislation affecting the form of the city government, instigated by his enemies for the purpose of crushing him completely, he finds himself in absolute possession of the

entire executive and legislative departments of the city. He "owns" 23 offices in the new form of city government which takes effect May 4, and is a political dictator. His victory also favors his gubernatorial aspirations and will place him in control of the Democratic State committee.

"Tom L. Johnson," said Mr. Ingalls, of the Big Four, the defeated Democratic candidate for mayor of Cincinnati, "is the logical Democratic nominee for governor of Ohio, and I am for him."

The defeat of Harvey D. Goulder is said to show the weakness of Senator Hanna at home. With this new evidence of Senator Hanna's weakness the adherents of Gen. Charles Dick have begun to reassert the claims of their candidate for the nomination for governor on the Republican ticket. Cox, of Cincinnati, has declared openly that he would be only too happy to work for Gen. Dick against Myron T. Herrick, whom Senator Hanna has designated as the accepted candidate for the party.

In an interview published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 8th Mayor Johnson gave his own views of the situation and outlined his plans in these words:

The campaign was fought entirely upon local issues. National issues did not figure in the campaign, and the result has no significance outside of Cleveland. It was merely a demonstration of the fact that the people of this city have attained a high degree of good citizenship in that they have studied municipal questions and have learned to think independently. Senator Hanna brought great energy to the campaign, and by his able management secured an organization of merit. He also secured more harmony than has been known within his party for some time. But through it all Mr. Hanna made no effort to conceal the fact that he was endeavoring to make use of his party merely for the furtherance of his private interests. The people knew this, and its bad effect more than counterbalanced Mr. Hanna's energy and his skill as an organizer. As soon as the Supreme Court injunction expires, on May 4, we purpose at once to push forward the plan of asking for new bids for a three-cent fare street railroad. We intend to do everything possible to secure the payment of whatever back taxes are owed by the street railroads and other public service corporations. We shall try to find a plan to carry on an investigation of other inequalities in taxation. Next fall we expect to agitate all over the State the right of home rule and we shall endeavor to free the hands of each community so that equal taxation may be achieved. Of course these are legislative measures, and, in order to

achieve them, it will be necessary to awaken the people to the necessity of choosing a legislature which will act for the people.

Mayor Jones has won a victory in Toledo, which, though different in scope and effectiveness from Mayor Johnson's in Cleveland, is as significant as it is unique. This also occurred on the 6th. Originally elected mayor of Toledo in 1897 as the regular Republican candidate, Mayor Jones bolted his party in 1899 and was reelected against both parties; he had abandoned parties in 1901 and was reelected as an independent with the Democratic endorsement; and now, in 1903, he is reelected on petition as a "no party" candidate by a vote almost as large as that of the Democratic and Republican candidates combined. The vote for mayor is as follows:

Jones (non-partisan).....	10,354
Dowd (Rep.).....	7,504
Edson (Dem.).....	4,255
Bragg (Soc.).....	507
Total vote cast.....	22,620
Jones's plurality.....	2,850

In explanation of this remarkable result Mayor Jones says:

As a triumph of the people, the election is beyond all comparison more significant and hopeful than that of four years ago, when as an independent candidate I received nearly 70 per cent. of the total vote, with a Republican and Democratic candidate in the field. In that year we had the support of a daily newspaper and the endorsement of many "organizations." There was a revolt of the whole city against the unblushingly outrageous and dishonest methods of the Republican convention from which I had bolted, and the desire to administer a stinging rebuke to the machine was a prominent factor in contributing to the result. The vote was rather more a vote of protest than one of promise. In this election, every daily paper in the city, English and German, has supported the machine candidates, and, therefore, opposed my election. Every English daily declined to even publish my letter accepting the nomination from thousands of petitioners. Not a single organization has endorsed the movement this year. The result, therefore, is the cleanest-cut and most hopeful sign of the rise of the spirit of democracy of our time. With Republican, Democratic and Socialist party candidates in the field, unaided and alone, that unorganized mass, the people, have discovered that they, and not the parties, are the power, are the government, and I believe have served notice by their votes on the political machines in this city that their services are no longer needed. They may be tolerated for awhile, but it will only be by sufferance. The child, Democ-

racy, has become a man and can walk alone.

Two important elections in Ohio on the 6th were won by the Republicans. One of them was that at Columbus, where Mayor Hinkle, Democrat, (elected two years ago by 350) was defeated for reelection by Robert H. Jeffrey, Republican, by 3,000 plurality. The other was at Cincinnati, where M. E. Ingalls, president of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis railway (the "Big Four"), who had been nominated for mayor of Cincinnati by a citizens' movement and was supported by the Democrats, was defeated by Mayor Fleischman, the Republican candidate. Fleischman has a plurality of over 16,000. His plurality three years ago was 5,500.

The Chicago election came off on the 7th. It had been hotly contested (vol. v, p. 818). Mayor Harrison was the Democratic candidate for reelection for a fourth term; Graeme Stewart was the Republican candidate, and Daniel L. Cruice the candidate of the Independent Labor party which had first tendered its nomination to Clarence S. Darrow. There were also two Socialist candidates and a Prohibitionist. Following is the result:

Harrison (Dem.).....	146,323
Stewart (Rep.).....	138,485
Breckon (Soc.).....	11,207
Cruice (Ind. Lab.).....	9,999
Sale (Soc. Lab.).....	1,062
Haines (Pro.).....	2,480
Total vote.....	309,556
Harrison's plurality.....	7,838

Though Mayor Harrison is reelected, his majority is scant and he will have to face a city council in which there are 16 Democrats, 17 Republicans and 2 members who owe allegiance to neither of those parties. These two members hold the balance of power in the council. One of the two is an independent; the other is a Socialist. As both were recommended by the Municipal Voters' League, their election is a triumph for that body. This is obvious upon the face of the returns in the case of the Socialist, William Johnson. Mr. Johnson is elected from the 33d ward by a vote of 3,116, whereas the Socialist candidate for mayor polled in that ward only 1,097. Mr. Johnson received, therefore, 2,019 in addition to his party vote.

This is about the loss suffered by the Republican and the Democratic candidates, both of whom were condemned by the Voters' league when it recommended the Socialist. The Republican polled 1,888 votes less than did the mayoral candidate of his party, and the Democrat polled 132 less than his mayoral candidate. Yet the total vote was 8,342 for mayor and 8,309 for councilman, a difference of only 33. The relative distribution of the vote is as follows:

Compared with Republican, for mayor.....	Loss on Councilman.....	Gain on Councilman.....
Democrat, for mayor.....	1,888	.....
Socialist for mayor.....	132	2,019
Cruice, for mayor.....	115	.....
Prohibitionist for mayor.....	.....	66
Soc.-Labor for mayor.....	.....	17
Fall off in total vote.....	.....	33
	2,135	2,135

After his election Mayor Harrison made public the following statement of his purpose regarding the traction question:

I am willing to take up the settlement of the traction question at any time. It must be understood in advance, however, that no ordinance is to be passed until the legislature has given Chicago the right to own and operate street car lines. The ordinance must provide, moreover, for the referendum; and the rights claimed by the companies under the 99-year act must be expressly waived. There can be, of course, no question of a grant for a longer term of years than now permitted by the horse and dummy act—namely, 20 years—and provision must be made for city acquirement at the earliest possible date. With these fundamentals properly cared for, the remaining essentials for franchise extensions can be readily handled. For the immediate future all citizens having the best interests of Chicago at heart should exert their full influence to prevail upon the legislature to pass at once municipal-ownership enabling legislation, as well as an act establishing a reasonable and effective referendum.

The Socialist vote for mayor of Chicago is double that of two years ago, but only a little more than half the vote of the party for State treasurer last Fall. Following are the comparative figures:

	Socialist Soc. Dem.	Socialist P'ty.	Socialist Lab. P'ty.	Tot.
Mayor, 1901.....	2,046	5,334	679	8,109
State Tr's., 1902.....	13,650	6,512	.....	20,162
Mayor, 1903.....	11,207	1,062	.....	12,269

From other cities the only Socialist vote so far at hand is reported from Battle Creek, Mich., where 2 Socialist aldermen are elected, making 4 Socialists now in the council. The

total Socialist vote at this election was 1,558, the Republican candidate for mayor being elected over the Socialist by a plurality of 706.

In the Netherlands a great strike, the organization of which is promoted by Socialists as part of the evolutionary programme of socialism, has broken out. It began on the 6th, and is now reported to be a menace to the peace not only of Holland but even of Europe. For this reason it attracts more attention in Europe than does the advancing shadow of the Macedonian question.

This strike is the supplementary event to a 48-hour dockers' strike in Amsterdam last January, which in that brief time spread to the railways and resulted in cutting off Amsterdam from the rest of the world. The railway company was consequently compelled to concede the demands of the striking workmen. But as a result of the public inconvenience caused by the strike, a demand for legislation against all railway strikes was made, and in February the Kuyper ministry (Conservative) introduced three bills in the states general prohibiting such strikes. Bill number one provided for the organization of a railway brigade to run the railways in case of need; bill number two appointed a royal commission to settle railway grievances; bill number three forbade "public servants" to strike. The importance of the bill with regard to "public servants" will be appreciated when it is observed that of the 1,730 miles of railway in Holland 968 belong to the government. Even the independent roads, moreover, are said by the London Times to have such contracts with the government as to make them quasi-governmental enterprises. Upon the introduction of these bills into the states general the representatives of 50 labor organizations held a convention and appointed a "defense committee" composed of two representatives of the railroad employes, two of the boatmen's union, one of the national labor office, one of the Independent Socialist party, and one of the Social Democratic party. Pledges are said to have been made to this committee by all the labor unions that they would strike when the committee should so order.

According to Mr. Melchers, a well known Socialist member of the sec-

ond chamber of the states general, the ministry promised the Socialists that the antistrike bills should not be "rushed" through arbitrarily, but would be made a subject of constitutional deliberation in regular form; in consideration whereof, the labor "defense committee" promised to call no strike. But, says Mr. Melchers, "the ministry paid no heed to its promises, but essayed to place the workers under the heels of the soldiery and then to carry things in the chamber with a high hand." The irritation and doubt so caused seems to have been aggravated by an anti-workingman speech of Kuyper's in the chamber. For this reason a general strike on all land and water transportation systems in Holland was proclaimed on the 6th by the "defense committee," partly for better wages and partly to coerce the states general with reference to the anti-strike bills. The president of this committee explained on that day that the strike proclamation involves the entire railroad system and other land transport of Holland, and the water transport of the important ports—Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dordrecht and Zaandam. The strike, he added, was intended as a protest against the anti-strike bills, as well as to support the demand of the railroad men for an increase of wages.

The strike proclamation was promptly obeyed. With the exception of a few through express trains, transportation was practically suspended on the 7th and the centers of population were threatened with famine. The government was striving to counteract the effects of the strike by the wholesale use of the military and of nonunion laborers, but thus far had accomplished little. Seventy per cent. of the total number of railway men were on strike, in addition to 3,000 men from the railway repair shops of the companies and other workmen who had struck in sympathy. The Dutch authorities had notified the Belgian government that they would not guarantee an international train service. Passengers on their way to Holland were turned back at Roosendaal and no mails were sent out of Holland. That country was practically cut off from the business world. The stress of this situation was increased on the 8th when the "defense committee" proclaimed a universal strike of all trades throughout Holland to go into effect on the 9th. Many workers did

not wait for the appointed hour, but struck at once.

At The Hague the states general resumed the discussion of the anti-strike bills on the 7th with a crowded chamber and the Socialist members all in their seats. The streets in the vicinity were occupied by dense crowds, but there were no disorders. Some headway in legislation had been made on the 8th, but amid a tumult of opposition from the Socialist members.

International complications are feared because Germany has offered to send troops into Holland to preserve order and protect the railways. The Emperor's excuse for this offer is the great business interests of Germany which the strike jeopardizes. This would be regarded by other European nations as an invasion, though invited by the Dutch government; and it is not probable that Holland and Germany would be quietly allowed to make an arrangement for such protection on their own account or without concert of action even if the Holland government were willing. The conviction is general that if the German Emperor ever got German troops into Holland they would never be withdrawn.

NEWS NOTES.

—The Cuban Congress assembled at Havana on the 6th. In his message President Palma reported \$2,638,000 in the treasury.

—Jefferson's birthday was celebrated at Des Moines on the 2d with a banquet, at which William J. Bryan and Adlai Stevenson were the principal speakers.

—Secretary Root and Senator Lodge spoke on the 2d at the annual dinner of the Home Market club, Boston, in opposition to revision of the protective tariff.

—Edward VII. of England arrived at Lisbon on the 2d on a five months' tour of the continent. He replied to addresses of welcome of the Portuguese parliament on the 3d.

—Col. Julian Santos, former aid-de-camp of the late Gen. San Miguel, the Filipino commander, and who participated in San Miguel's operations and was captured over a month ago by the Americans, was found guilty at Pasig on the 4th of brigandage, abduction and disarming the police at Novaliches. He has been sentenced to death upon this conviction.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department

for March shows on hand March 31, 1903:

Gold reserve fund\$150,000,000 00
Available cash..... 222,921,988 83

Total.....\$372,921,988 83
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902..... 358,574,115 85

Increase \$14,347,872 98

—In his tour (vol. v., p. 823) President Roosevelt spoke at Chicago on the 2d on the Monroe doctrine and the navy; at Milwaukee on the 3d on the trust question; at Minneapolis on the 4th on the tariff question; at Sioux Falls, S. D., on the 6th on the labor question and the farmer, and at Fargo on the 7th on the Philippine question. On the 8th he went into Yellowstone park, intending to return on the 24th.

—In accordance with the opinion of O. N. Carter, county judge of Cook county, Ill., the election commission of that county sustained the judges of election on the 7th in refusing to allow a woman to act as watcher for the Socialist party during the counting of the votes in the forty-third precinct of the Seventh ward of Chicago. In his opinion Judge Carter said:

The woman cannot act. Were there women voting at this election I should be inclined to decide she could act, but as there are no questions on which she might have voted, she is not entitled to act as watcher.

—The March treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government for the nine months ending March, 1903, shows the following:

Receipts:
Tariff\$219,236,237 13
Internal revenue... 172,211,984 20
Miscellaneous 31,646,179 85

Expenses:
Civil and misc..... \$96,796,105 39
War 92,646,651 46
Navy 60,729,072 26
Indians 10,363,872 60
Pensions 105,713,642 91
Interest 23,014,832 10

Surplus\$33,826,223 89

—The trouble between the Wabash railroad officials and the employes of that system, which has lasted four months, during which a threatened strike was prevented only by the issuance of an injunction (vol. v., p. 759), since dissolved (vol. v., p. 822), restraining the employes from vacating their positions, has been settled. The result was announced on the 4th, after a conference between the officials of the railroad and the representatives of the men. Officials of the brotherhoods representing the employes declare the settlement is eminently satisfactory and is a sweeping victory for organized labor.

PRESS OPINIONS.

TOM L. JOHNSON'S RE-ELECTION.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), April 7.—There is no mystery in the remarkable success of "Tom Johnson Democracy" in Cleveland. It has had opposed to it elements that municipal politicians heretofore have deemed all-powerful. The public-service corporations—street railway com-

panies, gas companies, electric lighting companies, telephone companies and steam railway companies—have fought bitterly. The "gang" elements of the Democratic and Republican parties have united against it. Against these forces Mayor Johnson has allied the self-respecting workmen, the small merchants, and the elements in the community that desire honest government devoted to the best interests of all. Though the Republican machine and the public-service corporations have left no stone unturned to block Mayor Johnson's efforts to secure three-cent street railway fares and equalize the burden of taxation, the voters have stood by him. It is an inspiring spectacle and should serve to strengthen throughout the country the forces that stand for good municipal government, showing as it does that the elements that make for corrupt rule are not invulnerable.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind.), April 8.—The explanation is not difficult. The Republican expectation was that the head of the ticket would cast a glamour over the independent voters and blind them to the schemes behind. It was expected that the East End, which had been largely responsible for the great plurality of Mr. Johnson two years ago, would bury him this year so deep that the other sections of the city could not dig him up. Both expectations were disappointed. In the East End, as in other parts of the city, the burden of unequal taxation is felt and the movement for correcting these inequalities has enlisted many supporters who do not parade their views, but express them effectively in the secrecy of the ballot box. . . . The intemperate and abusive language used towards some who felt that they could not support the Republican ticket because of what was behind it, and the attacks of a similar character from the stump and in print upon Democratic candidates, drove away votes instead of gaining them. . . . Resentment at the destruction of the federal plan of municipal government, and especially at the motives for its overthrow, had no little influence in bringing about the result of Monday's election. There was a strong feeling that Mayor Johnson had not received fair play, and that he should be retained in his position and given an administration in accord with his policy, that he might have opportunity to show whether he is a practical administrator, or the "mere theorist" he had been declared. There was one other reason why Mr. Johnson received thousands of votes which were confidently counted on for the opposing candidate. The mayor has done some good things during his first term, the credit for which has been unfairly denied him by his opponents, or they had been declared of no importance, or that in doing them he had merely "played to the galleries." That was an injustice which made votes for Mayor Johnson among fair-minded citizens instead of driving them away from him to the Republican candidate.

PROSPERITY.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), April 3 (weekly edition).—Prosperity is twisting the two ends of our socio-industrial scale around into rather striking juxtaposition. On the one side is the class of the superfluously wealthy, whose ingenuity is being chiefly taxed for novel ways in which to expend the added abundance that prosperity is pouring almost exclusively into its pockets; and on the other side is the wage class, just now storming the strongholds of capital pretty much all along the line, to gain back in higher wages some part of what has been lost in the increased cost of living. Over against the strikes and disorder which disturb the industrial centers stand out the antics of superfluity in its strife for the amusement of satiety. . . . Here in the American democracy Lucullus and Spartacus find themselves substantially perpetuated in the contrasted indus-

trial and social conditions for which their names stand. Comparative privation strives for ten per cent. improvement side by side with superfluity outdoing the \$5,000 entertainments of the Roman sybarite in the effort to give to satiety a new interest in life. Under contrasts so sharp as these we may live contentedly as a people, and we may not.

DISSATISFACTION.

Kansas City World (Dem.), March 23.—Dissatisfaction is one of the finest forces in life. Without it there would be no going forward. . . . The turtle is never dissatisfied. It never worries. And it lives long—sometimes 1,000 years, they say. But the turtle is the same the day it dies that it is the day it is born—a bloodless creature, that idles its life away, sunning itself on a stone, lazing in the ooze, or dreaming deep down in the mud. . . . There are turtles in human form. The man, be he rich or poor, who is so self-satisfied as never to aspire to better conditions for himself or others, may have a different kind of shell, he may sun himself on a different kind of stone, laze in a different ooze, and bury himself in a different sort of mud, but he is a turtle just the same; and though he may live longer because of his content, it is of no consequence to the world whether he lives at all or not.

MISCELLANY

OUR CAPTAIN.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

Close up the ranks around him!
Let freedom be our end—
For God hath lent our Captain
To be the People's friend.
Our Captain, Our Captain,
Whose place is in the van
Of all the world-wide warfare
For all the Rights of Man!
Close up the ranks behind him;
Close up the ranks and fight!
The bold black flag hath faltered
That mocks the People's might!

Close up the ranks around him—
Close up!—The war is on!
The trumpets of the People
Are singing thro' the dawn.
"For Freedom! For Freedom!"
We hear the trumpets sound,
And all the hosts are gathered
Upon the battle ground.
Close up the ranks and follow
Our Captain in the van,
The bold black flag to conquer
That mocks the Rights of Man!
VIRGINIA M. BUTTERFIELD.

TOM JOHNSON APPRECIATED.

William Lloyd Garrison has been spending the winter in southern California, and his many friends and admirers will be pleased to hear that his health has been greatly improved by the balmy air of the sunny south. Mr. Garrison is a warm admirer of Cleveland's famous mayor, and in a recent letter written by him from La Jolla to a friend in this city he says:

"I was sitting on a bench last Sunday watching the combers roll in, when a stranger seated himself by my side and began to chat. Finding that he was from Cleveland, I asked how Tom

Johnson was getting on. He answered with enthusiasm that he was doing splendidly and would be reelected by a larger majority than ever. 'I am a rock-bound republican,' said he, 'but it is the republicans who made Tom mayor and will keep him so; why, they can't find a decent man to run against him. We all hate Mark Hanna; he is in politics for personal profit; but I should like to see anybody approach Tom Johnson with a dishonest proposition. Don't be worried over Johnson's election.'

"To-day I met another Cleveland man casually on the beach and sounded him about our friend. 'Tom Johnson,' said he, with enthusiasm also, 'he's fine.' He laughed when I suggested a fear that he might fail of election, and declared: 'Nobody can beat Tom Johnson.' I thought, these confident predictions from men who were not partisans would cheer you up. When men from Cleveland look at you with surprise for even thinking the mayor can be 'downed,' it is most encouraging."—San Francisco Star.

"CHILDREN OF THE EMPIRE."

Patriotic associations of young people are being formed, called League of Children of the Empire.—Daily English Papers.

A policeman on his beat meets one of the Leagues.

Policeman—What are you a doin' of, makin' a row and wavin' that dirty flag?

Children of the Empire—We're Children of the Empire, sir. The flag didn't ought to be dirty, but this boy, Bob, let it fall in the mud.

Policeman—O, you're Children of the Empire, are you? What d'ye mean by throwin' mud at that colored gentleman just now?

C. of E.—We wanted to teach him the dignity of labor, sir, and he wouldn't clean our boots.

Policeman—O, that's it, is it? And what d'ye mean by walking all abreast and hustling that poor man into the gutter?

C. of E.—He's only a shepherd, sir.

Policeman—"Only a shepherd!" What's that got to do with it?

C. of E.—Shepherd means pastoral, sir, and the clergyman told us that pastoral people must give way before Empire. He wouldn't get out of our way, so we had to push him into the gutter.

Policeman—I see. Now, look here, Children of the Empire. Go home and wash that dirty flag before you bring it out again. And don't let me catch you at any of them games any more, or I'll have you all in the lock-up.

That's the place for Children of the Empire what don't know how to behave themselves.—The New Age, of London, for March 12.

MINE, THINE AND OURS.

By Louis F. Post, in the February number of The Booklovers' Magazine, published monthly from 1223 Walnut street, Philadelphia. Reprinted by the courteous permission of the Editor of the Magazine.

The recent strike in the anthracite coal regions forced anew into the forum of the public conscience the ancient issue over the doctrine of "mine and thine." But that issue is a false one. What is really in question is not the moral validity of the doctrine of "mine and thine," but the moral reasonableness of its legal application. Whether "mine" ought to be mine and "thine" thine does not depend upon mere legality. In the forum of morals, rights of property depend upon the moral character of the asserted ownership.

To artificial objects the doctrine of "mine and thine" does morally apply. If I lay but one brick in the construction of a house, that house in part is morally "mine." If, then, I and all who have cooperated with me in building it, freely sell or give our interests to you, whether for wages paid as the work goes on or for a purchase price after it is done, the whole house is morally "thine."

Not so with natural objects in their natural place and condition. To treat them as private property is an abuse of the moral doctrine of "mine and thine." Just as legislation and social institutions exceeded their legitimate powers when in the last century they made property of black men, so they exceed their legitimate powers now when they make property of such things as natural coal deposits. These are in morals neither "mine" nor "thine." They are "ours."

Between what may be "mine" or "thine," then, and what can only be "ours," there is a distinction which is now legally ignored. But by recognizing artificial objects as "mine" and "thine" in proportion to the work we have respectively done to make them, while regarding natural objects in their natural place and condition as "ours" according to our common needs, this distinction defines a moral law of property which cannot be rationally questioned. To that law human institutions must conform or stand condemned, and by obedience to it civilization must survive if it survive at all. "Mine" and "thine" will be secure only when "ours" is held sacred. The dif-

ference between individual rights and common rights is vital.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY. A REPLY TO CHARGES AGAINST HIS ADMINISTRATION.

Mayor Johnson yesterday sent the executive committee of the Municipal association the following communication in reply to the charges against the administration in the association campaign bulletin:

"It would be manifestly impossible for me to answer in writing all the statements made with regard to the present administration by the army of men who, as I think, are wilfully distorting and misusing municipal statistics in the newspapers of this city, though I have, I think, replied in detail in my speeches to all such criticism. I am satisfied that most of these statements are either knowingly false or else are such half statements of fact as render them equally misleading and untrue.

"For the reason that I have above stated it would be equally impossible for me to attempt an extensive review of your recent bulletin, coming as it does at the eleventh hour, but I cannot refrain from saying a word with regard to your statement that you condemn as inimical to the public interest the lax treatment of the midnight and Sunday closing ordinances with which you charge this administration. I am especially moved to comment upon this statement, for the reason that I heartily approve the work of your association in disseminating information bearing upon unknown candidates for public office, and I have every confidence in the candor and honesty of your committee.

"So far as I know, no member of your committee has ever made any investigation of the condition which you condemn; you have never called upon me or the director of police or the officers who have charge of the police force, nor, so far as I know, have you sought by direct evidence from any source, a fair knowledge of the condition which you criticize. Certainly a knowledge of the facts is a prerequisite to any intelligent treatment of the problem. I appreciate, however, that if the fact which you state remains and can be corrected, this statement of a lack of information on your part would not be an excuse for any public officer.

"It is not true that I have made any promises, express or implied, to the interest to which you refer, but on the contrary it is true that the present administration has done more to

check and repress vice than any of its predecessors; it has for the first time in the recent history of the city closed the dives and forced the low resorts where liquor is sold to go out of business; it has practically put an end to public gambling in the city, an achievement which no other administration can boast, and this it has done by placing uniformed patrolmen before the doors of such resorts; it has passed an ordinance for the regulation of dance halls; it has put an end to periodical raids and fines and public participation in the earnings of vice.

"The Sunday closing ordinance has prevented disorder; no administration has ever been able to enforce it, though its enforcement under the present administration has been as successful as under any of its predecessors. The city contains more than 2,000 saloons; we had up to March 1 of the present year but 292 patrolmen; of these 100 were on duty in the daytime. It would require from two to three men to make an arrest and secure evidence leading to a conviction, or one squad for every 60 to 100 saloons; at most, working constantly and uninterruptedly, they could make no more than 150 arrests a day, which would mean that every saloon keeper would be arrested once every three months, and the saloon-keepers could afford to pay the fine and continue the business.

"Such an administration as you suggest would involve the devotion of every available energy of the police department to this single end—it would involve the attendance of the entire day force of policemen at the police court from three to six days in each week and would result in the complete withdrawal of police protection from every other part of the city, the entire clogging of the machinery of the police court and the introduction of a system of secret blackmail and discrimination in the police department such as has been the discredit of many of our American cities.

"I have deemed the protection of the city from crime the most important use of the limited police force at our command, and for this reason I have not been willing to withdraw the entire force from its urgent duties to devote them to a spasmodic, discriminating and dangerous attempt to enforce ordinances impracticable of enforcement with the force at my disposal. I say impracticable, for I believe that it would require at least 300 men, an additional police judge and an expenditure of many thousands of dol-

lars a year, devoted exclusively to the purpose of closing the saloons on Sunday and after midnight; and as I have said before, I think such an attempt would inevitably lead rather to a corruption of the force than to a suppression of the evil.

"The present administration has sought to discriminate between crime, misfortune and vice—an effort has been made to prevent the first—the second helped to help itself—the third we have endeavored to minimize, and it is with no intention of disrespect, either for the men who compose your association or the honesty of the purpose at which it is aiming, that I say the public service corporations have in this matter attempted to create public apprehension and mistrust as a mere blind to cover their sinister efforts to secure an extension of their valuable franchises in fraud of the rights of the people and without a just return for the privileges which they seek to enjoy. Very respectfully,

"TOM L. JOHNSON."

—Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 5.

NEW ZEALAND LAND REFORM.

For The Public.

The following account of New Zealand reforms varies somewhat from the accounts that usually reach this country; but it comes from a competent and sympathetic observer, for whose integrity we vouch, though we neither adopt nor condemn his conclusions.

On the 9th of February, 1902, after visiting Brisbane and Sydney on our way out, a friend and I landed at Auckland, New Zealand, with the object of seeing for ourselves what advantages that much lauded land offered to home-seekers.

On bicycles we went south from Auckland through the Waikato and Waipa valleys into the "King" country, returning by way of the Rotorua, or Thermal Springs district, and the Thames valley, to Auckland, being three weeks on our wheels. Our personal investigations were confined to Auckland city and land districts in the North Island, but we met numbers of people from every section of New Zealand on our trip inland (land hunting is as active in that country now as in America 20 years ago), and were able to form, I think, a correct opinion of conditions obtaining over the whole colony.

The climate is one of the best in the world. The soil, though the country is somewhat broken and mountainous, compares favorably with the best sections of America. The people, though hospitable to strangers, and intelli-

gent and progressive in some respects in politics, are pervaded by an even more intensely jingo spirit than Canadians or Australians. New Zealand is a country of schools and churches. The Anglican denomination greatly predominates, both in numbers and influence, and from this influence comes their militant disposition.

The legislation so far adopted to remedy social inequality is purely socialistic—in the direction of public ownership and operation of public utilities as railways, telegraphs, etc., and in government regulation of conflicting individual interests as between employers and employed. New Zealand furnishes no evidence (either for or against) the theories of Henry George from actual experience. No single tax legislation has as yet been adopted by the central government for their own guidance. The most they have done is to grant power to municipal bodies to tax land values exclusively for local purposes.

The effect of this legislation has not yet been felt to any great extent, and under their system of government can never be very great. The governmental system of New Zealand is patterned after that of the England of half a century ago. Almost the whole collection and expenditure of public moneys is in the hands of the central government. Municipal bodies, such as we have in America or they are now getting in England, do not exist outside of the cities, and even there their collecting and spending powers are very limited. In country districts the road boards are the most important bodies of a municipal character, and so limited are their powers that in many sections they have been allowed to become defunct.

The effect of land taxation as applied by the central government in New Zealand is mischievous and pernicious, tending to complicate rather than settle the question of land monopoly, intensifying rather than correcting the evils it sought to remedy. The policy is to discourage large holdings by a progressive land tax according to size and value, and to encourage small holdings by exempting them from taxation altogether.

All holdings above \$25,000 value are subject to a progressive tax, which is increased with the size and value of the holdings. All holdings of \$25,000 or less are subject to the ordinary rate of taxation only, and are granted an exemption from taxation on the amount of \$2,500, holdings of \$2,500 or less being totally exempt from taxa-

tion. This is nothing more nor less than an attempt to "get even"—a creating of one evil to remedy another; and the outcome proves that injustice to large holders is no better than injustice to small ones.

The people of New Zealand have committed themselves to the principle of state ownership of all land, with the people as tenants. To accomplish this the government spends five or six millions of dollars of borrowed money annually in the purchase of large estates, which are sublet to small holders on perpetual leases at an annual rental of five per cent. on their value at the time of allotment. The value of these lands is determined by an arbitration board, who are guided by the prevailing price of land in the vicinity. The effects of the construction and operation of government railways, the purchase by government annually of so much land for cash in a small country like New Zealand, and the exemption of small holdings from taxation, could have only one effect. Speculative land values in the last three years have enormously increased, and land speculation is just as intensely active as in Canada or the United States, Henry Demarest Lloyd to the contrary notwithstanding.

And monopoly knows its ways of taking advantage, too. I visited several of these farms and am convinced that the companies selling them increased their profits by working them to the point of exhaustion in anticipation of their being bought by government.

Again, "Unionism" is a stronger factor in politics than here. This is due to the "compulsory arbitration act," which compels men to form unions before they can take advantage of its provisions. The unionists of New Zealand are intensely protectionist. In carrying out their demands for the exclusion of foreign made goods the government is able to obtain a great portion of public revenue from a high tariff, and correspondingly to relieve land values from taxation. Human nature is the same there as here; the land and tariff monopolist sees his advantage just as quickly.

The cost of land and the cost of living keep pace with each other. Reliable citizens informed us that the latter increased 50 per cent. in the previous three years, and in 1902 the government found it necessary to announce at the opening of parliament that they intended to legislate against trusts by making it a crime "to make

combinations to improperly raise the price of food supplies."

Undoubtedly social conditions have been improved by "labor legislation" in New Zealand, but we found in the country considerable dissatisfaction and unrest, and a growing conviction among the best men of all shades of opinion that they have not yet solved the problem of correcting social inequality, and that some of the remedies already adopted with that end in view will have to be abandoned. Signs of a coming struggle are easily seen. The "Farmers' Union," organized and controlled by large land holders with the object of defending and increasing their special privileges, is rapidly increasing its membership among the small holders, also determined to perpetuate their own special privilege—exemption of small holdings from taxation. The country is divided into hostile camps—labor and tariff monopoly in one; land monopoly and exemption from taxation in the other, each seeking an adjustment for its exclusive benefit. Meanwhile the sentiment grows that the measures already adopted fall short of the requirements of the case, and that in the land question is to be found the only solution.

My advice to all homeseekers is. Do not be deceived by glowing accounts of the advantages of New Zealand. Although possessing many advantages it has, in my opinion, not yet reached a permanent settled condition, and labor is being saddled with the cost of experimenting.

JOHN MACMILLAN.

THE MAKING OF A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

ACT IV.

Scene—Private office of J. Head Push. Mr. Push discovered seated at desk littered with letters, documents, etc.

Mr. Push (reading newspaper)—"Twelve years ago the wealth distributed in the United States was estimated at \$65,000,000,000, and of this less than 125 families possessed \$25,000,000,000, making an average of \$200,000,000, for each of these families. About one-half of the number of families in the United States had absolutely nothing that could be called wealth. If power and wealth are concentrated in the hands of the few, it necessarily leads to the poverty of many and even to hunger and death. The men who own the wealth of the country also control all the functions of the country." (Speaking solus) Well, I'd like to know why they shouldn't! Does this fellow think we millionaires are go-

ing to let a horde of two-cent, hand-to-mouth laborers run our affairs? (Reading) "The press is also in the control of the wealthy. In all large papers it will be found that the editorial page is controlled by those in the counting-rooms." (Speaking solus) Oh, dear! This fellow is teaching his grandmother to suck eggs. He'll tell us by and by that July and August are summer months. (Reading) "In the recent coal strike the Pennsylvania courts issued injunctions against sending food to the starving miners and against holding meetings to speak on the strike." (Speaking) Of course they did. Wouldn't we be dunderheaded idiots now to place judges on the bench who didn't know that giving comfort to the enemy was itself an act of enmity? What next, I wonder! (Reading) "The United States is not really governed by President Roosevelt or by the people, but by such men as Mr. Morgan and Mr. Rockefeller—men who control the industries. Right here in America we are living under a despotism which is more implacable, subtler and harder than any that ever existed under any king." (Speaking) There's gratitude for you! I wonder we captains ever build a library or endow a college. "Good king of cats!" What's this? Some one's been leaking! (Reading eagerly) "During 20 years the government pays \$70,000,000 rent for mail cars. The mail cars which last for 20 years cost only \$3,000,000. During certain months the railroad corporations which carry the mail weigh it to get a unit of tonnage. They generally choose a time just before Christmas, and it has been proved that the railroads have stuffed the mails at these times in order to get a larger unit. In addition to this the government pays the railroads a rate more than eight times as large as what the express companies pay them." (Speaking excitedly) Ye gods! Who told McCartney that? Is there, no law in this country to prevent our private affairs from being hawked about as if we were no better than the common throng? (Rising and throwing down paper.) I'll see the President about this. It's high time this anarchist legislation should be broadened to include corporation as well as government officials so that this insufferable nuisance of free speech may be abated. I think when I suggest to Theodore that the kingmakers are certainly as important as the kings they make, he will see the

point and use his influence to make it a crime to tell such libelous truths. I'll be switched if it isn't outrageous!

(Enter Frank Push.)

Frank—Why, Governor, what's the matter? You're as red's a lobster.

Mr. Push (fiercely)—Bah! You don't have to boil me to get the green off!

Frank—Pardon, Dad; my mistake. I thought you were already in a stew.

Mr. Push—Another one of your stewpandous mistakes.

Frank—Geewillikins, Pater, you're worse'n Hood!

Mr. Push (threatening)—Stop it, or I'll Hood you!

Frank (closing one eye)—With a wink to make it hoodwink. (Aside) Not if we observe ourself closely, Pater. (To him.) Don't forget, Pa, that a 17 collar is first cousin to apoplexy.

Mr. Push—Do you think I sent for you to give me medical advice? Not much. I want to know if you have considered well what I have said to you about your business career.

Frank—I have considered it enough to be convinced that you are not right in the matter.

Mr. Push—Indeed! If I "mistake right," as our coachman puts it, your favorite Pope said: "Whatever is, is right;" and I rather fancy I exist, my Boy.

Frank—As a passing phase, yes. There were three dimensions to Pope, and you only see two.

Mr. Push—Now the egg tells the hen she's superficial. Perhaps you'll be good enough to tell me how you define "right."

Frank—I have invented a definition of my own—That course is nearest right which shows the widest range of consistencies, and makes the closest joint with truth.

Mr. Push—According to that, the perfect man merely assists evolution in generalizing the personal ego into its infinite environment.

Frank—Dad, you astonish me by the occasional rapidity of your processes! Your grey matter is like that bituminous dust that the coal pirates—

Mr. Push (interrupting)—Barons, my son.

Frank—Pirates, my father — like that bituminous dust that the coal pirates inflicted this winter on an imbecile public. Ordinarily it smoulders and blackens in a commercial envelope of smoke, soot and sulphur, till

some one punches it with the poker of an unmonetized idea, when it flashes explosively in the most unlooked-for fashion. Upon my soul I marvel that it hasn't set fire to your financial chimney, and burned your whole commercial structure to the ground!

Mr. Push (aside)—What does the boy mean? Have I reared a thing that can outthink me? It just gives me the crawls to think that some superior mind is jabbing the intellectual finger of derision into my pet rib. I don't know whether or not I'm tickled, but I guess it's safe to change the subject. (To Frank.) See here, lad. You mustn't judge us captains by any such idea of right. We've evolved past all that. Do you not know that the ancient Egyptians had one religion for the priests and another for the rabble? You don't suppose for a moment, do you, that the Egyptian hierophant himself worshiped a cat, for instance? Oh no! He had something better'n that, for himself. Now, we high priests of finance have an esoteric truth for ourselves and an exoteric truth for the rabble.

Frank—I shall have to ask you to explain.

Mr. Push—Well, you know we captains, through our under priests the plutocratic politicians, are telling the masses that they want a whopping big navy. Not that WE want it, but that THEY want it. The Republican party tells them that that is the way to secure peace; that just as soon as we are able to fight and surely conquer we won't want to.

Frank—Yes, give an urchin his first jackknife and he'll never so much as open it to whittle. I suppose the reason the Republicans were so anxious to fight the Filipinos was because there was a chance of our being "licked," eh?

Mr. Push—There you go again. We are only esoterically right. The end justifies the means.

Frank—Am I talking to a Jesuit or a Presbyterian?

Mr. Push—My son, religion is out of place here. We are in the counting-house, not the church. Remember what Michael Faraday said: "When I enter my laboratory I close the door of my closet, and when I enter my closet I close the door of my laboratory."

Frank—But Pasteur said the reverse, and Virchow endorsed the rebuttal.

Mr. Push—Never mind that. It's

enough for you to remember that when you open your ledger, you close your Bible.

Frank—Is that why captains of industry take the ledger for their Bible, so that they may open both at once?

Mr. Push—Nonsense. You know perfectly well that is just what we never do. We never try to mix religion with our business. We are more orderly than that and know better how to classify things. Religion is a thing for Sunday and the church only. For business, on the contrary: "All place a temple, and all seasons summer." When I was a Baptist—

Frank—Just a moment, Pater, that reminds me of something I heard the other day. A Cleveland apothecary had just hired a new boy who rather prided himself on his address. Enter a young miss who has heard of this elegance and has come to observe it. Young Miss says: "I would like three stamps." Elegant Young Man: "What denomination, please?" Young Miss, demurely: "Baptist, like Mr. Rockefeller." Proprietor as the new clerk hesitates and blushes: "That's the smallest; give her three ones, Ikey."

Mr. Push—You need a medicine for that humor of yours. What can you see funny in slurring the most unobtrusive of men, a man who never works enough in the open to give offense to the most delicate nerves. He is not at all like most men, for most of us, like whales, come to the surface at times to blow. Who ever heard this gentleman blow? Do you know why he never blows?

Frank—Perhaps he's thinking of the time when wind may cost money.

Mr. Push—I'm ashamed of you. Have you no reverence for anything? Don't hundreds of millions mean anything to you? But there, let us return to our subject. I was showing you the difference between esoteric and exoteric truth. Take, for example, the last census we made.

Frank—Pater, you're too modest. I think you're quite justified in using the term "created."

Mr. Push—I'm not to be sidetracked like a train-load of kerosene intended to compete with the Standard Oil! I say the last census had many things only esoterically true. For example in each of sixty-nine counties we have found more farm lands than the entire surveyed area. Now this is not exoterically possible.

Frank—Oh, I don't know! There was a North Carolina negro who said

he had but a single acre of land and that last year he raised two acres of "water-millions." When asked how that could be possible he replied: "Well, Boss, I jist done turn it up idgeways an' planted bofe sides." That explains how you captain-Republicans get thirty square miles of farm-lands never before found in the county containing Chicago, and thirty-five square miles of new farm-land in the county containing Cincinnati. You "jist done turn it up idgewise an' planted bofe sides."

Mr. Push—I ignore the interruption. The method we adopted with regard to labor gave results which were not exoterically true. For instance, an ice-harvesting firm which employed, say, ninety-six men for one month to harvest ice, and for the rest of the year so few that we need not consider them, made a report which showed all the money paid in one month to ninety-six men as distributed to eight men during twelve months. This, of course, showed an individual income much in excess of the exoteric fact.

Frank—And yet in spite of all this esoteric juggling, your "cooked" census shows average earnings to have dropped 2 per cent. since 1900.

Mr. Push—Hush! Not so loud! We don't know who may be in the outer office. It will never do to let it leak out that the country is not prosperous. We depend upon making the m(asses) think our prosperity is the next presidential campaign.

Frank—I say, Pater, your all-the-year-round ice-farmer reminds me of a story.

Mr. Push (sighing resignedly)—Out with it before it congests and kills the boy.

Frank—Two Irish women met and greeted each other thus: "Och! Mrs. Muldoon, but me mon Moike have a foine job. Do yez be afther guessin' phwat it is?" "He's a loyer, an' thries cases." "Faix he thries no cases boot cases av gin." "A contractor, thin." "He contracts nothin' boot grip." "Oi give it oop. Phwat is his job?" "Pickin' peraty boogs aff'n the roses in the park." "Will it last all winter, tink?" "Plaze God, I think it will."

Mr. Push—Is this where we laugh? Frank, life is business and business is serious. There is no time for levity. While your mouth is open laughing some captain of industry is stealing your breath.

Frank—Um, like a smaller cat. I must hurry, hurry, hurry. I must

outrun the sun. I must be a shadow on the dial ahead of the hand. I must strive to make my life an inverted history yet unborn. In short, if I would be great I must capitalize the St. Vitus's dance. Your bible—Dun and Bradstreet—is the gospel according to St. Vitus. Excuse me; I'm a candidate for the Apocrypha.

Mr. Push—Frank, I've tried to open your mind to the glories of business and thus far I seem to have gotten results diametrically opposite to those desired. If this failure is to continue, and the more I open your mind to our ways the more you spurn them, what am I to do?

Frank—You'll have to do as did the young surgeon who told his first patient he had appendicitis and must be operated on.

Mr. Push—What did he do?

Frank—He killed the man cutting him open, only to find everything perfectly normal.

Mr. Push—Pshaw! Then what?

Frank—He sent him to his family in a box marked, "Opened by mistake."

Mr. Push (strikes at Frank's ear. He dodges blow)—I feel minded to put five nails in your box.

Frank (at door)—You need a gusset in that reach, Dad.

Mr. Push—Confound you, you imp!

Frank—You misunderstood me; "g" not "c," I said "gusset." (Exit Frank.)

Music pp.—Slow Curtain.

END OF ACT IV.

MELVIN L. SEVERY.

"THROUGH A GLASS, DARKLY."

For The Public.

What charm, then, Spring, to stir these sluggish hearts,

And bid them leap against the sides confining

Of these, their prisoning cells,—what art of arts—

What alchemy hast thou in care—refining? Thou dost awaken new desire to be;

Through dormant nature like some magic thing

Thou stealest. Man breathes his immortality,

And cries: "Awake, my lute, awake and sing!"

But when at last the tender dawning breaks

Of that bright year when black injustice quakes

And falls; when there shall blossom in its place

Freedom, equality and brotherhood;

Then shall thy charm, O Spring, be understood,

Then shall we read thy secret, face to face.

GERTRUDE COLLES.

"You had a lot of books this year, didn't you, Mollie?" "Yes," replied Mistress Mollie, with all the serious-

ness of perfect sincerity; "I had five improving books on my Christmas tree, and two to read."—The Woman's Journal.

"And is it true that nearly all the people in the west can read and write?"

"Ay, my lord! But many of them read and write so much that they haven't time to think!"—Puck.

Politician—Congratulations, Sarah, I've been nominated.

Sarah (with delight)—Honestly?

Politician—What difference does that make?—Detroit Free Press.

BOOKS

IN MANY KEYS.

It is said that a recently translated Mesopotamian brick contains an eloquent lament over the decline of literature. The date of the brick is approximately 2000 B. C. Doubtless, as the world rolled into the new twentieth century B. C., the Wordsworths, Tennysons and Brownings had passed away, and there seemed nowhere any to take their places.

Thus the testimony accumulates that it has always been so. After the great ones are gone and their names have become enshrined, we forget that they were not always thus accounted great. We forget how long Wordsworth was laughed at, how long Tennyson wrote unknown. Many can even remember when Browning was more celebrated as the husband of his wife than for his own work. As a rule, poets have had a peculiarly hard time in getting recognition. The public does not willingly admit a new name into the sacred list. And yet there are always poets among us. At this very time we can find in odd corners of papers and magazines poems that are worthy of any of the great names that we revere. May it not be that among the makers of these will arise some one to write a new great poem? For it must be confessed that there has been no recent attempt, if we except Mr. Phillips's dramas, of sufficiently ample and original scope to bid for the title of great.

So, in this little volume by Mr. John Wilson Bengough, "In Many Keys, a Book of Verse" (William Briggs, Toronto), while we find no single poem ambitious enough to call itself a great poem, yet we find poems that stand the test, both in matter and in form, of good literature and good poetry, though they come to us fresh from the new twentieth century. Some of them, too, have the distinct note of the new spirit, which will make them doubly welcome to many modern readers who may be willing to admit that there can be modern poetry. There are poems here which could not have been written 25 years ago, not only as regards

their subject, but more as regards the spirit which pervades them. Take these lines for example, in the "Apology of Edwin Markham":

The Pioneer is poor, but loves his work;
'Tis bracing and enduring—'tis the soil
In which the flower of hope forever springs,
Because the Pioneer is Man, and free;
He feels no degradation in his sweat,
For he is King of his hard circumstance,
And owns no master 'twixt himself and
God,
Who made the land and gave it to his
hands.

And these, from the poem, "Father Edward McGlynn":

Thy parish was the world of toll and pain;
The disinherited, the weak, the mass,
Submerged in hellish slums by social
wrong,
Were thy parishioners, and in their cause
Thou didst not shrink from obloquy and
loss,
Ending in spooled career and martyrdom.

And, above all, take these three stanzas from the poem, "Henry George":

The Seer of our age, whose pen,
Like Moses' rod, cleft through the sea
A path to life and liberty
For tolling men,
Lies on the mystic mountain-top, but knows
the hosts shall enter in.

Dead—white—appareled for the grave—
Not dressed for honors all but won,
He silent lies, the cause undone
He strove to save;
A pale, cold corpse, with empty hand, like
sculptured martyr, pure and brave.

His cause undone? Nay, sprung anew!
His cause was God's—his prophet call,
"God made this fruitful earth for all,
Not for the few!"

The sun is up and lights the world, and
men have seen, and truth is true!

The volume is well named "In Many Keys"; for there are poems on a great variety of subjects and in many styles. This is a striking element in the author's strength—that his sympathies are not narrow. His own lines seem true of himself:

For no true poet ever hated man,
Tho' hating deeds and policies of men.

Some of the poems are Canadian, some international, some miscellaneous, some personal, and some memorial. In the last group Queen Victoria and Gladstone stand with Father McGlynn and Henry George.

Several of the humorous poems are very good, especially the conversation between John Bull and Uncle Sam on the Open Door in China, and the Canady Farmer. The author shows considerable skill in handling dialect verse; though the reader, as in all such verse, is frequently called upon to help out the meter.

The poet seems most happy in quiet blank verse, which he writes with the apparent ease, and with much of the characteristic simplicity and delicacy of Wordsworth.

A noble valley, stretching league on league
To the far hills that meet the melting sky—
A foreground of green fields and rushing
stream,

Then for the rest a riot of all things
That make a sight to satisfy the heart.

He writes this meter with singular correctness and beauty, and can, we predict, give us something in this kind that will enshrine in classic form some fuller exposition of the new thought.

The noble poem on Edwin Markham, already mentioned, is written in this meter, and gives prophecy of more that can be done. With his mastery of this meter, which suits the English ear, with his wide, catholic sympathies, with his insight into modern problems, the author of this attractive little volume has already "staked his claim" among the poets of the new day.

If it would not make this notice too long, we should like to mention and quote from other of the poems; but we cannot forbear giving in full the beautiful lines on "Sympathy":

Beside the grave's new-rounded sod
By some dear instinct close we come,
Heart draws to heart, tho' we are dumb,
And humbly seeks to share the rod;
We do not know what is to be,
We cannot guess, we cannot see,
We can but stand and wait for God.
As when the winter tempests fall
With blinding snow-wreaths on the steep,
And clouds and darkness dread appall,
What can they do, th' unknowing sheep,
But gather close and silence keep,
And listen for the shepherd's call.

We must say in conclusion that the illustrations and the vignette portraits of Carlyle, Kipling, Henry George, Dr. McGlynn, Edwin Markham and some others add not a little to the attractiveness of the volume.

J. H. DILLARD.

"THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION."

For a quick but comprehensive glance at the spirit of the socialist movement, we can commend Karl Kautsky's two lectures, delivered in Amsterdam about a year ago, one making a contrast between reform toward socialism and revolution by socialism, and the other describing with modest prophecy what is to occur after the socialist revolution. These lectures have been translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons, and are published in one small volume (price 50 cents) under the title of "The Social Revolution," by Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago.

While Mr. Kautsky prefers revolution to reform, in which he undoubtedly reaches the same conclusion that prevails among orthodox socialists, the revolution he has in mind is not like those of the past. It is not to be a military conflict, unless possibly in Russia; nor a sudden uprising of any kind, but rather a long drawn out yet non-military civil war. One of its peculiar methods of warfare is the labor strike, which, at a certain point of economic development will be used for political effect, as has been already done to a degree in France and Belgium.

When political power shall have thus been secured by the socialists, problems of reconstruction are expected to arise the solution of which cannot be foreseen. Mr. Kautsky, therefore, protests that he belongs with those socialists who oppose programmes, devoting themselves to the revolution while the revolution holds the stage. Yet, thinking it "a help, to political clearness to examine the problems that will grow out of the conquest of political power by the socialists," he makes his modest inquiry into future possibilities. Those who follow him here will be pretty sure to conclude, we fancy, that he would have done better had he stuck to the socialist policy of exclusive devotion to the work of getting into power, and left the complicated question of the use to be made of that power entirely alone.

In one part of this investigation, however, Mr. Kautsky puts his finger upon the seat of the industrial disease. Referring to what socialism in power will have to do, he remarks that "it will in all cases be compelled to solve the question of the relief of the unemployed," for "enforced idleness is the greatest curse of the laborer." He then adds this peculiarly sound observation:

That the laborer of to-day is compelled to sell himself to the employer, and that the latter can exploit and enslave him, is because of the ghost of the unemployed and the hunger whip that swings above his head. If the laborer can once be sure of existence, even when he is not working, nothing would be easier than for him to overthrow capital. He no longer needs capitalists, while the latter cannot continue their business without him. Once things have gone thus far, the employer would be beaten in every conflict with his employes and be quickly compelled to give in to them.

True words, those. And in the truth which they express lies the solution of the whole labor question, the whole industrial question, the whole social question, the whole issue between labor and capital. They mark, also, the difference in method between socialism and the so-called single tax. Socialism would make laborers independent by waging a prolonged class conflict in a great process of historical evolution, and at the end they would provide for the laborer by complex systems of governmental machinery. The single tax, on the other hand, would simply reform the existing order, so that, without class conflict or proletarian revolution, without any social upheaval at all, demand for labor would become and remain continually in excess of the supply. That would put an end to "the ghost of the unemployed," which, as Mr. Kautsky truly says, is what now compels laborers to sell themselves to employers.

LITERARY NOTES.

B. O. Flower and Mayor Samuel M. Jones both contribute good articles to the April Arena, the former on Mazzini's message and the latter on simplicity in living.

We have received a copy of the Advocate of Christian Education, published at Berrien Springs, Mich. Its keynote is "threefold education."

The Outlook, of March 28, has two articles of exceptional interest on the labor question. One is the efficiency of union labor, by A. J. Boulton, of the Stereotypers' Union.

to which the Outlook has applied for information does so." J. H. D.

Poultney Bigelow, in the continuation of his article about Germany, in the Independent of March 26, speaks of our army in the Cuban war, and dares—rash man that he is—to strip glory from what we have all thought to be the most strenuous arm of the service.

the tipped would not get living wages without the humiliation of taking tips. J.H.D.

The mother who may happen to be long on social functions and short on good-nights; kisses, should not fail to read "The Lie," in Harper's, for April. It is a little gem in art, as well as in ethics.

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