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It is difficult to decide whether the Lindly-Morris bill, purporting to authorize municipal ownership and operation of street car systems in Illinois cities, is a lobby play on the part of the street car corporations or a "strike" on the part of the Lorimer political ring. The character of the bill indicates that it might be either; the circumstances suggest that it is not improbably the latter.

This bill was reported from the House committee of which Lindly is chairman, in lieu of the Senate (Mueller) bill. The latter having passed the Senate had come into the House and had been referred to Lindly's committee. On its face the House substitute appears to be the superior bill, because of its almost extreme simplicity. It is more like a broad constitutional provision than a statutory regulation, and seems at first glance to leave to the cities of the State ample powers over the subject to which it relates. But examination discloses one "joker" after another, which, notwithstanding the broad general terms of the bill, has been concealed within it.

The most obvious of these "jokers" is a specific provision affecting the security that could be offered to investors in municipally owned street car lines. It authorizes cities to borrow money for buying or constructing street car plants, either upon their own credit or upon the security of the plants. This seems reasonable enough until two facts appear. In the case of Chicago no money could be borrowed upon the

credit of the city, because the statutory debt limit of Chicago has been reached already. This is fact number one. The second fact is that money could not be borrowed on the security of the plants to be purchased or constructed, because the substitute provides that in case of foreclosure the purchasers shall not be permitted to operate for more than three years. Financial experts are positive that sufficient money for purchase or construction could not be borrowed on such limited security. With no means, therefore, of procuring the necessary capital for public ownership of street car lines, except upon the city's credit which is even now exhausted, or a mortgage upon the plant so restricted with reference to foreclosure that no one would invest, the city of Chicago would find this substitute bill what some one has called it, not an enabling act but a disabling act. It would probably make public ownership in Chicago impossible while it remained in force unaltered.

Other "jokers" in this bill are numerous, brief as the bill is. For one thing, there are provisions for a popular referendum at every step but none for a popular initiative. The people could not force a referendum. Only the council could do that, and if the council were inactive nothing could be done. This defect is not peculiar to this bill, but it is a bad feature none the less. As to the referendums, a negative vote of a fraction over 40 per cent. would, with one exception, always veto an affirmative vote of nearly 60 per cent. Another important "joker" is an innocent looking clause which would practically prevent all negotiations on the part of the city for leasing to existing street car corporations. If a lease were deemed desirable, it could not be made to any

corporation which did not happen to have been organized under the incorporation act of 1872. Consequently, if Chicago were able to bargain for the purchase of existing lines upon an agreement to lease them for 20 years or less to the present operating companies—a plan which might lead more smoothly than any other to public ownership and operation—the bargain would be impossible. Still another "joker" is the omission of any clause regarding the consents of landlords to the construction of municipal ownership lines. Under the Mueller bill, these consents would not be necessary, and corporations could not bribe landlords to obstruct municipal construction; but under the House substitute precisely such obstruction would be possible.

That the substitute bill is defective is evident from these considerations; that its origin is bad is apparent upon the face of the facts. "Boss" Lorimer is behind it. No one doubts that. One of his political creatures, a colored member from Chicago, is its sponsor. His man from the country, Lindly, has chaperoned it through committee. His newspaper organ in Chicago, the *Inter Ocean*, is supporting it with misleading editorials and interviews that are manifestly distorted so as to misrepresent the sentiments of the persons interviewed. His speaker of the lower House has impudently violated the constitution of the State in order to railroad the substitute measure through without amendment. As we stated at the beginning, it is impossible at present to determine whether all this is done in connivance with the street car pool, or independently by a political ring as a "strike" to be abandoned if the pool fails to respond.

The speaker's conduct in connection with this bill furnishes an extraordinary instance of official usurpation. To effect his purpose he has refused to listen to demands of many members, both from the floor and in writing; yet the constitution of the State in terms requires him to call the roll upon every vote when five members demand it. The speaker's action in this respect has been criminal in a high degree,—if not legally so, at any rate morally; and the wonder is that a respectable community will tolerate such flagrant and brazen disregard of its fundamental law by one of its principal officers. The members to whom the speaker thus refuses to accord their constitutional rights are fully justified in their policy of blocking the passage of the appropriation bills.

The real object of the collusive law suit in the Federal Courts in Chicago, between the New York Guarantee company and certain Chicago traction companies, and in which receivers have been appointed, is not as deep down in the well as Truth is supposed to be. The design is to put the Federal government in possession, through receivers, of a local public service which concerns the people of the city of Chicago. Here is another argument, if one were needed, for public ownership and operation of all municipal functions. The moment they are farmed out to private companies, interests outside the State acquire power to divest the city of self-governing rights by carrying disputes into the Federal courts. A Federal law suit, a Federal receivership, and ipso facto the local government of a city is transferred to Federal officers—often hostile partisans—who are appointed for life by the central power at Washington.

This process of centralization would have been impossible before the Fourteenth amendment. Then no corporation of one State could rule in another State. It had no standing in Federal courts; and its standing even in local courts outside of its own State was by comity and

not by right. But now, under a forced construction of the Fourteenth amendment, though the Negro, for whose protection this amendment was designed, gets no protection from it, the corporations, which were not thought of by its framers, get not only protection but dangerous power in overflowing measure.

The "honor of the army" is again in the balance. Gen. Corbin having had his application for membership in a Washington club rejected, one of the governors of the club, a military officer, has resigned. Not because he might in that way resent the exclusion of a personal friend from his club, but because he regarded the exclusion of an army officer as a reflection upon "the honor of the army."

Army honor is a curious thing. Hard and strong as steel when disturbed only by guilt, it is as fragile as glass when the guilty are to be punished. Drunkenness, debauchery, corruption, atrocious cruelty, wanton murder have characterized the advance of the army in its march along the path of Duty toward Destiny, but without in the least affecting its "honor;" yet the bare suggestion of a fair investigation wrings tears of solicitude for "the honor of the army" from every guilty officer who wants to escape. This is one of the reasons why the administration will not allow the people to see Gen. Miles's report of his investigation in the Philippines. Gen. Miles has little regard for "the honor of the army;" he is more solicitous to have the army honorable.

Could there be a more pitiable example of the loathsomeness of militarism, a more grewsome burlesque upon army ideals of "army honor," than the cold-blooded murder this week of a German artilleryman by a German naval cadet, and the pride of this criminal boy over his fatal success?

As witnesses narrate the circumstances, his crime is no worse than the conflicting story of the boastful

murderer himself. He says that the artilleryman, an old schoolmate of his, meeting him casually, offered his hand as an equal instead of saluting as an inferior. For this he ordered the artilleryman to a police station, and on the way murdered him with his sword. One of the witnesses says that the artilleryman was about to enter a beer hall in Essen with the witness when the cadet encountered him. The artilleryman was slightly inebriated. Neither he nor the witness saw the cadet until the cadet approached in a hectoring manner and said to the artilleryman: "You failed in your duty by not saluting me; accompany me to the police station." The artilleryman was surprised, but said nothing, and attempted to pass along the street. The cadet pursued with drawn sword, easily overtook him, struck him flat on the head, making him reel, and then drove the blade into his back. The artilleryman fell in a heap, bleeding both from the head and back. It all happened in an instant. There was no provocation whatever. The cadet was perfectly cool and seemed to feel proud when he saw the artilleryman fall. When a noncommissioned officer came, the cadet said vauntingly: "I did this. When I draw my sword blood must flow. This man insulted me by refusing to salute and endeavored to escape arrest. I had to defend an officer's honor at all costs." And the cadet appears to have been surprised that the officials did not applaud the deed. He strutted about the station with a martial air, still flourishing his sword, which was streaked half way up the blade with the artilleryman's blood. How revolting all this is. One is tempted to wonder from what order of low browed beast or decadent savage that young criminal must have sprung, by what processes of natural selection his moral sense was degenerated.

Yet there is evidently no peculiar wickedness in the boy's nature. He writes the mother of his victim a consolatory letter which testifies

with strange contradictoriness to a gentle disposition made savage by the atmosphere of "military honor" which he has breathed. Listen to this message of his to that heartbroken mother of his murdered school mate:

It is in the deepest distress and sorrow that I address myself to you, to give you proof of my heartfelt sympathy for the loss you have sustained through my action. Be assured that I did not act out of hatred or ill will against your son. It was my hard duty as a soldier. I was obliged to enforce obedience; and to my bitter regret, fate directed my steel in this unfortunate manner. A word of forgiveness from you, honored madam, would be incomparable consolation, for if the mother forgives no honorably minded person can continue to bear a grudge.

There you have militarism in the germ. It has turned a boy of generous instincts into what is worse than savagery—a remorseless human mechanism of death. This is what it is to develop the strenuous military life. This is what it means to American children, if we go on gathering them a legacy of "military honor" to displace the simple code of morality that was our own inheritance. Is it not a pretty picture! If there is anything divine about it, what could you suggest as an example of the satanic?

Mr. Bryan has again notified the "reorganizers" of the Democratic party that their room is preferable to their company. His notification makes good reading for at least two reasons. First, because it is true in its summary of facts; second, because it is wise in political policy. It was embodied in his speech at Kansas City on the 20th, and as telegraphed was in these words:

We have had enough of Clevelandism in the Democratic party. We had four years of Cleveland, and after his administration was over we found ourselves weaker than we had ever been before, because we had been betrayed. These so-called harmonizers, Cleveland and his followers, showed their nearness to Republicanism by deserting us in our hour of greatest need and supporting the Republican party. The Democratic party won a great victory in 1892, which gave our party a great opportunity; but Grover Cleveland betrayed the Democratic party, and as

the Democratic candidate to succeed him I carried the burden of his administration through two national campaigns. There was not a plank in either platform that was such a detriment to me in those campaigns as that burden was. Cleveland had the best opportunity to redeem the Democratic party ever offered to any man since the time of Andrew Jackson, but instead of being true to his party he disgraced himself.

We may now expect to see many editorials in the Republican and the brevet-Republican papers, snarling at Bryan as an "irreconcilable." But the expanding and improving democratic sentiment of the country will find in Bryan's words an assurance that the most effective individual force in the Democratic party to-day is not to be bought out, nor wheedled over, nor scolded into the plutocratic camp. Even the deluded followers of such leaders as Cleveland and Hill will begin to realize that the Democratic label is not enough to make a Democrat. Democracy means something more and something different from what it meant half a century ago. The fact that a man was a Democrat when the Democratic party was a pro-slavery party is no test of his democracy now. A new era began with the campaign of 1896. And regardless of one's economic opinions on the money question, or his political attitude at that time, unless he is in accord with the spirit of the revolt then begun against plutocratic influences and power, he is no democrat now, even though he call himself a Democrat. If he is not a democratic-Democrat he is not wanted either to lead the party or to vote with it. His affiliation with it frightens off democratic-Republicans whose faces are turning toward it from the cave of bones in which leaders like Hanna have buried the democratic principles of Lincoln.

If Chauncey F. Black, a son of the old Democratic leader in Pennsylvania, Jeremiah Black, and formerly lieutenant governor of that State, had written a letter bewailing the "blight of Bryanism" and approving "reorganization" of the Democratic

party, the Associated Press would have exploited it, and every Republican-Democratic paper in the land would have found room for it. But as Gov. Black's letter to the Crescent Democratic club of Philadelphia at the celebration of Jefferson's birthday this week had a different story to tell, it was not "newsy" enough for extended publication. Yet the letter was important, for Gov. Black is a democratic-Democrat; and interesting, for he is a clear thinker and forcible writer. This is his word to the "reorganizers":

We read a good deal in Republican newspapers about a variety of schemes for the "reorganization" of the Democratic party. We never see in connection with these remarkable projects the names of any regular and reliable Democrats. The engineers are all well-known Republicans, who helped, directly or indirectly, to beat down the Democracy and put the trusts in power in 1896, and to keep them in in 1900. They are insignificant in numbers. They describe themselves as "leaders," but point to no followers. Now it strikes me that where a hundred Democrats disagree in sentiment, and 99 are found on one side and one only on the other side, the 99 ought to have their way. But if besides it appears that the one obstinate fellow is not a Democrat at all, but an interloping Republican, who has come back simply to boss matters, on the ground that at some remote period he pretended to be a Democrat, but deserted at the pinch, the claim of the 99 just Democrats to run their own party, as against this self-sufficient agent of the enemy, detailed to regulate Democratic affairs for the time being, would seem to be pretty clear.

Venturing upon political prophecy Gov. Black has this to say regarding the action of the next Democratic convention and its effect upon the voters of the country:

The Democratic party on the national field is at present very well and satisfactorily organized. The masses who voted its tickets in 1896 and 1900, are more than content with it, and have no desire to have it Republicanized or reorganized in the interest of the trusts. And the plans with that object in view are pure wind. They have no substance. There will be no reorganization. The Democratic national convention will be Democratic; it will nominate a Democrat on a Democratic platform. He will poll the Democratic vote, with its natural in-

crease, possibly more, according to circumstances then existing, and he may be elected. But with any other kind of platform or candidate, it is hard to conceive how, with the most efficient organization imaginable, and any amount of money contributed by special interests concerned, one-third of the honest Democrats of the country could be brought to the polls. Such an experiment would make a wreck only, less complete and contemptible than that of the shameless Republican side show—the Indianapolis sham gold “Democratic” affair of 1896. And that is precisely the result the “reorganizers” propose to themselves and are expected by the Republican managers to accomplish.

A row in Republican politics in New York State, between “Boss” Platt and Gov. Odell, gives occasion for the announcement of the Democratic candidacy of David B. Hill. It is argued that he could carry New York and would therefore win. But what if he did win? So long as he sits comfortably in the hands of the trusts, a Democratic victory would be a plutocratic triumph if he were the candidate.

The Supreme Court of Indiana has nullified an act of the legislature intended for the protection of workingmen with reference to their wages. What makes this decision especially noteworthy is its incompatibility with court decisions common everywhere which sustain other statutes that are as plainly open to the same objections.

The Indiana statute requires employers to pay wages weekly, and the Indiana court decides that this requirement is destructive of the laborer’s freedom of contract. In the course of the opinion the court says:

The statute places the wage-earners of the State under quasi guardianship. It classes them with minors and other persons under legal disability by making their contracts void at the pleasure of a public officer. It tends to degrade them as citizens by impeaching their ability to take care of themselves. It is paternalism, pure and simple, and in violent conflict with the liberty and equality theory of our

institutions. Labor is property; it is exchangeable for food and raiment and some comforts, and may be bought and sold, and contracts made in relation thereto, the same as concerning any other property. The contract prohibited affects employer and employe alike. If the master can employ only upon terms of weekly payment, the workingman can find employment on no other terms.

All that has a fine sound, and would be perfectly just if laborers were left really free by our laws and institutions to contract upon equal terms. But when all necessary opportunities for the laborer are monopolized by law, it is the veriest pretense and twaddle to nullify statutes intended for his protection, on the ground that they interfere with his freedom of contract. Especially is this so when the same courts uphold usury laws, which are as clearly obnoxious to the objection of paternalism. Don’t they place borrowers “under quasi-guardianship?” Don’t they class borrowers with “minors and other persons under legal disability by making their contracts void at the pleasure of a public officer?” Don’t they tend to degrade borrowers as citizens “by impeaching their ability to take care of themselves?” Yet usury statutes are held valid; while statutes to protect workingmen (whom the laws first cripple in their contracting power) from having their pitiful wages withheld for two weeks and even a month, are invalidated. What makes these labor-statute decisions peculiarly contemptible is the hypocritical complacency judges assume—and Indiana judges are not alone in this guilt—that the statutes are prejudicial to the laborer, when the obvious purpose and effect of the decision is to protect the freedom not of the helpless laborer to contract but of greedy employers to oppress.

Flossie—Mamma, didn’t the preacher say something last Sunday about not caring what we eat or drink, or what kind of clothes we wear?

Mamma—Did he? Perhaps I wasn’t paying attention to him.

Flossie—Well, I don’t suppose anybody’d pay much attention to him when he says things like that!—Puck.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

In a previous editorial bearing upon this subject (p. 21) we led up to the conclusion that the American Negro problem can be permanently solved (except by the extinction of one race or the other) in but one way: by effective recognition of equal legal rights, regardless of race and irrespective of color. It is only in this democratic fashion that the race war which now threatens can be made to give way to race peace, the race antagonism to race friendship, the race hostility to mutuality of interests between the races.

Not alone is this the only way in which the problem can be solved, but it is the just way of solving it. Let one call his favorite philosophy utilitarian or idealistic, let it be empirical or transcendental, yet is he forced all the same to this conclusion. With reference to the Negro problem, all philosophic roads lead to this Rome.

But we are not insensible of the difficulties which individuals in the Southern states would encounter in insisting upon so radical a solution. We have a keen appreciation of the tremendous obstacles that stand in their way. Nor do we refer to obstacles affecting their pecuniary interests and personal comfort merely. Brave men never allow such considerations to control them. What we refer to is the fact that a public opinion holds sway over the whites of the South, which individual Southerners cannot instantly overcome. Like public opinion everywhere, upon any subject, and at all times, it cannot be altered by fiat. It cannot be altered by the peremptory demand of anyone. It cannot be altered by argument. It is proof even against superior intelligence. Nothing can alter it but a change of heart in the social consciousness of the white inhabitants.

Those Southerners, therefore, who believe in the democratic solution of the Negro problem are at a great disadvantage. Living in a community where public opinion is extremely hostile to it, they are democrats where democracy suffers from blight. We have much sympathy

for them. Between their democratic convictions and the manifest necessity for compromises in practice, their opinions are in a continuous swirl; and fortunate, indeed, are they if they save their convictions from wreck. The necessity for compromise in action is all too apt to tempt them into compromises of conviction.

It is very hard for men who have that pride of opinion which we all know as "consistency," to compromise in practice while remaining firm in principle. Some stick by principle to the extent of rejecting compromises in practice. These are cranks. Some, on the other hand, modify their principles to conform them to their practical compromises. These are "trimmers" in the bad sense of that sometimes abused term.

Temptations to become that kind of trimmer are very insistent among even real democrats at the South, in connection with the Negro problem. Recognizing in the baffling circumstances the necessity for compromising their democracy in practice, yet disturbed by fears of being inconsistent, they are sorely tempted to compromise also their democracy in principle, by grasping at some gauzy distinction between legal rights for Negroes and legal rights for white men.

Some find this all the easier because it is a fact, as they vigorously assure you (though not without indications of a guilty conscience), that Negroes are far from being angelic. That being obvious, they have only to assume, without mentioning it—it would be too comical if it were mentioned—that white men are angelic, and there you have the necessary distinction. Ergo, the democratic principle does not apply to Negroes, and their rights should be distinguished in law!

But there is neither necessity nor excuse for such absurd, not to say contemptible, stultification.

The democratic principle is one thing; opportunity for its application is another. The principle is universal and invariable; but opportunities for its application vary with time, place and circumstances. No one is

inconsistent, therefore, who clings uncompromisingly to his democracy in principle though submitting gracefully by way of compromise to all manner of autocratic practice in public affairs if he cannot get better terms. Though compromise is a vicious regulator of convictions, it is in the social world a wise rule of action. Let the democratic Democrats and democratic Republicans of the Southern States bear that in mind, and much of the Negro problem will cease to be a problem to them.

In practice it may be excusable for individuals in dealing with the Negro problem at the South to agree by way of compromise to much that is inconsistent with democratic principle. Not because the problem itself requires it, but because public opinion necessitates it. Where this necessity exists, there is no condemnation of any white man of the South who makes the compromise. He may do it and yet be a genuine democrat and good citizen. But he can be neither democrat nor good citizen if he compromises for any other reason than the pressure of necessity. At any rate he can be neither if he justifies discriminations against Negroes regarding legal rights, on principle. Something can be said even for the miner who joined the gang of Rocky Mountain lynchers, shouting: "Hang him! Hang him!" louder than any of the rest, yet hoping all the time that by seeming to fall in with the wicked humor of the gang he might gain a hearing and induce them to release their victim before a tree for the hanging could be found. But nothing can be said for those of the lynching gang who tried to convince themselves that lynching is right. So, while a democrat may compromise in practice as the best way of ultimately realizing his ideals or as the only way of getting along at all under the circumstances, no man is a democrat who denies the universality of the principle of equal legal rights of all, as a principle and a workable principle. It is his duty to stand for equality before the law as a principle, no matter to what extent he may be compelled by the backwardness of public opinion in

his community to assent to its denial in practice.

The principle of democracy demands that legal rights shall be equal, without regard to race, sex or social condition. This is the ideal toward which all true democrats and all good citizens must look. This is the principle that cannot be compromised without stultification. To compromise between this principle and its opposite is to befuddle the intellect and trifle with the conscience, which is destructive to both. The only admissible compromises are those practical social adjustments which conflict of opinion between men of diverse views necessitates, and which tend under all the circumstances to promote the steadiest progress toward the immutable ideal. No member of any community can force it to live upon a plane higher than the plane of its dominant ideals. But everyone with an ideal higher than that of his community can exert an awakening influence upon his community and thereby help to elevate its standards. This he is in conscience bound to do.

To the extent, then, that Southern white men in dealing with the Negro problem violate democratic principles confessedly against conviction but solely from necessity real or apparent, to that extent they may properly plead the embarrassment of their situation, may even urge the baffling character of their problem. But when they appeal to principle, insisting that the principle of democracy offers rights to white men which it withholds from Negroes, their plea must be tried, not by the difficulties of their situation, but by the democratic principle which they invoke.

Tried by that principle, the ordinary Southern attitude toward the Negro is condemned. For the essential principle of democracy is "equal rights for all and special privileges to none." And he is no democrat, let him label himself as he may, who would place any check upon the full realization of this principle in practice.

England is an aristocracy supported by plunder.—Schoolmaster.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Apr. 23.

A convention was held in Dublin on the 16th and 17th which is pronounced by Irish leaders to have been the most important national assemblage in Ireland in a hundred years. It was attended by 2,000 delegates who had been chosen by Irish constituencies for the purpose of acting upon the Irish land-purchase bill introduced in parliament on the 26th of March by the chief secretary for Ireland (vol. v, p. 810), which is as follows in substance:

1. The British government will raise from \$500,000,000 to \$750,000,000, by the sale of 2½ per cent. 30-year treasury stock, to be lent to tenants in Ireland for the purchase of their holdings under the direction of a government commission.
2. In congested districts the limit of the loans will be \$2,500, and in other districts \$5,000.
3. A free gift of \$60,000,000 will be made by the government to Irish landlords, to make up the difference between the price the tenants are able to pay and that which the landlords demand.
4. Tenants borrowing from the government must repay with interest in yearly installments.

Upon assembling at Dublin on the 16th to give formal expression to Irish opinion on this relief measure, the convention mentioned above elected John Redmond, leader of the Irish parliamentary party, to preside over its deliberations. Mr. Redmond begged the delegates in his opening speech to consider well before objecting to the bill. In this connection he said:

Whatever defects Mr. Wyndham's bill has, and I am inclined to minimize them, its object is the complete and final abolition of landlordism in all its essentials. Ireland is united as she never was before. Each man must well weigh his words and remember that the whole future of his country and the welfare of his children and that of unborn generations may depend upon the convention's decision. I hope no man will advocate renewing the struggle of the land war without knowing what that renewal means—the indefinite delay of industrial and economic welfare and even of political freedom. No man must dare to do that unless he is willing to take his share of the terrible fight which would be involved by a refusal of the bill.

At the conclusion of Redmond's

speech, William O'Brien, also an Irish member of parliament, moved that the convention welcome this bill, but that it also suggest amendments in certain respects and intrust their disposition to the Irish parliamentary party. In advocating his motion Mr. O'Brien said that the Wyndham bill, if properly amended, would "make the peasants as safe as the king on his throne in the possession of their land," and that they would never again have to stand trembling in a rent office. He regarded the bill as "the biggest thing English statesmanship has ever done toward restoring the soil of Ireland to Irishmen."

All the delegates were not of O'Brien's opinion. One of them, Patrick White, another Irish member of parliament, moved to reject the bill. But he was loudly hissed and angrily urged to withdraw his motion. It was with great difficulty that the chairman secured him a hearing, and after he had spoken his motion was overwhelmingly voted down.

Michael Davitt was another member who did not join in all the enthusiasm for the Wyndham bill, nor share the confidence of the chairman that it would settle the Irish question. He is reported to have made a strong plea in behalf of the Irish agricultural laborer, maintaining that the bill, even if amended as proposed, would not put an end to the land struggle. At the close of his speech he moved as an amendment to Mr. O'Brien's motion, that the Irish members of parliament refer the bill back to the convention for final approval, after it had passed the committee stage in the House of Commons, so that the Irish people might decide whether they will accept it as amended, and that the convention be merely adjourned instead of dissolved. But as it was urged that this amendment to O'Brien's motion would be construed as an expression of want of confidence in the parliamentary party, Mr. Davitt withdrew it. Before the convention dissolved, however, he presented his views fully in support of the principle of nationalization of the land, showing that nothing short of this would settle the Irish land question, which is not merely a landlord and tenant question but a question of the natural rights of laborers as well as tenants to their native soil.

The convention dissolved on the 17th, after adopting O'Brien's motion to accept the bill and formulating a series of amendments to it. One of the amendments, proposed by Michael Davitt, asserts the principle of the American homestead law, its expressed purpose being to "safeguard the peasants from the results of improvident borrowing and the operations of land grabbers and land jobbers." The adoption of O'Brien's motion and the amendments was supplemented by the adoption of a resolution declaring that the Irish nation will never be satisfied until it obtains a full measure of self-government.

After the convention had dissolved, the chairman, Mr. Redmond, and Lord Dunraven, representing the Irish landlord interest, held an informal conference with a view to fixing a date for the reassembling of the Irish landlords and tenants conference (vol. v, p. 635), at which it is expected that the Wyndham bill, with the amendments proposed by the Irish convention, will be approved. Should this be done, it is understood that the amended bill will go through parliament without hitch, through the coalition of the ministerial party with the Irish parliamentary party, and that thereby the ministerial party in parliament will be saved from defeat on other ministerial measures.

The revolution in Morocco (p. 24), is now reported from Melilla to have succeeded. This news comes by the way of Madrid on the 22d. It is to the effect that Muley Mohammed, the sultan's brother, has been proclaimed emperor at Fez. Another dispatch, coming from Tangier under date of the 22d, tells of the arrival at Tangier from Melilla on that day of Muley Amrani, an uncle of the sultan, with the customs officials and all the government customs property, the government having abandoned Melilla. Taken together the two dispatches make it probable that the government is still holding out but that the revolutionists are in the ascendant.

On our own side of the Atlantic attention is again directed toward Venezuela, where the revolution, of which so much has been told in these columns (vol. v, p. 809), is still in progress. It is meeting with less and less success, however, and the

latest news is of a disastrous defeat of the revolutionists in battle. This news left Caracas on the 11th, but the dispatch was so delayed in transmission that it did not appear in the American papers until the 18th. The vice president, Gomez, had gone by sea with a body of government troops to Rio Chico, on the northern coast in the state of Bolivar, with the purpose of attacking the revolutionary Gen. Rolando in the rear while another government force fell upon him in front. The frontal attack was made near Guatiro, where the revolutionists under Rolando, 3,000 strong, were encamped. Retreating toward the coast after a hard fight of 14 hours, they were checked by Vice President Gomez, whereupon they tried to escape southward, but a third government force had been posted along the line of the retreat, which intercepted them and made the government victory complete. The revolutionists lost in killed, wounded and prisoners over 600 men. They suffered the further loss of a large quantity of ammunition which had just been landed by a Dutch vessel from Trinidad. Among the killed was Gen. Ramon Guzman, and among the prisoners are Gen. Ortega Martinez, formerly a minister under President Crespo, and Dr. Botancourt, formerly secretary of ex-President Andrade. It was expected that Gen. Rolando himself might be taken soon, so completely was his force demoralized and the survivors hemmed in.

Another Venezuelan battle is reported from Coro, in the State of Guiana. But here the government troops were less successful than in Bolivar. Yet they were not defeated. They had attacked the revolutionary Gen. Riera at a point near Coro. The battle lasted two days and was undecisive.

The revolution in Santo Domingo (vol. v. p. 822) appears not to have been so near an end a month ago as the government insisted. At that time the revolutionists were in possession of the city of San Domingo, but were reported to be without power elsewhere. Since then the government forces have besieged the city almost daily; and on the 18th they made a desperate attack. The shelling began at eight o'clock in the morning, and the government troops captured two garrison posts. But

these were quickly retaken. The artillery of the insurgents set fire to the houses in San Carlos, and that flourishing little town was burned to the ground. By a steamer which left Monte Cristi, Santo Domingo, on April 17, arriving at St. Thomas on the 19th it was reported that the rebels were besieging Monte Cristi by land and sea, and that the revolution was gathering strength throughout the country.

In American politics the event of most immediate concern,—local to Chicago, however,—is the election of an entire new bench of judges for Cook county, Illinois (including Chicago), which is to take place in June. Heretofore in these judicial elections it has been customary to make bipartisan nominations, each political party selecting half the candidates and forming a consolidated ticket which no opposition could well defeat. This afforded an opportunity for the "bosses" of each party to place their favorites, no matter how objectionable to the bar and the general public, securely upon the bench. Judgeships became prizes for bargains and compromises between the political machines of both parties. As one of the consequences of Mayor Harrison's recent election (p. 25) this practice is abandoned in the present instance by the Democrats, as it probably will be by the Republicans. When the Democrats met in judicial convention on the 18th, they nominated a full party ticket, comprising all the present Democratic judges: namely: Murray F. Tuley, Edward F. Dunne, Frank Baker, Richard W. Clifford, Thomas G. Windes and Francis Adams. The additional candidates nominated are Edward Osgood Brown, Samuel Shaw Parks, William P. Black, Joseph A. O'Donnell, Charles M. Walker, Lockwood Honore, George Kersten, William H. Barnum, Julian W. Mack, George Mills Rogers and Thomas H. Hoyne.

As the official count for the recent municipal election in Cleveland makes the returns slightly different from those of the original report (p. 5) we append the official figures on the vote for mayor and vice mayor:

Mayor:	
Johnson (Dem.)	36,060
Goulder (Rep.)	30,275
Thomas (Soc.)	1,079
Bartlett (Pro.)	151
Goerke (Soc. Lab.)	334
Johnson's plurality	
Vice Mayor:	5,735
Lapp (Dem.)	37,711

Sontheimer (Rep.)	27,138
(Others not reported.)	
Lapp's plurality	10,633

The political panorama in Ohio with reference to the gubernatorial election of next fall—which will be fought between Johnson and Hanna, no matter who the candidates are—is beginning to unfold. It is now understood that the Republican candidate for governor will be Myron T. Herrick, of Cleveland. This understanding rests upon an authoritative interview given out this week by George B. Cox, the Republican "boss" of Cincinnati, after a conference with Senator Hanna. Having given his reasons, Mr. Cox says:

I have, therefore, determined to support Myron T. Herrick and will ask my friends to do likewise. His nomination will strengthen the party more than that of any other man I can think of, particularly because of the conditions in Cleveland and Cuyahoga counties, where, in my judgment, Senator Hanna, President Roosevelt and the Republican party will need the most help.

The reason this announcement is taken as a guarantee of Herrick's nomination is conclusive with politicians. Herrick lives in Cleveland and is Hanna's candidate. He will therefore have the Republican delegation from Cuyahoga county. Cox's support assures him the Republican delegation from Hamilton county. With these two men and these two counties back of him, his candidacy is regarded as invincible and his unanimous nomination as almost certain.

The Republican convention by which this nomination is to be formally made will be held at Columbus, June 3 and 4. This was determined by the Republican State Central committee at Columbus on the 21st, which at the same time selected Senator Hanna for temporary chairman of the convention.

Only a few days previously the Democratic central committee, also meeting at Columbus, named Columbus as the place and August 25 and 26, as the time, for holding the Democratic convention of Ohio. G. M. Saltzgaber is to be the temporary chairman. The resolution calling the convention provides for one delegate and one alternate for each 500 votes cast for Bigelow last Fall, to be selected by primaries or delegate or mass conventions. The latter provision puts an end to an old custom in Hamilton county (which includes

Cincinnati) whereby delegates have been selected by self-perpetuating committees of the Democratic "machine."

Included in the call for this convention are two important requirements. The convention is required, for one thing, to take action on pending amendments to the State constitution, which are by law made subject to party approval or disapproval with the effect of allowing all "straight" ballots to count in support of the party's action. The other requirement is that the convention shall nominate the party candidate for United States senator, thus doing away with legislative lobbying and trading in senatorial elections. Both requirements are inserted in the call pursuant to the instructions of the State convention of 1902, embodied in the platform (vol. v, p. 344) which reads on this point as follows:

That until United States senators are required by amendment of the Federal constitution to be elected by popular vote, nominations of candidates for United States senator should be made by State conventions. And we hereby direct that in the official call for the next Democratic State convention of Ohio there be embodied a clause providing for the nomination at that convention of the Democratic candidate for United States senator; and a clause providing for action by said convention upon all the amendments to the State constitution then pending before the people.

There is a new turn in the Chicago traction problem (vol. v, p. 730), which came to a deadlock, before the municipal election, over the demand of the city and the refusal of the companies that all claims under the so-called 99-years franchise from the State be abandoned by the companies before the city would negotiate with them for an extension of the expiring city franchises. The West Chicago Street Railroad Co. and the North Chicago Street Railroad Co., together with the "holding" company—the Chicago Union Traction Co.—were sued on the 22d by the Guaranty Trust Co., of New York, in the United States Circuit Court, and receivers applied for. All the parties were represented in court on that day, and three receivers were appointed without objection. They are Rafael R. Govin, of New York, and James H. Eckels and Marshall E. Sampson, of Chicago. The formal grounds for the suit were

alleged indebtedness of the Chicago companies to the New York company, which the former cannot pay. But the papers in the case show that the purpose of the proceedings is to bring the city into the Federal courts, against Federal receivers instead of local corporations, on the question of the validity of the 99-years franchise granted by the Illinois legislature in 1865. For one feature of the complaint of the New York company refers to this question by pleading with reference to the city of Chicago that "it has been publicly stated by the mayor of said city and by members of said city council and the local transportation committee of said council that no application for renewal of franchises will be granted unless said North Chicago City Railway Co. and said Chicago West Division City Railway Co. shall renounce, abandon and repudiate the obligation and authority conferred and imposed by the aforesaid act of the legislature."

After a long period of municipal life under village methods fastened upon it by constitutional provisions, and strenuous efforts to escape from these restrictions, Chicago may now see the way almost clear to a system of complete self-government. The necessary constitutional amendment passed both houses of the legislature on the 22d, and will be submitted to the people of the State at the next election. If then adopted the legislature will be empowered to pass laws relative to the city of Chicago authorizing—

1. The consolidation in the municipal government of the powers now vested in the county, city, board of education, township, park, and other local governments within its territory.
2. The assumption by Chicago of all debts and liabilities of the governments or corporate authorities within its limits.
3. The abolition of offices, the functions of which shall be otherwise provided for.
4. The providing for annexation of territory to or disconnection of territory from Chicago, by consent of the voters.
5. The creation of municipal courts and the abolition of the offices of justices of the peace, police magistrates, and constables, within the city limits.
6. The limiting of the jurisdiction of justices of the peace in Cook county to territory outside the limits of Chicago.
7. The authorizing of the legislature

to pass all laws necessary to give Chicago a complete system of self-government.

But no law for local self-government is to take effect until consented to by a majority of the legal voters of Chicago who vote on the proposition; and no local or special law based upon the amendment affecting specially any part of the city of Chicago can take effect until consented to by a majority of the legal voters of such part of the city who vote on that question.

To facilitate the adoption of this amendment by the people of the State—or, rather, to prevent its failure through the indifference of voters outside of Cook county—a bill has been introduced by L. Y. Sherman for the adoption of the Foote system of voting on constitutional amendments now in vogue in Ohio. The Sherman bill provides that when a constitutional amendment is endorsed or opposed by a party convention all the "straight" votes of that party shall count for or against the amendment, as the case may be, unless the amendment square on the ballot is otherwise marked.

NEWS NOTES.

—President Roosevelt (p. 25) was still in Yellowstone Park on the 22d.

—The International Kindergarten Union was in session last week at Pittsburg.

—The ninth annual meeting of the National Municipal League began at Detroit on the 22d.

—The national convention of the Young Women's Christian Association opened at Wilkesbarre on the 17th.

—On the 22d a memorial meeting in honor of the late John P. Altgeld, formerly governor of Illinois, was held by the Illinois legislature in the State house at Springfield.

—The German reichstag resumed its sessions on the 21st after a recess (p. 662): A bill providing for greater secrecy of the ballot was passed against the opposition of the extreme conservatives.

—Trumbull White, one of the best known of Chicago newspaper writers, a correspondent of wide travel and varied experience, announces a short story magazine, *The Red Book*, to be published at Chicago under his own editorship.

—Among the Socialist candidates elected to office at the recent municipal elections (p. 25) are three of the five members of the board of education of Peetzburg, Bergen County, N.

J., and a member of the board of aldermen of Telluride, Colo.

—The Ruskin University has moved from Trenton, Mo., to Glen Ellyn, near Chicago, where it is to be affiliated with the Chicago Law School and eight other educational establishments of Chicago, with J. J. Tobias as president and George McK. Miller as dean.

—Dr. Gustave Gottheil, the famous Jewish rabbi and leader in the Jewish reform movement, died at New York on the 15th at the age of 75. He had been connected with Temple Emmanuel in that city for 30 years, and was rabbi emeritus at the time of his death.

—An appeal to the United States Supreme Court has been taken from the decision in the Northern Securities merger case (p. 22), in consequence of which the lower court so far modified its decree on the 21st as to allow the company to pay dividends pending the decision of the higher court.

—An imperial decree was published at Berlin on the 20th which confers on Prussian women, in view of the general elections for the reichstag to take place in June, the right to form political clubs. Women are not allowed to belong to such clubs except during elections, and the clubs now authorized must be dissolved immediately after the coming elections.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the nine months ending March 31, 1903, as given by the March treasury sheet, are as follows: (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M....	114,656,067	\$776,970,274	\$337,084,793 exp.
G....	18,389,273	39,306,341	20,917,068 imp.
S....	57,858,064	18,843,531	19,009,533 exp.
	\$1,170,297,404	\$835,120,146	\$335,177,258 exp.

—President Loubet, of France, on his African tour (p. 26) entered the desert country on the 21st after passing through those sections of Algeria which are under the influence of French colonization. The tribesmen had gathered from all parts of southern Algeria to welcome him, and the ceremonies presented what the dispatches call "a spectacle of barbaric splendor such as seldom has been seen by European eyes."

—An experiment that may revolutionize the iron and steel industry of the country was reported from St. Paul on the 20th to have been successfully made at the plant of the Valley Iron Works. Titanic iron ore, of which there are said to be billions of tons in northern Minnesota, was smelted in an ordinary cupola and turned out pig iron which polished up like steel and which, according to those interested in the experiment, is better than the finest Bessemer steel.

—Incorporation papers were filed at Springfield, Ill., on the 16th for the Chicago Daily Bulletin, a one-cent aft-

ernoon newspaper, to be owned and edited by women. Dr. Mabel E. Bowen will be managing editor, Dr. Frances Dickinson business manager, and Mrs. Alice S. Blount editorial writer. The first issue is announced for May 15. Twice a week there will be a supplement for men. The paper is not designed to advocate reforms of any kind especially, but is to be simply a clean newspaper.

—William Radcliffe, an old-time minstrel, and known to single tax men all over the country as Billy Radcliffe, S. T., has sold out his famous hotel at Youngstown, Ohio, for the purpose of devoting his time to propagating the doctrines of Henry George. He explains: "I intend to sell patent medicines and make single tax speeches wherever I go." Mr. Radcliffe was a personal friend of Henry George and has long been a friend of Tom L. Johnson. He was the Democratic candidate for sheriff of his county last fall and is a highly respected resident of Youngstown.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE SINGLE TAX IN GREAT BRITAIN (See vol. v., p. 821).

Manchester (Eng.) Guardian (Lib.), Mar. 28.—Dr. Macnamara's bill for the separate assessment and rating of site values only failed to pass its second reading yesterday by a margin of thirteen votes, though the secretary to the local government board opposed it on behalf of the government, as he opposed Mr. C. P. Trevelyan's bill last year. . . . The principle involved has been endorsed by nearly all Liberals. It consists, briefly, in recognizing the distinction between the site value and the structural value of ratable property in urban areas, making separate assessments of the two and putting a special rate on the site value. The effect of this may be seen best by illustrations. Suppose a house in A street and a house in B street, each assessed at £600 a year. Suppose that in A street £400 of this is site value and £200 structural value, while in B street £400 is structural value and £200 site value. At present the occupiers of both houses pay the same rate. Under the bill the worse house on the better site will be rated more highly than the better house on the worse site. Thus structure value, which is the fruit of individual effort and is to be encouraged, will benefit at the expense of site value, which as a rule is not. But the special rating of site value will not be confined to sites now built upon. Urban sites held idle on speculation and at present only rated as agricultural land are to be rated on their actual site value. In this way it is intended that the vacant land within urban areas should be forced into the building market, the great dearth of housing sites relieved, and the great cost of them lowered. The bill may be variously considered as an attempt to make rates fall more equitably or an attempt to mitigate the housing difficulty. In the former aspect it gains in plausibility from the fact that site values are largely created by the expenditure of rates on the localities concerned. "Urban site values," says Lord Balfour of Burleigh's report, "is a form of property which from its nature is peculiarly fit to bear a direct and special burden in connection with 'beneficial' expenditure." But this is only a part of the larger fact that site values are not, like structural values, the creation of individuals concerned with the particular property, but in

a very special sense that of the community which the local governing authority represents. The practicability of rating them separately has been questioned; but in fact it is done largely in Australasia and in Germany, and more recently has been tried by the municipality of Paris.

OHIO POLITICS.

Tiffin (O.) News (Dem.).—Gradually the fact is dawning on the minds of the people of Ohio that Cleveland is a Democratic city and Tom L. Johnson has made it so. The political change which has taken place in Cleveland and Cuyahoga county during the past three years is without a parallel in the history of Ohio and makes Mayor Johnson not only the most prominent Democrat in Ohio, but among the big men of the party of the nation. Not only does it do that, but it sounds a word of warning to Senator Hanna that his days of political power are numbered. He knows to-day that he has no hopes of electing a Republican legislative delegation from his own county next November, and that without such home support he stands a poor chance of being re-elected to the United States senate. This being the situation, Mr. Hanna will be very apt to make a fight for the close counties in the rural portions of the State, which behooves the Democracy of these counties to name their strongest candidates for the legislature.

NATIONAL POLITICS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Apr. 14.—The lines are shaping for next year. There is to be a battle royal for control of the Democratic organization. The Democratic vote cannot be controlled. It can only be thrown into confusion and rendered nugatory. The tory element in the party is in sympathy with the reactionary designs of the Cleveland, Hills, Gormans and Baers. It would recast the party organization on lines acceptable to the Morgans, the Havemeyers, the Rockefellers and the Cramps. It would offer the people a choice between two candidates for the presidency standing for essentially the same thing in effect if not in precise detail. It would commit the country irrevocably to monopoly domination, and while making loud pretense of "tariff reform" it would leave the trust-breeding schedules of Dingley unshorn of any except those more violent features which plague the trusts themselves and excite even J. Pierpont Morgan to open complaint.

VICE AND CRIME.

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Apr. 15.—"Vice is men and women gone wrong." The problem is how can these men and women be helped? How can they be set right? They are not, by any means, all hopeless; they are many of them as good as the Pharisees and hypocrites who talk against them. The helping hand, reached out in the proper way at the proper time, will set them right. There are very few men or women who are wrong because they like it. There are a great many things which make them what is called bad. Remove the causes as fast as possible and meanwhile deal with a loving hand with the manifestation of evil as it is with us.

THE NEGRO QUESTION.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Apr. 17.—The Daily News believes with Booker T. Washington that the south is justified in barring the ignorant and illiterate from the franchise, but it does not believe that any man should be barred from the full privileges of citizenship because of the color of his skin.

Knicker—Do they belong to the "Four Hundred?"

Bocker—I think not. They have a place they call "home," and stay in it.

—Puck.

MISCELLANY

WHY I AM A LIBERAL.

Contributed by Robert Browning to a volume edited by Andrew Reid, in which a number of leaders of English thought answered the question: "Why am I a Liberal?"

"Why?" Because all I haply can and do, All that I am now, all that I hope to be— Whence comes it save from fortune setting free

Body and soul the purpose to pursue, God traced for both? If fetters, not a few, Of prejudice, convention, fall from me, These shall I bid men—each in his degree Also God-guided—bear, and gally, too?

But little can or do the best of us:

That little is achieved through Liberty. Who, then, dares hold, emancipated thus, His fellow shall continue bound? Not I, Who live, love, labor freely nor discuss A brother's right to freedom. That is "Why."

THE SINGLE TAX IN PARTIAL OPERATION.

Guam, America's new possession in the Pacific, is not the only place in the world where the theories of Henry George are being applied. On the east coast of Vancouver Island, in British Columbia, the flourishing town of Nanaimo, with its 6,000 inhabitants, has no tax for municipal purposes save one on land values, levied alike on occupied and unoccupied land, according to the orthodox interpretation of the single tax theory. The town is a miners' town, where the doctrine of "three acres and a cow" is almost universally realized as well as that of "every man his own house owner." For this happy result the easy terms of the London syndicate which owns the coal and land in the neighborhood are largely responsible.—The London Chronicle.

THE PERSONAL VALUE OF POISE AND REPOSE.

For manner, and sympathy, and serviceableness it would be well if we all deserved the praise in which a girl unconsciously betrayed the secret of one Friend's great and widespread helpfulness: "You see she's always the same, and we always know where to find her, and that when we've got her, we have got her. Her mind is never away in other things. She's always really glad to see us, always gives us the healthiest views of things, is always hopeful; it's the best of all tonics to go and be with her."

We know the reverse of this, and how often we hear such remarks, as: "X— was not up to his usual mark to-day." "How could you ex-

pect it when he was traveling all night to keep his appointment, and is nearly knocked up with overwork?" I once heard a wise little girl ask as she heard it—"But God is so very kind, did he really want Mr. X—to get as tired as all that?"—Friends' Intelligencer.

THE INEXCUSABLE TRAGIC.

An unrevised interview with a youngster of eight, reported in *The Conservator*, of Philadelphia, by the editor, Horace Traubel.

G.—Have you read the Ouida dog stories, papa?

T.—No. Have you?

G.—They are awful sad.

T.—But they are pretty?

G.—Yes, pretty. But the best person dies.

T.—Then you don't like the book?

G.—Yes. I do. But the stories are so sad, you know.

T.—Don't you like sad stories?

G.—No. Do you?

T.—Why not?

G.—If two people die in any story, I don't like the story. In the first story the little boy dies and the dog dies. In the third story, why, the man, the owner of the dog, and master of the dog—they die, too. They are killed. The dog was shot, the man was killed, and the lady lost her mind. I liked it to the sad part. But after I read that I do not feel like reading any more. I think that after this when I get to the sad part of stories I will always stop.

T.—But if you only read happy books, you will miss a good many books it might do you good to read.

G.—They needn't be all happy. But they must be mostly happy. I like people to live. Don't you like people to live? They have the right to live. Why, then, don't we let them live?

T.—But they don't live forever, here, in this body.

G.—I know they don't. But these books don't let them die. They kill them.

"MYSELF AM HELL."

A Soliloquy by Capt. Howze in Purgatory! For The Public.

"Never can I forget the frightful place called Laoag. It was there I caused the men to be stripped and beaten who had not reported to me a murder of which they knew. I thought my 'duty' required this, that the 'honor of the army' demanded it, and a strange sentiment men call patriotism was in my heart. Not once did it come to me (though I see it now) that these men were my brothers; and

so, without mercy and without a qualm, I ordered my men to lay on with rods. Right heartily did they obey. Sorely did the victims writhe, and some fainted, and, after a few days, they died.

"One I remember well; I see him now, as the blood ran and the flesh dropped to the ground, and there was scarce any life left in him. And then he shrieked to me to shoot him, but that I dared not do, lest my countrymen should look into my deed, and ask me why I murdered the man. And yet he died! But he stirred not from the bench where I had beaten him, stirred not, but moaned and moaned, and once he screamed again, and said that we had murdered him and stolen his country's freedom, and I think he murmured somewhat about God, and justice, and said there must be retribution; and then he cursed me and my soldiers, and the land that sent us thither, and sometimes I think his curse had power. And I could see his face no more, nor ever hear that voice, methinks I could have peace. But never is it masked from my sight. Even now it stares so at me that my blood is cold. The sight tortures me more than did the cruel blows I struck. I wonder much what cruel thing it is in man that makes him wish to hurt his brother, that he can bear to see him torn and bleeding, and no pity rise, nor justice wake and sternly thrust away the impious wretch from the throat of his helpless victim!"

"Which way I look is hell. Myself am hell!"
E. T. HISCOX.

THE MAKING OF A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

ACT V.

Scene: Push's office. J. Head Push and Frank Push discovered conversing.

Frank—Classical education, indeed! I sometimes think its chief function is to make a bad modern feel virtuous by perusal of the biographies of ancient scoundrels. I can almost feel the pangs of virtue which shoot through the circulatory pumps which certain commercial kings call their hearts when they read of Nero, Caligula and the Borgias.

Mr. Push—Have you no reverence? Does antiquity mean nothing to you?

Frank—Father, at what age does an old lie attain its majority and become a new truth? I would rather get a fact from Spencer than a mistake from Aristotle, great as he was. Bagehot says the "greatest pain to the human mind is the pain of a new idea." I have learned not only to bear but to relish that misery.

Mr. Push—And into what vagaries does it not lead you? You take no one for authority. It is nothing to you that every gold standard politician tells you that all nations that used fiat money went to the bad. You still—

Frank—One moment! The badge of a weak intellect is to mistake relations of concomitance for relations of cause and effect. England's trade is freer than ours—some of England's workmen are less well paid than ours, ergo, free trade reduces wages. No need of considering landlordism—the exclusion of labor from the earth, the solution is self-evident. Let me give you a fair sample of your party's non sequiturs. All nations sooner or later go to pieces; they have their youth, manhood and old age, and the universal concomitant of their decay, when from within, is the development of classes and masses, of luxury and beggary, but it suits my purpose to ignore all this, so I boldly affirm that intelligence—culture if you please—is the disorganizer of home and country, and that what we want is to fix it so that all but a few priests will be densely ignorant. Would you accept that conclusion? Why, dad, when Bayle compared a person who thought comets were the cause of evils following after them, to "a woman looking out of a window into a Paris street and believing that the carriages pass because she looks out," he was criticising your Republican lack of method; and when Mr. Forster, an English physician, declared that the comet of 1663 "made all the cats in Westphalia sick," he was making a good old protectionist argument. Protectionistic logic is easy to learn. It's like this: Rule 1—Where two things occur together, one is the cause of the other. Scholium—Either one may be cause, and either effect. Corollary—A modicum of ingenuity enables one to prove anything by this method, and leads him to paraphrase the Rev. Mr. Talmage's absurdity: "I would to God there were something more impossible than impossibility, that I might show my faith by believing it!"

Mr. Push—The highest test of art is its ability to move, and I think you will not deny we have moved the masses our way. Who dares talk of fiat money now? You had a free silver, and we a gold champion. Tell me, Boy, what became of your man?

Frank—He remained honest and true to his convictions. What is this mysterious monetary advantage which you think gold has over everything else?

Mr. Push—Its rarity and its consequent great value.

Frank—I move, then, that you adopt radium. There are but a few ounces of it on the planet, and it's worth something like \$900,000 the pound, I believe.

Mr. Push (aside)—By Jove! How easy that'd be to corner. I'll put that flea in Morgan's ear. We could depend on Theodore, and it would be for Mark's interest as much as ours. Cleveland, Hill, Gorman et al. are all our men, and we are sure of a MONEY victory next campaign, whether we call it Democratic or Republican—that is, unless—unless those reform cranks stampede the convention. Bah! We want a safe man. One whose ear is so close to the ground he cannot see over the sage brush. If we get a vertebrate we'll have a job of tying him down, or soaking his spine in vinegar, or I'm no prophet. (To Frank) The world has never known but one safe money—gold.

Frank—Pater, when you accompany a childish remark with a Voltairean smile I never know just what to think. I wonder, now, if you can be as uninformed on this matter as you seem. I've just been reading about some of the things which have been used as money. Let me mention a few. Perhaps you do not know that Russia used platinum from 1828 to 1845. The Burman Empire used lead, and the Lacedemonians iron; England under James II., tin, gun metal and pewter; South Sea Islanders, axes and hammers; Ancient Britons, cattle, slaves, brass and iron; the Carthaginians, leather; China in 1200, bark of mulberry tree; ancient Jews, jewels; Africa and Indian Islands, cowrie shells; Iceland and Newfoundland, codfish; ancient Russia, skins of wild animals; Massachusetts Indians, wampum and musket-balls; Virginia in 1700, tobacco; West Indies Islands in 1500, coconuts; British West India Islands, pins, snuff and whisky; Central South America, soap, chocolate and eggs; ancient Romans, cattle; Greece, nails of copper and iron; Rome, under Numa Pompilius, wood and leather, and under the Caesars, land. In other cases, copper wire, cakes of tea, pieces of silk, salt, coonskins and cotton shirts have been used, and in 1574 Holland used pieces of pasteboard. Now it may be that all these countries and peoples went to the bow-wows, but it was not because they did not use gold money exclusively, any more than the fact that America has just a tinge of culture in some quarters is due to the idiots who have diamonds set in their toenails and teeth.

Mr. Push—What on earth is the use

of having a money if it's something every ragtag and bobtail can get hold of? Where would be its power? Look at England! Some one told me a few years ago that less than a dozen men owned half of her. Now there's some distinction, some glory in such power as that.

Frank—Glory! Yes, there's the glory of commercialism. The glory of the African conquest. Glory, indeed! England imports tons of mummies yearly from Africa and grinds them up for fertilizer! Isn't that grand? What to her greed the loves, the hopes, the fears, the aspirations that made those living, clay temples sacred? What to her the belief that treasured the mummy as co-important with the soul? Father and son; mother and daughter; adult and babe, are all ground between the wheels of modern greed, a fitting symbol of the present fertilization of the stolen soil of the rich by the souls and bodies of the poor. Glory! — Shakespeare might have written: "To what base uses may we return, O England? Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of the Ptolemies till he find it a turnip stopping a mouth in some English bar-racks?"

Mr. Push—" 'Twere to consider too curiously to consider so." Mere sentiment must not be allowed to stand in the way of business. The motto of business, my boy, is not to build high but build broad—that is, spread yourself over as much of the earth as possible, and hang on, making everyone pay tribute to your preemption. This is why I have urged you to join the Republican party—the party of EXPANSION—

Frank—Of military murder, inquisitorial torture, industrial slavery, protection—of the rich.—census legerdemain, "anti-trust" bills written by the trusts themselves.—the party of subsidy and special privilege, the party of—

Mr. Push (severely) — Of Lincoln, young man! !

Frank—No, not that! The name is not the thing itself. Force not the sacred dead to turn in his coffin! The party of Lincoln! Are you not the party of slavery, to-day? Have you not at every opportunity contracted the currency? Did not your influence—I know those who call it by a yellow and metallic name—secure the repeal of the Sherman act?

Mr. Push—Privately I'm proud to say it did.

Frank—Did Abraham Lincoln ever make a remark to the effect that of

all political crimes the contraction of the currency was the worst?

Mr. Push—Really, I don't know, but I hope not. I wish you wouldn't rake up such old things, Frank.

Frank—Do you think it fair to misrepresent or assault the position of the defenseless dead, and then deny his followers the right of rebuttal? Such ideas of fair play would discredit the ethics of the jungle. Father, we shall never agree. I will not fight even in the ranks of Truth under a lying banner. To me the right of free expression is as sacred as the right of free trade. I have no patience with what you call your esoteric and exoteric truth. Neither do I believe that power—unless it be the power of love—is the greatest thing in life. What to you are your millions? You are but a single atom on this speck of stardust called the earth, immersed in an etheric sea whose telescopic horizon is not more than 12,000 light-years away. Consider it! 186,000 times 60x60x24x365x12,000 miles! Does not the thought make you shrivel? Power! What is your power in such an arena as this? You are missing all the large verities of life—character, love; they are the great things.

Mr. Push—Vapors of youth! You'll outgrow all that.

Frank—Father, the saddest comment on modern life is that young men are better than old. Life to-day unbuilds, not upbuilds the soul. Oh, this fearful deadline of the soul! The flame of the ideal is all snuff before thirty.

Mr. Push—Life strikes you at too serious an angle.

Frank—It strikes me at the "critical angle." I lack Mr. Roosevelt's ability to temper all the alkalis of my utterance with just enough acid to make them show neutral to the litmus of criticism. Can you captains not see that your greed, which debases the masses, deozone the psychic atmosphere of the world, the soul-fluid you yourself must breathe? You are poisoning the spring from which you drink.

Mr. Push (aside)—Strange that I never thought of that when I see so clearly that the South's unjust treatment of the Negro debases him, and perpetually reinflects the white as surely in education and morals as it does in linguistic habit. Thought-fluid is as actual as electric-fluid. The boy has scored.

Frank (closing the book in front of his father)—Put up your ledger.

Mr. Push—The devil!

Frank—Sh! Speak gently! His Maj-

esty has the hoof and mouth disease. Put up the book and come out into the country. I insist on one day. I will show you one June page in this volume of 365. If then you can leave that magnificent book illumined by the love-colored birds, censured by the flowers burning in the sun's glory, and full of the metric ripple of life's poetry—if after such horizons you will again bound your soul in a commercial nutshell—if you can "this fair mountain leave to feed and batten on this moor," our paths diverge. Not for me the toy grandeurs of commercialism. Come!

Mr. Push (aside)—I do not comprehend it all, yet a something back of his utterance tells me there's a value I've not yet cornered. Oh, this contagion of youth! I feel ten years' younger already, with a strange weakness like unto infancy. (To Frank)—Lead on. Indeed, "the child is father to the man." Boy, I feel strangely weak and womanish. You'll not laugh at a tear or two?

Exeunt both, arm in arm.

THE END.

MELVIN L. SEVERY.

SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT ON THE LAND TAX BILL.

These speeches in favor of the bill for allowing British municipalities to levy taxes on land values (vol. v., p. 821), are reproduced as printed in the London Times of March 28, 1903.

SPEECH BY THE MOVER OF THE BILL.

Dr. Macnamara (Camberwell, N.), in moving the second reading of the land values assessment and rating bill, said that in 1868 there was raised in the United Kingdom, by way of imperial taxation, the sum of £63,700,000. In 1899-1900 the amount raised was £109,630,000, or an increase of 72 per cent. The amount raised by way of local rates in 1868 in England and Wales was £16,500,000, and in 1899-1900 £40,750,000, or an increase of 150 per cent. In London the amount raised in 1868 was £3,702,000, and in 1899-1900 £11,154,000, which represented an increase of 200 per cent. in the burden of local rates. He insisted, therefore, that the plea for redress in the incidence of local rating was much more powerful and urgent than the plea for a redress on the basis of imperial taxation, legitimate as that plea was. And the burden of local rating was tending rapidly to become more acute. Though he did not profess to be a scientific economist, he had watched this question with close interest for a considerable number of years; and he had arrived at the very definite conclusion that in great towns, and especially in London, there

was a direct relationship between rate expenditures and land values. (Hear, hear.) The landowner was the residuary legatee of the great bulk of rate expenditure. That, in a sentence, was his case. Last year, in the course of the debate on a similar bill to the one now before the house, the honorable and learned member for Stretford declared that there was no unearned increment. Would the honorable and learned member apply his acute intellect to this single case, though he could multiply it a hundredfold? In the year 1865, near the Temple station, on the foreshore of the Thames, there was a piece of land covered with coal sheds and coal wharfing. That land, in that year, changed hands at the sum of £8,250. In the years 1869-70 the London ratepayers built the Victoria embankment at enormous expense. Two years later the school board for London desired to secure a piece of land which to build a central office. They secured, inch for inch, the piece of land which in 1865 changed hands at £8,250, but the jury awarded the owners of it no less a sum than £26,420. (Cheers.)

The ratepayers were hit, first, to build the embankment, and they were hit again, when they wanted these public offices, to the extent of £18,000, the result of public expenditure. He could multiply these cases to almost any extent. They were confronted with the fact that leases were falling in in the city and near it, and the owners of the land were immediately able to increase enormously the ground rent. And the important fact was that, as a result of the general desire to get away from the center of the crowded city to the suburbs, as the result of improved means of locomotion, there was a suburban zone round London the value of which was increasing fabulously at the present time. He illustrated this by mentioning a site in Wandsworth, the ground rent of which was £350, but on the buildings being cleared away the ground rent was of the total value of over £3,500. In his position at the school board he had to go into the question of sites for schools. In 1895 they bought a piece of land in a particular locality at 9d. a square foot. In 1901 for the same quantity of land, within gunshot of the other site and with local circumstances similar, they had to pay 1s. 6¼d. a square foot. (Hear, hear.) He had gone carefully into the matter, and he found that auctioneers and land agents frankly put in their announcements of land sales prospective public improvements as an

asset which was going to increase the value of the land. (Cheers.) Amongst these improvements were electric tramways and new streets, which were held out as certain to enhance the value of the property. In this bill they did not propose to touch agricultural land at all; they confined themselves to the land in London in the urban districts. They said that that land must be assessed under the scheme set out in the bill, whether occupied or not. Having assessed the land, they gave to the local authorities power, which they might exercise if they thought fit, to levy a land value rate throughout their areas of not more than 1d. in the pound in any financial year. Then came the question—Who was to pay the rate? They declined to interfere with existing contracts; and they said, therefore, for the moment that the new rate must be paid by the occupying tenants. There were other details as to this which he should not go into. This was, broadly, their scheme. He was lost in wonder at the moderation of the bill (hear, hear), which was based on the minority report of the royal commission on local taxation, which was signed by eminent authorities. The honorable member quoted extracts from the report to show that in practice the alleged difficulties in the way of valuation were not serious and had already been overcome elsewhere. Then it was objected that they did not propose to break existing contracts and go direct to the ground landlords. The minority report stated that this was neither workable nor equitable. It was said that they were imposing a new rate upon overburdened tenants. His answer to that was that the rate on unoccupied land would bring such a sum of money into the local purse that it would have a rebating influence, and, taking the two rates together, the tenant would pay not more and probably would pay less, than he paid now. In any case, the people about whom he was concerned, the working class, and middle class people, usually had short tenancies; and, if they did not get the benefit of the rebating influence, the system of rent deductions would come into operation before the new burden, if there was one, fell upon them. The next objection was that the landowner would increase the rents. No doubt he would take all he could get; but the rate upon unoccupied land would have such an effect upon building operations that it was not likely that he would get as much as he did at the present time, as a large amount of land was kept out

of the market in order that its value might be enhanced. At the general election of 1895 the Unionist party looked upon this proposal with a friendly eye, and in 1896 the government appointed a royal commission. The honorable member representing the local government board, speaking against the bill of last year, said that if the question was to be touched it ought to be touched by the government, and the government would deal with it. He was not at liberty to say how the government would deal with it. That was a year ago. He asked the House to decline to wait to see how the government would deal with it. While governments procrastinated the rate-payers starved. (Hear, hear.) As it was, we were decades behind most of the continental countries and most of our colonies in regard to this matter.

He had sent this bill to a great many municipalities and, in return, had received a large number of resolutions in favor of the principle it embodied. The only letter of opposition to the scheme he had received came from the borough council of Stoke Newington. He would end his plea on behalf of this moderate proposal with a quotation from one of the earlier speeches of the Secretary of State for the Colonies: "I would ask again, why should the owners of the ground rents escape all contribution to the expenditure of their locality? These ground rents have all grown out of the prosperity and industry of the community. The property of the owner has been improved by local expenditure. Why should not the owners contribute towards that local expenditure?" He begged to move. (Cheers.)

SPEECH OF THE LIBERAL LEADER.

After Mr. Boscawen, of Kent; Mr. Ridley, of Stalybridge; Mr. Cripps, of Lancashire; Mr. Gibbs, of Herts, and Mr. Bond, of Nottingham, had spoken against the bill, and Mr. Soares, of Devon; Mr. Shaw, of Hawick, and Mr. Trevelyan, of York, in its favor,

Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman said that this subject was one which excited the greatest interest in many parts of the country, and yet, during the whole of the discussion, the parliamentary secretary to the local government board had been practically the sole occupant of the treasury bench. (Cheers.) The government appeared not to have realized the fact that this was no mere whim or notion of his honorable friend the member for Camberwell. This was not a question of coquetting in an amiable sort of way with some strange doctrines. The

object of the bill was one which attracted the warmest appreciation and approval throughout the country. (Cheers.) The honorable and learned member for Stretford had asked what was the real principle of the bill. He would say what he considered to be the principle and main object of the bill. It was the recognition of the distinction between site value and structural value. (Hear, hear.) It was the recognition of the fact that they had separate values; that they advanced or receded on altogether different scales and sometimes in opposition to each other. He thought that once they recognized that fact, they were led directly to the purpose of the bill—that it should be incumbent on the local authorities to ascertain and record those separate values. The further action which should be taken was left to the local authorities themselves, except that the bill excluded existing contracts. This extreme moderation on the part of his honorable friend had been seized on by honorable gentlemen opposite as a fault in the bill. He believed the opinion of the country would have supported his honorable friend if he had dealt a little more valiantly with existing contracts. (Hear, hear.) That might have been done without creating any terrifying precedents. Sir Robert Peel dealt in a more manful way with existing contracts when he introduced the income tax in 1842; but his honorable friend, coming upon somewhat degenerate days, had yielded to what he believed to be the general sentiment, and had omitted existing contracts altogether. The advantages of this recognition of site values as apart from the general value of the hereditament were clearly set out in the report of the minority commissioners. They pointed, first of all, to the fact that the benefit of municipal and other improvements attached to the site, and, therefore, if a tax were necessary at all, it ought to be in proportion to the site value. It was not the house, but the site, that was increased in value. Here was a case of the value that had been given to land within quite recent years by a great public improvement. The Manchester ship canal, which was largely made with the money that was found by the city of Manchester, had the effect of raising the value of land on the Trafford park estate from £327 an acre to £4,840 an acre, within the years of its construction. (Hear, hear.) That was a proof, surely, that there was a case for saying that land so artificially increased in value should contribute to the very expensive processes

by which that new value was given. The minority commissioners further pointed out that if more of the burden of rates was thrown on the site, the proportion left to be borne by the buildings would be diminished, and this would weigh with builders. Then there was the question of overcrowding, which, of course, was part of the same matter, and which was greatly aggravated by the present system. The rating of sites, in the opinion of the commissioners, would help to mitigate this evil; and, if it was objected that it ran in any way counter to established principles, they pointed out that a structure was, after all, perishable property, but that the site was permanent property, which rather increased than diminished in value. These were the sort of arguments, of which they had not heard much in that debate, by which the minority commissioners supported this proposal. The most urgent matter of all seemed to be to break down the ring fence which was in some places established round a rising and prosperous community by the owner or owners who withheld their land from building in order to gain the benefit in the increased value. (Cheers.) Public energy or private enterprise increased the value of the property, and why should it not be assessed? They wished to prevent the occupiers from actually suffering in their health, comfort and convenience, by the action of such owners, for suffering was caused and an insanitary condition of things was created by the circumscription of a community. Anything which tended to distribute the burden more equably, and to prevent such evils, deserved the favorable consideration of parliament. This bill represented a desirable reform in the interests, not only of urban communities but of the whole people, and he gave it his heartiest support. (Hear, hear.)

After a speech in opposition to the bill by Mr. Grant Lawson, of Yorkshire, the House came to a vote at 5:30 in the morning, with the following result:
For second reading.....170
Against second reading.....183

Conservative majority 13
The result, so near to a complete victory for the Liberals in a strong Conservative House, was received with loud Liberal cheers.

Sidney—Then you believe in a coat-of-arms?

Rodney—Yes. Almost any newly-rich American can be benefited by adopting a good Latin motto to live up to.—Puck.

A PARABLE. For The Public.

I.

On Klondike, where mosquitoes
Perpetually swarm,
That is, when the weather
Is anything like warm;
And where the life-blood freezes
In veins of young or old,
That is, when the weather
Is anything like cold;
Up there a heathen Chinese
Had happened for to squat
Upon the richest gold field,
Right on the richest spot.

Then all the "Christian" squatters,
Dutch, Yankees and Canucks,
Rose up and swore in concert
By all the Klondike spooks,
That all those boundless riches
Should never, never go,
With all their power for uplift,
To the heathen, Yu Li So;
That Christendom would shudder
If all that wealth should fall
To old Li So, the pagan—
It must not be at all.

So they held a pious council,
And sampled "Christian" rum,
And planned to squelch Li So,
The slave of opium,
And thereof in pursuance,
Upon a cloudy night,
They killed Li So, the heathen,
And chucked him out of sight;
Then over his possessions,
With many a bloody brawl,
They kept up hot contention
Till the strongest got them all.

II.

Now, this is rawest fiction—
A parabolic lie;
For hardy Klondike miners
Would sooner starve and die
Than outrage right and justice
In any such a way;
Though rough in speech and manner,
They like to see fair play;
But these supposed transactions
In figure represent
How pious "Christian nations"
Cause heathen to repent.

B. J. RADFORD.

"What we want," said the spokesman for the delegation, "is more pay for less work."

"Well," answered the multimillionaire, "I can thoroughly sympathize with you. That's what I am after myself."—Washington Star.

The Mother—Now, Elsie, did I teach you to throw your clothes on the floor in that disreputable way?

Elsie—No, mamma; I learned myself.—Puck.

Two little girls, aged, respectively, six and eight years, were discussing religious matters. The older one said to her sister: "Which would you rather do, live, or die and go to heaven?"

"Why," the young one said, "I would rather live." Whereupon the elder one burst out with the emphatic question:

"Sarah B., what does your religion amount to?"—The Christian Register.

BOOKS

FRANK NORRIS'S LAST BOOK— "THE PIT."

It is sad to think that this is his last book. It is a pity that he could not have lived to complete the third book of his wheat series. It is more a pity that he could not live to do work beyond this, with more fully developed powers. He was working along right lines, and it seems sure that in time he would have rid himself from the few falsities of method that these first books show.

In "The Pit" (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York) there are some exaggerated situations, where one sees too plainly the artificial manipulations of the stage manager. Take, for example, the scene with Jadwin, Scannel, and old Hargus, in which the successful speculator makes the man he has cornered make amends to the old fellow whom he had, in his day, previously ruined. It is too much like the closing scene of a second-rate melodrama, in which the actors line up, with joyful justice dealt out all around and loudly applauded by the gallery.

But there is not much of this, and this last book, the second volume of the contemplated Epic of the Wheat, is one of the modern novels which one does not waste time in reading. It is interesting throughout, both in its larger social side and in its narrower society side. Those who may be more interested in the dealings on the Chicago exchange will also be interested in the pictures of private life, and those who are more interested in the latter will also be interested in following the same character on the Board of Trade. The highest interest is really the interplay of influences and effects between the two sides of life so cleverly portrayed. It would be hard to find in modern fiction a truer tragedy than the strain in Laura Jadwin's heart caused by her husband's absorption in speculation. "It is changing you," she says to him. "You are so nervous sometimes, and sometimes you don't listen to me when I talk to you. I can just see what is in your mind. It is wheat, wheat, all the time."

Three lessons are powerfully enforced in the book. One is that which has just been alluded to—the folly and crime of a man's subtracting himself from his home. A second is the terrible grip of the fever for speculation. Curtis Jadwin had all that money could buy, and money enough to buy it all a second time. He had sworn to himself and promised his wife not to speculate; but the temptation was too great and the taste too strong. A third lesson is the old one of the utter failure of money to bring happiness. Laura bought right and left—

books, pictures, flowers, horses, and gowns, beautiful beyond all that she had ever imagined. And yet, "hardly a day passed that Laura Jadwin, in the solitude of her own boudoir, did not fling her arms wide in a gesture of lassitude and infinite weariness, crying out: 'Oh, the ennui and stupidity of all this wretched life.'"

But, after all, the story is for the Jadwins a comedy, not a tragedy, for he could say at last, "the wheat cornered me and not I the wheat."

J. H. DILLARD.

A BOOK AND A PREFACE.

President Roosevelt wrote a prefatory letter to the book "The Woman Who Toils," by Mrs. John Van Vorst and Marie Van Vorst (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York), which letter started the discussion anent "race suicide" running for some time in the columns of the daily press. In this way the book received a certain amount of advertising which will bring it to the attention of a number of people who might not otherwise have read it. It will be a great mistake and injustice to the book, however, if these readers see nothing further in it than concern for the size of better situated families—the question which has so agitated President Roosevelt.

The President wrote his letter to Mrs. Van Vorst after reading Chapter III. of her part of the book, in which she does mention, in a casual way, that among the women workers who are supported by their families and spend their money on clothes, there is a tendency to shirk motherhood. But this is quite by the way, as both writers have seen that with "the woman who toils," as with all other workers, the trouble is not too few children, but too many.

It is a great pity that President Roosevelt did not wait to read the magnificent closing chapter on "The Child in the Southern Cotton Mills," by Miss Marie Van Vorst, before writing a letter for the book. It would have been of far greater interest and importance to the serious portion of the American public to hear what our President has to say on the subject of making a decent existence possible for American children already born, than to read his opinions on the Potential Unborn. It would have been of inestimable value to have had an expression of opinion from Mr. Roosevelt on the abuses of child labor; but alas, he dilated on the purely theoretical question, and left the question of burning practical import untouched.

Of itself, the book has considerable value, in that it shows that two women of the favored class, when they make an exploration into the unknown regions inhabited by the submerged tenth, have their eyes opened

in a great many unexpected ways, and discover all sorts of things. These two ladies deserve great credit for their frank acknowledgment of their discoveries and the train of thought aroused thereby. They are not sociologists. Certain remarks on the subject prove that the field of radical thought is unknown to them. They went about their task of living with the factory hands as one of themselves in a most beautifully unbiased frame of mind, unbiased by conservative thought as by all that has been written on radical political economy. Whatever motive may have actuated them in their undertaking, they went into it in a spirit of fairness and they emphasize their sympathetic desire to help.

They made the discovery of that startling and incomprehensible fact, for women of the favored class, that the workers are human beings like ourselves, and that where they appear different it is the fault of conditions. The writers are clear-minded enough to see that conditions which can so warp human beings cannot be right, and although they discover no remedy beyond some palliative scheme of industrial classes, etc., the very facts they give with impartial clearness are strong enough to be of great value in themselves.

Mrs. Van Vorst quotes the words of an old farmer stranded in a Massachusetts mill town:

"I think Mr. Carnegie would have done a great deal nobler if he had paid his men a little more straight along. He wouldn't have made such a name for himself. But don't you believe it would have been better to have paid those men more for the work they were doing day by day than it is now to give pensions to their families? I know what I think about the matter."

Mrs. Van Vorst passes over these important remarks without a word of comment, which no one who understood the great truth of them could do. But this very fact certifies, perhaps, all the more to the authenticity of the quotation, and points to the fact that the old toiler had a clearer insight into economic truths than many a college professor.

The most important part of the book, from the sociological point of view, is the closing chapter above mentioned, Miss Marie Van Vorst's account of the children at work in Southern cotton mills. All radicals should read this chapter. It gives them many a statement of fact which can be used with effect in the fight against this worst of all economic abuses. The author does not reason nor seek for causes, but she sees plainly a terrible abuse, and she describes it in burning words that linger with the reader long after he has laid the book aside. Pity, pity 'tis, that President Roosevelt did

not advertise this chapter of the book in his letter.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

LITERARY NOTES.

Four articles on bank currency appear in Sound Currency (52 Pine st., New York) for March. One is by Lyman J. Gage on the principles of bank credit currency; the second is by Charles N. Fowler on bank currency and branch bank. Louis H. Ehrlich contributes the third, which is on assets currency, and in the fourth R. W. Millsaps presents the history of banking in Mississippi.

The Nation has in a recent number a lengthy review of Nova Solyma, the novel recently brought to light and attributed by the translator to John Milton. The original is in Latin. It is interesting to have the view of the Nation's critic. He concludes that "the diffuseness of the work and the absence from it of any passages of the highest imaginative quality... tell most heavily against the supposition of Miltonic authorship." It is true, however, that many judges have at least accepted the possibility of the fact that we have in

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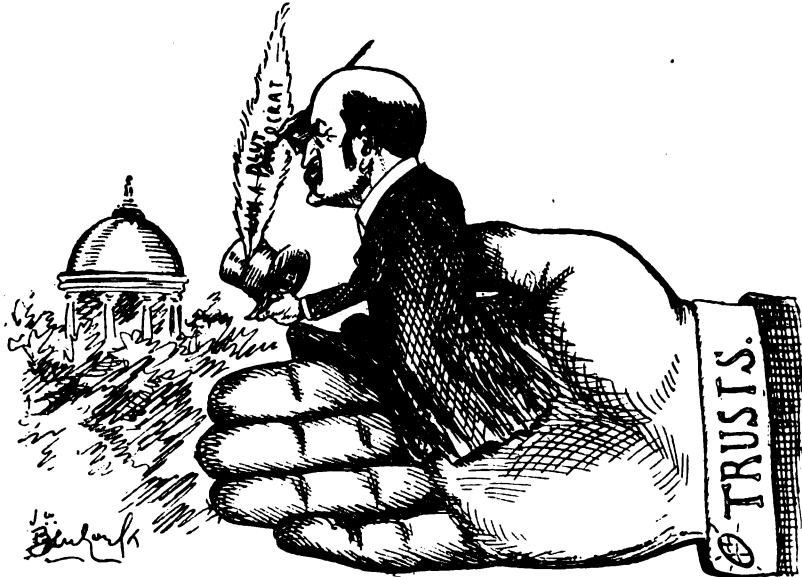
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Among its editorial comments in the issue of April 11 the New York Outlook, after quoting a portion of Mr. Root's recent address before the Home Market Club of Boston, has this to say: "The Outlook does not believe in the principle of protection in the present state of America's industrial development. But so long as that principle is maintained by the nation, the revision of the tariff must be made by those who believe in that principle." It is not quite easy to see the logical sequence in this latter remark; but there seems little doubt that the nation agrees with the Outlook, and that so long as Democrats help the Republicans to believe in protection, they will also help them to hold the power of doing the revising. J. H. D.

The New York Independent is certainly one of the publications whose readers, unswerved by "special features," turn first to the editorials. No more thoughtful and earnest writing is being done anywhere than is to be found in the editorial pages of this weekly magazine. The leading editorial of April 9 is on "The Inevitable Struggle." Speaking of coming politics, the writer says: "All that we certainly know is that the American people are entering upon another great struggle which will be an irrepressible conflict. . . . One party will be the party of an immensely powerful oligarchy, the other will be the party of the people. . . . Every man will have to decide on which side he will stand." One party will stand for vested rights and even legal technicalities, the other will hold that man is not to be "the slave of his own institutions." J. H. D.

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