

The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1903.

Number 279.

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

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

"When a Democrat says, 'Let's run Grover again!' all the other Democrats," observes the witty Life, "know whom he is talking about." True, very true. But then it adds: "That's an advantage." Not at all. It's a handicap.

A dispatch from New York gives the refreshing information that—

Judge Andrew Kirkpatrick, of the United States court of New Jersey, occupies the unique and delicate position of dispensing patronage from the bench to a trust company of which he is president. . . . Judge Kirkpatrick says he sees no impropriety in designating his own company.

Why should he see any impropriety in it? The day is past in the United States when judges are expected to see any impropriety in judicial "graft."

Some labor men, including the president of the local miners' union, have been driven out of Idaho Springs, Col., by a mob headed by the mayor and the president of the local national bank, who is also manager of a local mine, of a local tunnel company, of the local electric company, etc. The labor men were in jail upon an unproved charge, which they denied, of having dynamited the buildings of a local mine. This outbreak of mob law would be of no more general importance than any other instance of frontier lawlessness were it not approved with a few honorable exceptions, by the organs of "law and order" in the civilized parts of the country. Their approval raises a very serious question as to what they mean by "law and order." Are

we to understand that mobs and riots over labor disputes are lawful and orderly or not, according to whose ox gets gored?

"Government by injunction" flourishes in Manila under the American regime. The sentence to six months' imprisonment of a labor leader for contempt of court, for publishing a labor paper the publication of which had been suspended by order of the court, was the first newspaper news to come over the Pacific cable, just completed, between the Philippines and the imperial republic of which their inhabitants are restless subjects. Why "government by injunction" should have been adopted out there is not quite clear. More autocratic and summary methods are certainly available. Possibly, however, the American officials prefer forms of tyranny that have become familiar at home and are therefore less likely to shock the American goddess of Liberty.

A dispatch from Atchison, Kan., tells humorously of the disappointment of a New Yorker who responded to the Kansas call for farm hands, but quit when he found what farm-handing meant. Says the dispatch:

The New Yorker had never seen a farm before, except the kind on the stage, and his first disappointment was the farmer's daughter. He expected to find a pretty little thing in short milkmaid skirts, like the chorus girls in Pinafore, who went to her milking singing blithely with a pail swinging on her arm and a little Swiss apron on. There were no soda fountains on the farm, and one whole day he was without a cigaret. On the whole, he found every illusion too shattered to pick up when he started for home.

This New Yorker must have been one of those editorial pen-smiths of the metropolitan press, who "write up" the great opportunities which the boundless prairies

of the West offer to the industrious. If unsophisticated enough to believe in his own editorials, he might very easily, upon losing his editorial job, have undergone precisely such an experience of disappointment and discouragement as is described in the above-quoted Kansas dispatch.

There is an extensive crusade in the cities of the country against what is called the "end seat hog." The allusion is to people who, in summer trolley cars, take the outer end of the long transverse seats, and force later comers to the inconvenience of crowding past them in the narrow space between seats. This may be hoggish sometimes; but it is not always so. Suppose the first occupant intends to ride but a short distance. What difference would it make in that case whether he held his outside seat (thereby forcing later comers to crowd past him when they get on), or moved up (thereby subjecting them to the equal discomfort of his crowding past them when he gets off)? The "end seat hog" is not found on cars with a longitudinal aisle. Nor does he inconvenience fellow passengers on cars with roomy spaces between seats. He is a natural product of parsimonious street car management.

Henry Rochefort, the Paris journalist, has gathered the horrible facts about Negro lynchings in the United States and published them in France in comparison with the horrible facts about the massacre of Jews in Kishineff. He does this as a suitable commentary upon the American protests to the Czar. The humiliating thing about it is the truth of what is suggested. With one accord the press of the United States has denounced the massacre of Jews in Russia, and

thousands of our people have joined in a petition about it to the Czar; yet with few exceptions the American people are silent when they do not applaud, and the American press is dumb when it does not approve, the savage outrages upon Negroes at home. It is futile to try to make distinctions between persecution of Jews and of Negroes. The distinctions lack that without which no distinction is valid—a difference to be distinguished. In one case as in the other, race antagonism is the cause of these crimes. In Russia the hated race is the Jew; in the United States it is the Negro; in both the animus is a common feeling that the persecuted race is inferior. Of all the morally wretched defenders of this American crime, therefore, the American Jew who defends Negro lynchings while denouncing Russian massacres—and some do—is most contemptible.

Mild surprise is expressed by the Commoner because the New York Evening Post declares its ignorance of the existence of Judge Walter Clark, of North Carolina, one of the ablest jurists and publicists of the country. The reflection, as the Commoner observes, is not upon Judge Clark for being unknown to the New York paper, but upon the New York paper for being ignorant of Judge Clark. In the same article the Commoner wonders because another New York paper of national reputation regards as "little unknowns from nowhere," such men as Stone, of Missouri, who has served with distinction in both houses of Congress and as governor of his State, and Tom L. Johnson, of Ohio, who has served two terms in Congress, also with distinction, is Mayor of Cleveland twice elected on issues of national concern and interest, and has four times defeated Mark Hanna at elections in Hanna's own Republican city and county. If Mr. Bryan is really surprised at this sort of thing, it must be because he knows little of New York city and its journalism.

There is no more provincial place, nor any more provincial press, on the face of the earth. Not even the remotest village, outside of the actual backwoods, is so completely wrapped up in the contemplation of its own lilliputian local interests.

Cleveland's newspaper supporters are renewing their old charge against Bryan that he bolted the Democratic ticket in 1892. The object of this is to show, by the "you're another" process of reasoning, that Cleveland's bolts in 1896 and 1900 do not disqualify him for the regular party nomination for President in 1904, since Bryan, notwithstanding his bolt of 1892, was the regular candidate in 1896 and 1900. Mr. Cleveland's friends are proceeding upon the theory that you can fool all of the people some of the time and some of the people all of the time. It is matter of history that Mr. Bryan did not bolt in 1892. On the contrary, he did what Mr. Cleveland, through his manager, requested him to do. We have told this story and furnished proofs more than once (vol. v., '322). Mr. Bryan has recently told it with circumstantial detail in the Commoner. If anything further be required, it will be found in the Annals of the American Academy of Political Science for 1901, in a scholarly paper on "Present Political Tendencies," by Waldo Lincoln Cook, of Springfield, Mass. On the point in question, Mr. Cook writes:

In 1890 and 1892, American Populism displayed great political strength. Mr. Cleveland, although a conservative man of the most orthodox New York associations, profited by the Populist disaffection in his third campaign for the Presidency. His political manager, Mr. W. C. Whitney, who was able to carry New York only by a plurality of 45,000, and without a majority over all, made astute use of the Western Populists by arranging fusions with them wherever there seemed to be a prospect of diverting electoral votes from Gen. Harrison to Gen. Weaver.

As anyone with even the faintest knowledge of American political history knows, one of the States

in which that arrangement was made was Nebraska, and one of the men who responded to the Whitney-Cleveland request to make it was Mr. Bryan. Hence the Cleveland cry now that Bryan was a bolter then. To call Bryan a bolter for this is not ignorance, it is duplicity. As a bolter Cleveland remains solitary among candidatorial possibilities. He has been a notorious bolter in every Presidential campaign for 20 years in which he was not himself the candidate.

Had Congressman Baker expected to win laurel wreaths from the press by refusing the pass with which the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company endeavored to enlist his Congressional sympathies in its behalf (p. 263), he would have been disappointed. The plutocratic papers of both parties, most of those that have not been silent about it, have been jocular. The idea of a public official's refusing a corporation "courtesy" was just too funny for anything—not because it is unique, but because "there's no sense in it." Of such morality are these our ethical teachers made. One exception is especially worthy of note. The New York World editorially deprecates this licentious merriment, and admonishes those of the thoughtless public who may also think a bit of official honesty funny, that such high sense of official obligation as Congressman Baker's, had it been general before his innovation, would have prevented the post office and army glove scandals.

The comment upon Congressman Baker which exhibits moral obtuseness of the most painful kind is that of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. That paper calmly suggests that Baker "should have returned the pass and kept still about it." Truly, this would have been an excellent way of avoiding the pricks of private conscience without interfering with the pass-corrupting practice. But considering that

Mr. Baker owed an official obligation to the public to expose the pass corruption of which proof had come into his hands, it wouldn't have differed very much morally from what his fellow Congressmen are doing when they retain the pass and keep still about it.

An assistant of the New York district attorney, Mr. Jerome, has been telling a commercial convention of the "graft" of the labor unions of New York, which Mr. Jerome's office has lately investigated. He described it as a kind of graft "beside which the common garden graft of commerce pales into insignificance;" and, comparing it with police plunder, asked: "What is the paltry \$100 a month from a disorderly house in comparison with \$40,000 at a clip?" Here is the modus operandi:

The walking delegate goes around to a building and calls a strike, and then says to the contractor: "You've got to see Sam Jones." Sam Jones doesn't beat around the bush, for he knows his power. He says to the contractor, whose profits are going by the board: "See here, old man, this thing can be settled quick and right. What's your contract worth?" The contractor tells Sam Jones that the contract is worth \$350,000 or \$400,000, and Sam Jones says: "You bring me \$25,000 at this time to-morrow, and I'll let your men go back to work."

That is what Mr. Jerome's assistant calls the walking delegate's "graft." And "graft" it certainly is. But what about the contractor's "graft"? Is there a profit of \$350,000 or \$400,000 in an honest building contract? Can an honest contractor "give up" \$25,000 or \$40,000 and go on with his business. If the whole truth were told, wouldn't it appear that the contractor is himself a criminal (he and the politicians with whom he conspires)? that they get the great big "graft," and that what the criminal labor delegate gets is only garden "graft" by comparison?

It is a very significant fact that the grand jury recently sitting in Chicago has adjourned without

investigating the charges of assaults by labor unionists against non-labor unionists, reports of which the plutocratic press has fairly rung with, and in the punishment of which as "contempt of court" local judges have been over-swift if not overwilling. The fair inference is that there was no lawless disorder to investigate. It is one thing to prosecute such cases in the regular way, through a grand jury, by means of indictment, at a jury trial, with living witnesses subject to cross-examination, and a chance for the accused to be heard. It is quite a different thing to prosecute them as "contempts of court," before biased judges, without juries, and upon affidavits drawn by corporation lawyers, sworn to out of court, and with no opportunity for cross-examination. The latter method is apparently preferred by the corporation lawyers.

When this grand jury organized, Judge Edward Osgood Brown charged it to investigate these cases. We published his charge at the time (p. 244) as printed in the more careful newspapers. As since reported to us in full, however, it was rather more definite. Judge Brown said:

As to the duties which you will have to perform, in the investigation of offenses against the law of Illinois, I have not been informed of any of the matters likely to be brought to your attention by the State's attorney. But if that information which comes to me through the ordinary public sources of information is to be believed, then there are conditions in certain portions of this country which demand the serious attention of your body, and will undoubtedly receive it. Crimes of violence are alleged to be constantly committed, and offenses against good order and the liberty and bodily safety of individuals continuously carried on. It is charged that the legitimate business and vocations of citizens are interfered with and obstructed by means of assaults and intimidation. Whether or not this be true, is a proper subject for your investigation; and, if true, these offenses should be presented for prosecution before the criminal court. It is needless to say that there can be no advance, either materially or morally, in civilization—that is,

neither greater material prosperity nor a better social order—unless the laws are rigorously, equally, and impartially enforced against all who interfere with the liberty of each citizen to pursue in peace his lawful vocations, and against all who undertake to right grievances, real or fancied, or to gratify a spirit of spite or revenge, by taking the functions of government into their own hands, and undertaking to punish the persons whom they believe blameworthy. I am sure that this consideration will appeal to you strongly.

In this connection I call your attention to a statute of the State, passed June 2, 1877, one section of which reads—it is the second section: "If any person or persons shall wilfully and maliciously, by any act or by means of intimidation, impede or obstruct, except by due process of law, the regular operation and conduct of the business of any railroad company or other corporation, firm or individual, of this State, or of the regular running of any locomotive, engine, freight or passenger train, of any such company, or the labor and business of any such corporation, firm or individual, he or they shall on conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not less than \$20 nor more than \$200, and confined in the county jail not less than 20 days nor more than 90 days."

In the face of that charge there are only two possible explanations of the neglect of the grand jury so charged to investigate the labor riots which certain newspapers and certain business combinations have been reporting as taking place. One explanation is that the grand jury deliberately neglected its plain duty in a matter of great and immediate concern to the public peace and personal rights. This is not to be presumed. The other is that the grand jury learned in some way that the intolerable condition to which Judge Brown, upon the authority of the newspaper reports, had called their attention, did not in fact exist.

Through the newspapers the reason given for the grand jury's inaction was that the foreman, Enos M. Barton, is a large stockholder in the company against which the strikers were operating. This would have been a good excuse for postponement had Mr. Barton refused to yield his place. But that was not the case. With commendable appreciation of the

proprieties, Mr. Barton left the grand jury room when the question of considering the labor cases came up, and announced his intention of taking no part therein. Yet the grand jury did not act. Why not? Is there any other reasonable inference than that the charges which Judge Brown outlined are probably false or frivolous, and that the persons and newspapers responsible for making them dare not come out into the open with their proof? This outcome of Judge Brown's attempt to have justice fairly done, casts further suspicion upon the good faith of the local contempt proceedings against strikers, which are based upon allegations of the very circumstances which the grand jury, though otherwise advised by the court, has refused to investigate.

Single taxers will be interested in the valuations of the real estate of Cook county, Ill., which are now completed for 1903. The total is \$337,819,707. As this is by law one-fifth of true value, the true value must be \$1,689,098,535. Of this amount 90 per cent. is estimated to be within the city of Chicago. Accepting that estimate, and the estimate of 55 per cent. for land and 45 for improvements in cities, and 45 for land and 55 for improvements in farming regions, a rough comparison of Chicago land values with country land values in Cook county can be made. As 90 per cent. of the total real estate value is in Chicago, we have \$1,520,188,681 for such values in Chicago, and \$168,909,854 for the same kind of values in the rest of Cook county. If, now, 55 per cent. of Chicago real estate values are the values of land, or sites, irrespective of improvements, the land values of Chicago would be about \$786,103,774; and if 45 per cent. of the real estate values outside of Chicago are values of the land alone, the Cook county land values outside of Chicago would be about \$76,009,434. It would appear, therefore, that the land values of Chicago are

over 91 per cent. of the total land values of the county, while those outside of Chicago are less than 9 per cent. of the whole. Yet the Chicago papers make unsophisticated out of town people believe that a tax exclusively upon land values would be borne by farmers!

ESSENTIAL UNITY OF THE THEORETICAL AND THE PRACTICAL.

It is an old strife, that between the self-styled "practical" man and the man whom he is pleased to call a "theorist."

To most of us, perhaps, practicality (in others) and the being practical (ourselves) are the "summum bonum" of life. But when we come to learn what is meant by these terms, as a large number of persons use them, it is found to be simply the contented acceptance and loyal advocacy of such institutions and practices as have become well established.

This is shown in the strenuous efforts that are made to keep "the ways of our fathers" saddled upon us, and in the almost abject fear of the unknown—the untried in the material sphere being always assumed to be the unknown.

Although "doing something" is what is explained as being practical, it is only the doing of something already in vogue that they will tolerate; it is doing something in the material sphere where it can be seen of others which they demand; and it is doing something regardless of the real relation between the doing and the professed purpose, which satisfies them.

It follows that any question of improvement in the form or methods of any existing practice or institution, involving as it must a period of cessation of physical activity in some degree, and a revival of mental activity through an inquiry into the relation of original purpose and real tendency, with some proposition for the trial of the untried, calls out from such "practicals" the criticism of "unpractical," "mere theory."

How shall these criticisms be answered? What is it to be a true practical? What is it to be a true theorist?

Although practical is roughly de-

finied as concerned only with action and theoretical as concerned only with thought, a more careful definition and usage gives to "practical" the meaning of "concerned with or related to use," "educated by practice." Its opposite, "unpractical," is defined as "not dictated by or in harmony with the lessons of experience in actual work." And "impracticable" as "unfit for the purpose intended or desired." Such are the definitions given by the Century Dictionary.

The same authority, although it defines theoretical as "concerned with knowledge only, not with accomplishing anything or with producing anything," yet makes the following quotations from other authorities: "The distinction between practical science and theoretical science which has descended to our times . . . diminishes in importance as science advances, all the sciences finding practical application." And "theory," which, like theorist, is "often used with the implication of lack of practical capacity," is "an intelligible account of how something has been brought about or should be done," and is to be carefully distinguished from conjecture, which "with good writers is hardly dignified by the name of theory." "The distinction of fact and theory is only relative;" "the merest artisan needs to theorize, i. e., to think—to think beforehand, to foresee; and that must be done by the aid of general principles, by the knowledge of laws."

It is clear from these definitions that the distinction between the theoretical and the practical—between theory and practice—is not such as involves a relation of antagonism, but rather of mutual dependence. It is clear that the theoretical is not more allied to the unpractical and the impracticable than is the practical; that it is, on the contrary, as opposed to the unpractical and the impracticable as is the practical.

If the question of superiority is to be considered at all, the cause or antecedent must take precedence over the effect or consequent. All practice, unless like "Topsy," it "never had a mother"—never had a beginning—was, in its first stage, theory, and should have respect for its origin.

The true theorist and the true practical are so inextricably mixed that no one will ever be able to separate them. Our critics, however, seek to identify the theorists with the impracticals, and to deny to the theorists practical intention or effort.

But if theorist is used in such a sense, the only man who really merits the title is the critic himself, though he styles himself (and because of the thoughtlessness of many of his fellows gets himself accepted as) "practical," or, sometimes, "conservative."

He reverses the natural order. Honoring action above thought, he gives to action the precedence over thought; and does, without knowing what he does.

He is the man wedded to a "guess" or a "conjecture."

He is the Non-Reasoner.

Between him and the true theorist there is, and must of necessity be, antagonism.

Though he may differ in other respects, in this he is not unlike the old woman who, when her knowledge of children was called in question, indignantly retorted: "I guess no woman knows more about children than I do; haven't I buried seven of 'em?"

He is also the one-ended man. He has got hold at some time, of something to busy himself with; and he keeps hold of the hard-working physical end, never stopping to consider the possible or probable outworkings of his efforts, knowing little or nothing of the relation of cause and effect, incapable of measuring the relation between effort put forth and results obtained or obtainable, wholly unobservant of tendencies or unheeding them. Though commonly given the title of practical, he is not "educated by experience." This is but another instance of the truth that "naming a thing so does not make it so."

The true theorist, however, is a man of sufficient insight and imagination to observe tendencies before they are realized in concrete results, and to think out a "better way" from the hints and suggestions that even the signs of failure offer.

He is the man observant and heedful of tendencies; for he knows that no matter how clear the purpose and aim may be, it can never be attained

by steps that tend in the opposite direction.

He is a believer in the orderly sequence of cause and effect.

He is the Reasoner.

Though he may at times be "concerned only with knowledge," and not immediately with physical action, yet nothing has ever been done, or ever will be done without him. Of all men he alone is the truly active man—too active for the unpractical practicals to whom repose is dearer than life, and who seek to rest upon the past as the pleasure-loving boatman "rests upon his oars." For to undo and to do over again, to retrace one's steps and to start afresh, is ever harder and requires a larger fund of the spirit of activity than to keep moving or doing as we began.

The true practical is also a man of insight and imagination.

He, too, foresees the future before he bumps his head against it; sees in the immediate workings before him the relation, or lack of relation, to original purpose or principle and to ultimate result; carefully notes tendencies, and so makes his effort the test of his theory and the quick and instant basis of a "better way"—of a new theory—if the test shows failure, if the tendency of his effort is to move toward another end. He is educated—i. e., led out and away from the old failure—by what he sees in practice, or by what he puts into practice. He, too, is the Reasoner. He is thus forever conceiving new ways and trying new ways—that bugaboo to the so-called practical man, to whom "what my father and my grandfather did is good enough for me," is only a hedge thrown up to protect his intellectual ennui.

The true theorist and the true practical are one in essential spirit and in essential service to the world. The true theorist believes in and mentally searches for the better way; and he works to get his theory into practice, either directly or by proxy, as soon as the world will have it. The true practical also believes in the better order; and he advances upon his own practice as soon as he can, and urges an advance upon general practices, from the basis of his own or others' clearer observation.

We are told that "experience is the great teacher;" that "we learn to do by doing." It is common, also, to confine our idea of experience and of doing to the material sphere, and to give to action and experience in that sphere precedence over thought and reason, in the evolutionary process; to maintain that we are pushed by our blind blunderings up into reason and intelligence. Hence the so-called "practicals," who are working in the material sphere only, suppose that they are in the sure and only way to obtain that great teacher's teaching.

Yet the fact is obvious that many do not learn to do by doing; that the majority are not educated by experience.

It has been only when and where reason has acted upon the phenomena of the material, or the spiritual, or the social, or the political environment, that the laws of those environments have been discovered. Knowledge of and obedience to those laws has been the foundation of all human progress.

Pure reason is the birthright of man as of no other part of the creation of which we are cognizant. It is that which distinguishes him from other animals. It is the parent of ideas, or theories; from its life they have their birth, and from them have come all those doings which have given to us the blessings of civilization. It is reason, therefore, and not experience, that is the great teacher. It is through reason, and not through doing—through reason acting upon other's doings as well as upon our own; acting upon all phenomena—that of the spiritual as well as of the material, that of the unconscious as well as that of the conscious realm—that we learn. The phenomena of the spiritual or of the material sphere, the phenomena caused by our conscious will, or by agencies outside our will, are but the material which reason uses to bring truth to our clearer consciousness or knowledge. The same phenomena may pass under our observation while reason sleeps, and leave us without knowledge of its nature.

So one may have seven children and learn nothing of the nature of the human soul, its needs and rights;

or a man may have the "ownership and operation" of coal mines, or gas wells, or of the oil supply or timber or metal supply of the world, and have no real knowledge of the origin of these things, or of their purpose, or of the right uses to which they should be put.

Yet the unpractical practicals, in whose minds the being physically busy and practicality are one—to whom physical contact with, or physical possession of, amounts to the experimental knowledge of—tell us very confidently: So and so "must know all about it, because they are right in it;" or, conversely, "it is not possible that you should know anything about children since you have never been a mother." "It is not possible that you, who have never managed a mine, should be able to tell a man who owns and operates a mine what he should do!"

But the layman has discovered the truth that was hidden from the priest. The non-slaveholding class discovered the truth that was hidden from the slaveholding class. The childless man discovered the principles of the kindergarten which countless mothers and fathers had missed. A youth, rocking a cradle and observing the rise and fall of the kettle's lid, discovered the nature and force of steam, and reasoned upon the uses which it might be made to serve. A landless man, observing the rise of land values and the fall of labor value in all civilized communities, discovered in the invariable connection of these two facts the force which operates to make a few very rich and the masses very poor, and reasoned that to take land values for public uses instead of to give them into private pockets, is the means by which the boundless resources of the earth, the natural heritage of all equally, may be shared by all equally, to the advantage of all and to the detriment of none.

As we have said, everything that we now know as practical was once theory—the canoe, the sailing vessel, the steamboat, the railroad, the trolley, the automobile, all bridges from the least to the greatest, all buildings from the tent or hut to the modern skyscraper, all forms of government from the patriarchal to the republican. The failure of the early forms of each of these to meet the requirements of the growing and rising desires of man has stimulated the conception of the new idea or theory

which has found birth in the succeeding forms.

To judge a theory as impractical before we have given it fair and honest consideration or trial, is to lay ourselves open, justly, to the charge of being opponents of progress; or to the charge of being recipients, or fancied recipients, of some special privilege under the present order; or to the charge of being incapable of reason; or it places upon us the burden of proof that there is nothing better needed, or possible, than what we already have in practice.

No period of time taken from working in a wrong direction, in order to "get our bearings" and to learn the true direction, can be wasted time. No period of time occupied in the reasonable examination of any theory that has got itself into practice, in order to see whether it is indeed doing what it was expected to do—in order to measure effort up against result and to ascertain tendencies—can be lost time. This is the work, the practical and joyful work, of the true theorist and the true practical alike.

But social institutions and social practices are not possible of alteration except by the aid of men who have made them or who support them or submit to them; and until that aid is given, the true theorists and the true practicals alike remain the butt of scorn of those who, through ignorance or selfishness, are interested in maintaining the present order undisturbed, and of those who, "of all men the most miserable," are "without hope in this world" that anything can be improved. And theorists and practicals alike are delayed in bringing in the better order by the obstructive tactics of these, who meanwhile teasingly press the question: "Why don't you do something?"

Such alterations of social practices or social institutions as a new theory suggests must be effected through the social bodies supporting those practices or institutions. They cannot be effected by individual action alone. If human laws are to be brought into harmony with natural law, if government is to be improved, if religious practices and teachings are to be elevated, if the discoveries in the mechanical arts are to be utilized for the common good, these changes must be effected through the will of the people. Though one man alone may see and announce the need-

ed change he cannot, unaided, make the change.

The world has been slow enough to adopt material improvements; slower still to change its ideas of God, and of the right relations of men towards each other. This has been due, however, neither to the true theorists nor to the true practicals, but to the timid and conservative impracticals.

McMaster tells us in his "History of the People of the United States," concerning the spinning jenny: "It was indeed with this at first as with every great invention, from the alphabet to the printing-press, from the printing-press to the railroad, from the railroad to the telegraph. It was bitterly opposed. . . . The life of the inventor was threatened. On more than one occasion the machines were broken to pieces by an angry mob." The jenny was denounced as "an impious thing, and the inventor as a man who richly deserved a halter and might possibly get his deserts."

And as with every great mechanical invention which has been adapted to add to the material comfort of mankind, so with every great new thought which has tended to fire the spirit of man with hope; which has sought to show the relation between man and man to be that between equals; which has tended to reveal to man a truer knowledge of his environment and to free him in his relation to that environment; which has tended to set the reason free through giving free play to the bodily powers—all have been bitterly opposed. The lives of the prophets of new ideas have been either threatened, or terminated, by violence, or they have been harassed and weakened by opposition.

Watching the fall of apples, Newton discovered that all-pervasive and fundamental law which governs all motion in the material universe—the law of gravitation. Observing the behavior of men in their relation to each other and to the material universe, Henry George discovered the all-pervasive and fundamental law of human nature which governs the actions of men in the pursuit of happiness: "Men seek to satisfy their desires with the least exertion." Though very many know little of the real meaning of the law of gravitation, and know that they know little, yet those persons recognize that it is too late to make a display of such ignorance by derying that law. And it is already too late

to decry the profoundest truth which the discoveries of our own times have yet given to us—men seek to satisfy their desires with the least exertion—or the means by which we may obey this fundamental law of our nature without restraint or restriction.

With regard to the operation of these and of all other natural laws, it is quite certain that neither ignorance of the law of gravitation, nor of those conditions through which it will act disastrously to our welfare, nor action in direct defiance of it, can prevent its action. Nor can ignorance of any fundamental law of human nature, nor of those conditions which, unrelieved, must bring out a violent expression of human nature's tremendous forces, nor deeds done in defiance of them, prevent the action of those forces when they have reached the point where repression is no longer possible. It is therefore not impracticable to inform ourselves of natural laws and to seek the means of working in harmony with them.

It was not that large majority on the island of Martinique who supposed that they were living under an unalterable condition of things because within the narrow limits of their own lives it had "always been so," who were the practical ones, as we all see well enough now. Yet without doubt the few who noted the warning signs of danger, and talked of them, were regarded as "calamity howlers," unsettlers of business and prosperity, "mere theorists." And without doubt those who wisely broke up the old, accustomed ways of life, and sought for safer conditions, were at least regarded by their "practical" neighbors (who, good conservatives, also no doubt supposed themselves to be evidencing justifiable regard for all the sacred accumulations of the past) as needlessly morbid and impractical. And that man would, indeed, have needed to be endowed with more than the power of an ordinary man who should have so supplemented nature's warnings with his own personal appeals, as to have disturbed the settled order of a great city, based upon confidence in and satisfaction with its prosperity, and upon the disbelief that anything less tangible than itself could have the power to overthrow it!

Doubting Thomas lives perpetually in all those unimaginative and unreasoning individuals who will not

believe until they can "see" and "touch" and "handle." Do they believe then?

We shrink from harshly judging a people who have lost their lives through their unreason or their inertia; and it is not our desire to do so. But if we let the sad event of Martinique occupy our thoughts at all, it is well that we should get at the real truth which it reveals. It is not well that we should settle down to the indolent, unreasoning notion that it was "according to the will of God," or due to his "inscrutable providence." It was not the providence or the will of God, nor yet the recklessness or carelessness of nature, any more than it would have been had each of the inhabitants of Martinique individually sat upon the safety valve of an engine, or upon a chimney while the warning signs of fire were coming up from its depths. It was the heedlessness, or the fear of change, or the inertia, of each citizen in himself, that was responsible for the disaster to each. In order to have escaped that disaster, each one must have thought or theorized for himself upon the phenomena that was making its appeal to his own eyes and ears and reason, and must have acted as the phenomena warned him to act. And if he would have saved others than himself, he must have sought to arouse the same thought and action in them.

"Men seek to satisfy their desires with the least exertion." The earth is the common heritage of all, and from which alone, those desires can be satisfied. To cut men off from, or to limit them in their freedom of access to, the earth, is to interfere with the free action of this law of their being. It is to make the satisfaction of desire difficult or impossible.

Interference with the freedom of men to follow the fundamental laws of their nature has brought on all those upheavals and disruptions of the social order which have darkened the pages of history. It has given us tyranny on the one hand, and revolt on the other; and it has kept those in whose minds the pure light of reason has shone, busy with the reiteration: "Set my people free!"

Such interference is operating today, though under somewhat different forms, to give us new phases of the old inequality of rights; new phases of ancient special privileges; new forms of the old claim of "divine right" and of the old superiority of

one class over another. It is those who seek to maintain this interference, and not those who protest and revolt against it, who are the impracticals. They only are the "theorists" in the bad sense in which they themselves use the word, who thus seek to defy a natural law. And they only are the true practicals who, reading the truth in all history and experiencing it within their own souls, that man was made for freedom, reasonably infer that this is what he will have by one means or another, and with loyalty of heart seek to effect the removal of all obstructions to freedom.

Protection—that indirect, subtle and unequal mode of taxation, and that impractical effort to make industry wholesome and vital through the denial of freedom to follow that social and industrial law of human nature to trade where and when it is easiest and most profitable to trade—has been tried and found wanting. All taxation of industry, both direct and indirect—the denial to men of the freedom to retain the full fruits of their own labor—has been tried and found wanting. Private ownership of land—which has given into the absolute control of a few that which by nature's evident purpose or law was intended for the equal use of all, and which has thus made the majority the virtual slaves of the few—has been tried and found wanting.

Through the maintenance of these practices, which deny justice to the masses and which give more than justice to the few, we have made and are making industrial slaves on the one hand, and "captains of industry" on the other; and the numbers of the former increase with far greater rapidity than the numbers of the latter. Is it reasonable to suppose that such tipping of the scales should go on without catastrophe?

With nineteen centuries of history behind us, and with that history repeating itself before us in the tendency everywhere apparent in every civilized community, toward inequality of rights, and of privileges, and of opportunities, they are not "educated by experience," they are not practical, they are not taught by reason, who fear or who refuse to stop and to question: "Why?" who fear or refuse to consider an honestly proposed remedy and to give it a fair trial.

No one needs to fear the taunt of "impractical," or "mere theorist," who is practical enough to note and to reason upon these tendencies, and

who is wise enough to understand and brave enough to advocate the theory which reveals the means by which we shall make real progress.

LIZZIE NYE NORTHROP.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

London, England, July 24.—We are beginning to reap the first fruits of the flood of reactionary thought which has steadily made headway during the past 25 years. Education, of a sort, and freedom to combine, to speak and to think, were wrested from the privileged classes at the beginning of the last century; and the people were getting out of hand, were commencing, to use Thorold Rogers's words, "to think of their natural rights." Henry George's immortal works quickened the pace; and the clever men of the privileged classes began to fear for the continuance of their privileges. As they know full well, his inspiring thoughts have gained headway in the minds and hearts of the thoughtful amongst the disinherited, and cannot be met and overthrown in a fair fight.

This sense of insecurity, to which Lord Salisbury so successfully appealed, has consciously or unconsciously impelled the privileged to unite in defense of their privileges. The passions and prejudices, as well as the ignorance, of the masses had to be appealed to; for they realized that anything they could do would have to be done in the guise or name of democracy, and, of course, in the interest of "the working man", without whose aid they were indeed helpless. Hence it is that the enthusiasm for democracy, for the brotherhood of man, for equal rights and equal opportunities to all, regardless of color or of race, has gradually been supplanted in the public mind by imperialism, by nationalism, by a studious disregard of principles, and an appeal to selfishness and materialism.

Imperialism! What crimes have been committed in its name both by you Americans and we Englishmen. But it cannot last, unless, indeed, the masses may be induced to forge fresh fetters for their own enslavement. And this is the immediate aim of the reactionaries on this side of the water.

Protectionism and conscription, of course under new names and new pretenses, these are the trump cards of the reactionaries. Chamberlain has led the first suit; and his lead cannot be countered by the old weapons, with which the ordinary official Liberals are meeting it, and will continue to meet it unless we can stop them. If we cannot, they must lose—some of them, I suspect, would be quite glad to lose—and the coming gen-

eration will find itself enslaved and helpless in the hands of its oppressors.

There is no doubt in my mind that much ground we once thought won forever, has already been lost; and I look around in vain for men in the orthodox Liberal party capable of leading the nation on to recover it. Land reform is the "joker" (you will, I think, understand the allusion) which could win the trick; but this card the Liberal party as at present constituted will not play—though, to suit their own ends, they may play *with* it, and flourish it in the eyes of their official enemies.

In view of the present situation, we are bringing out and selling through the trade, at half price, sixpence (12 cents), a special issue of the authorized edition of Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade." So far, we have ordered 17,000 copies, and if only we can secure the necessary financial support, we shall sell 50,000 and possibly 100,000 during the coming 12 months. We shall have large double crown placards, advertising the book, all over London; and we are in treaty to have similar placards at all railway bookstalls. There is, as you well know, no better antidote to the Chamberlain poison; and we shall do our best and strain our financial resources to the breaking point to get it as widely diffused as possible.

It will be heavy and most trying work, more especially as the financial resources at our disposal are most meager; but we must take advantage of the opportunity now presented. It may be that after all the Tories are playing into our hands; for every real struggle in the past has been fought out over fiscal questions—I mean in England; and it is into the field of fiscal politics that their move will force the taxation of land values. The opportunity for really effective propaganda work has come; and unless funds fail us we shall take the fullest advantage of it.

LEWIS H. BERENS.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 6.

To the great Roman Catholic world, the event of the week has been the election of a successor to the late Pope Leo XIII. (p. 264) as head of their Church. The conclave of cardinals was assembled for the election in the Sistine chapel at Rome on the 31st, the number in attendance being 62, and on the 1st the voting began. The regulation two ballots were

taken, but without result. On the 2d the next two were also without result. Likewise with the two ballots of the 3d. But on the 4th a unanimous choice was made on the first ballot, the successful candidate being Giuseppe Sarto, patriarch of Venice, who has become Pope under the title of Pius X.

Pius X. is an Italian, born at Riese in 1835. He was of peasant birth, and his brother is postman and a small storekeeper in a village in Mantua. The pope was educated at Treviso and Padua. At 23 he was consecrated a priest at Castel Franco; and for 9 years following he acted as coadjutor to the parish priest of Tombolo in the province of Padua, going thence in 1867 as parish priest to the parish of Salzano. In 1875 he was elected chancellor of the bishopric of Treviso, and in 1884 Pope Leo appointed him bishop of Mantua, a place he held until 1893, when he was raised to the cardinalate and appointed patriarch of Venice.

Somewhat more definite news of the persecution of reformers in China than that which was briefly referred to editorially last week (p. 260) has since been received. It seems that the Chinese reform newspaper at Shanghai, the "Supao," is being prosecuted by the local Chinese authorities for sedition, warrants having been issued against the editor and his staff, seven persons in all, with a view to turning them over to the Chinese government for capital punishment. The editors have thus far been able to prevent the consummation of this purpose by appealing to the foreign ministers to assume jurisdiction of the matter. The ministers have not decided to comply. On the contrary, the Russian, French and American ministers favor surrendering the editors to the Chinese government. But the British minister is opposed to doing this, and upon his application to his government has received instructions in accordance with his wishes. The fact was announced in the House of Commons on the 5th, by Mr. Balfour, who said that the British minister at Peking had been telegraphically instructed that it was the opinion of the

British government that the Chinese journalists should not be surrendered.

There appear also to be other indications of a revival of the persecutions of 1898 (vol. 1, No. 25, p. 9; No. 26, p. 7; No. 27, pp. 7, 11), when the Empress dowager regained control of the democratically inclined Emperor and beheaded his democratic advisers, Kang Yu Mei alone of the prominent ones escaping by fleeing the country. With the termination of the subsequent "boxer" troubles and the foreign invasion of China (vol. III, pp. 150, 167, 184, 198, 216, 232; vol. v. p. 312) a more liberal spirit marked the imperial policy, and political discussions again arose among the Chinese. To silence these, not only is the effort being made to gain the custody of the Shanghai editors and behead them, but one reformer, Shen Chien, was beheaded on the 31st, and some forty reformers in Peking are under accusation by the Chinese censor and in danger of immediate arrest and summary execution. This is reported to have had its intended effect. The liberal Chinese, especially those who have been associated with the reformers, are said to be in such fear that it is now impossible to find one who will discuss politics. The people are afraid even to mention the execution of Shen Chien.

Disquieting rumors of a revival in the Philippines of the war for independence are leaking out through returning tourists. One of them, W. C. Deering, of Chicago, who arrived at Victoria, B. C., on the 3d, predicted in a newspaper interview there that an uprising soon is certain. He said that although the people of the United States may not be aware of the fact, the Filipinos are organizing and drilling, filibusters are continually landing arms on the coasts, and the patrol is looked upon as a farce. Schooners laden with contraband goods have no difficulty, he says, in running in their cargoes. He also reports that many deserters from the United States army and broken down British and European soldiers are in the Filipino service.

News of the Negro-lynching mania in the United States (pp. 233, 263) for the current week comes from different quarters. An attempt on the 31st to seize and lynch two Negro prisoners in West Virginia failed, but through no lack of effort on the part of the white mob. The Negroes had been arrested upon suspicion of having shot and seriously injured a railroad brakeman, and were being taken to jail by railroad. The train was signaled by the mob to stop, and when it slowed up they rushed for the prisoners, but were unable to get at them, owing to the resistance of the officers, and the skill of the trainmen, who managed to get the train under way, leaving the mob behind. The mob fired several shots through the windows of the car in which the prisoners were in custody. In Albany, N. Y., on the 2d a Negro cut a white man with a razor in a brawl, and was chased by a mob of 200 men. The mob was finally held at bay by an officer who arrested the Negro. An attempt on the 2d to lynch a Negro prisoner in Statesville, N. C., while the sheriff was taking him to Charlotte, was frustrated by the sheriff. At Smyrna, Del., on the 3d a lynching mob chased a Negro who had shot a constable while resisting arrest. With a pistol he had held his pursuers at bay and effected his escape. In Ohio a mob gathered at Belle Center on the 4th to lynch a Negro prisoner on his way to the jail at Kenton. The officers having him in custody got him safely away from this mob and also from one at Kenton which lay in wait for him there. On the same day a mob in Bartholomew county, Ind., chased a Negro into the Flat Rock river, where he drowned. In Needmore, Tenn., a Negro suburb of Lewisburg, a Negro preacher and his Negro son-in-law were lynched on the 4th by a masked mob. The mob went to the Negro's house about midnight, some 20 or 30 strong. Their intended victim tried to escape, and they shot him as he ran, killing him instantly. Nine bullet holes were found in his body. His son-in-law also tried to escape, and was shot and mortally wounded by the mob. Both the preacher and his son-in-law are reported to have

born a good reputation, and no reasons for the lynching are known. The coroner's jury rendered a verdict to the effect that the Negroes had been shot by a masked mob unknown to the jury. A similar verdict was returned on the 30th by the coroner's jury at Danville, Ill., with reference to the lynching (p. 263) and brutal murder of a Negro there. It returned a verdict of "death at the hands of persons who are unknown."

The political campaign in Ohio was opened on the 30th at Canton by the Democrats. This was a surprise to the Republicans, for the Democratic state convention will not assemble until August 25th (p. 39), and it had been supposed that there would be no activity in the campaign until that time. But Mayor Johnson's campaigning is full of surprises, and this challenge to an early and long contest was one of them. He took advantage of the meeting of the Democratic senatorial convention at Canton, to sound the keynote of the State campaign in Stark and Carroll counties with two speeches which indicated that it is the legislature rather than the governorship that the Democrats will try to carry, and that the issues they will raise will be home rule and just taxation. The convention nominated Hamilton G. De Weese as the Democratic candidate for State senator. Mr. De Weese pledged himself to support the reforms Mayor Johnson is advocating, and he is reported to be a man who can be relied upon. His Republican adversary is Robert L. Pollock, of whom Mayor Johnson, in his speech, said:

I have nothing to say of his personality, but in his public record he has always voted on the wrong side. In fact, he has never voted right. When we appealed to the State legislature to equalize the taxes on steam railroads, Pollock voted no. When the Republicans overthrew the government of Cleveland and with it the government of every city and town in the State, Pollock voted for the iniquitous code. But above all Pollock voted for the infamous curative act, and for this his name should go down in shame.

The convention indorsed the Johnson policy in its platform in these terms:

We favor home rule and just and equal taxation, and denounce the action of the

last Republican legislature governing cities from Columbus and increasing the burdens of taxation. We deprecate the unjust discrimination of our laws in taxation, and heartily indorse Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, in his efforts to remedy this glaring defect, and in his efforts to secure for the people the right to vote upon the granting of franchises to street railroads and other public service corporations, to protect the people from the baneful effects of petty bribery through railroad passes.

This senatorial district is strongly Republican.

An extraordinarily important municipal gathering, to which little or no attention has been paid by the general press of the East or of the middle West, closed its work at Denver on the 2d, after having been in session there for 60 days. It was a pioneer body in a work entirely new in the way of municipal government. Authorized by the State of Colorado, it has framed a constitution for the city of Denver which is now to be submitted to the people of Denver for adoption.

This radical innovation in municipal government was authorized by an amendment to the State constitution adopted at the elections (vol. v., p. 548) last Fall. By that amendment the city of Denver is incorporated as the "City and County of Denver," with all the ordinary powers of a municipality, together with the power to—

construct, condemn and purchase, purchase, acquire, lease, add to, maintain, conduct and operate, waterworks, light plants, power plants, transportation systems, heating plants, and any other public utilities or works or ways local in use and extent, in whole or in part, and everything required therefor.

Provision is made also for the construction of a charter by the municipality itself. For this purpose a special election is required to be held for the election of a charter convention to frame a charter which, upon approval by a majority of the citizens voting thereon, shall be the charter of the municipality. In case of rejection by the people, then, within thirty days thereafter, a new charter convention is required to be forthwith elected, the work of which shall be likewise submitted to popular vote. And so on until a charter is finally approved by a

majority of the voters voting thereon, "whereupon it shall become the charter of the said city and county of Denver and shall become the organic law thereof, and supersede any existing charters and amendments thereof." Initiative and referendum provisions for amending the charter, when once adopted, and for any other purpose, are as follows:

It shall be competent for qualified electors in number not less than five per cent. of the next preceding gubernatorial vote in said city and county, to petition the council for any measure, or charter amendment, or for a charter convention. The council shall submit the same to a vote of the qualified electors at the next general election not held within 30 days after such petition is filed; whenever such petition is signed by qualified electors in number not less than ten per cent. of the next preceding gubernatorial vote in said city and county, with a request for a special election, the council shall submit it at a special election to be held not less than 30 nor more than 60 days from the date of filing the petition; provided, that any question so submitted at a special election shall not again be submitted at a special election within two years thereafter. In submitting any such charter, charter amendment or measure, any alternative article or proposition may be presented for the choice of the voters, and may be voted on separately without prejudice to others. Whenever the question of a charter convention is carried by a majority of those voting thereon, a charter convention shall be called through a special election ordinance as provided in section 4 hereof [the section providing for the original charter convention, described above], and the same shall be constituted and held and the proposed charter submitted to a vote of the qualified electors, approved or rejected, and all expense paid, as in said section provided.

It is furthermore provided by the constitutional amendment in question that "no charter, charter amendment, or measure, adopted or defeated under the provisions of this amendment shall be amended, repealed or revived, except by petition and electoral vote.

Pursuant to the provisions of the constitutional amendment of Colorado described above, the charter convention was elected which has just finished its novel work. The charter it has framed for submission to the people, vests the legislative department of the municipality in a council of

ten; centers the administrative responsibility in the Mayor; creates a municipal court, and abolishes the fee system in courts. It also makes initiative and referendum provisions, and proposes a recall provision enabling the voters to recall any elective officer who fails to do as they wish.

NEWS NOTES.

—The national convention of photographers met at Indianapolis on the 3d.

—Phil May, cartoonist on the London Punch, died on the 5th, at the age of 39.

—Charles M. Schwab has ceased to be president of the steel trust. He is succeeded by W. E. Corey, his former assistant.

—Another panic (p. 263) in Wall street occurred on the 5th, in which two important firms failed—Sharp & Bryan and Hurlbutt, Hatch & Co.

—At a joint convention of the Teamsters' National union and the Team Drivers' International union, held at Niagara Falls on the 5th, these two organizations were merged into one.

—After touring Ireland, King Edward and his queen arrived at Cowes, Isle of Wight, on the 2d and issued to the Irish an address of appreciation of the cordial welcome they had given the royal pair.

—The Builders' Exchange League, of Pittsburg, declared a general lock-out on the 1st, because of a strike of hoisting engineers against one building firm. The lockout drives 25,000 men out of employment.

—A battle between a party of convicts who escaped from the Folsom prison, California, on the 27th, and the posse of the sheriff of Eldorado county, took place on the 1st. Two of the sheriff's posse were killed.

—It is reported by way of Berlin that 27 of the rioters in the Jewish massacre at Kishineff, Russia (p. 251), have been condemned to penal servitude for terms varying from two months to a year, and that 45 others under accusation still await trial.

—A war department investigation finds that Congressman L. N. Littauer is guilty of a violation of the law which provides that no member of Congress shall have contracts, directly or indirectly, with the government, he having had a pecuniary interest in glove contracts.

—The Irish land purchase bill (p. 264) passed its second reading in the House of Lords on the 4th. In the course of the debate the duke of Abercorn declared that if the sporting rights of the Irish landlords were lost

there would be no inducement for country gentlemen to remain in Ireland.

—A decision in another litigation against the Northern Securities railroad trust (p. 22) is favorable to the trust. It was rendered in a suit brought by the State of Minnesota. Judge Lochren, of the United States Circuit Court, decided on the 1st that the trust has violated no laws of the State. An appeal from the decision is to be taken.

—The people of Cleveland, O., are to vote at a special election on the 8th of September for a bond issue of \$400,000 for the construction of a municipal electric lighting plant. The city council, on the 3d, owing to the opposition of Democratic members, barely failed of the necessary vote to authorize a bond issue for this purpose. On motion to suspend the rules for a resolution to submit the question to the people, eight Republicans voted in the negative; but, the rules being suspended, the council voted unanimously for the resolution.

—Reports of the 30th from Persia described religious riots in the city and province of Yezd, central Persia, lasting more than a fortnight and directed against the Babis, a sect which has a considerable following in the United States. According to the report for two days every Babi found was butchered by the rabble and the mutilated bodies were dragged through the streets, followed by exultant crowds. Houses were looted and women beaten and killed. Finally the priestly leaders of the riot enjoined the populace to bring all the remaining Babis before them or the governor for judgment. The governor refused at first to yield to the threats of the mob, but his palace was surrounded by menacing men and the following day he consented. One Babi taken before him was blown from the mouth of a cannon.

PRESS OPINIONS.

CONGRESSMAN BAKER'S PASS.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Aug. 4.—Why should any railroad give a Congressman a pass for nothing? Because it is customary to do so? And why customary? The answer is an easy one. The railroad company expects something in return, expects that when matters affecting its interests are before Congress, the men whom it has favored will favor it. Such conduct is, of course, indefensible. The giving of railroad passes is one form of bribery and the conscientious man would not accept them.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Aug. 3.—Robert Baker, a Democratic Representative from a Brooklyn district, has rendered the public a service by refusing a railway pass sent him by the railway company's attorney and making public the correspondence. . . . The inter-State commerce law forbids the granting of interstate passes, yet it is notorious that the law has been violated and that members of Con-

gress, Federal judges and even the President have violated the law. On his late junketing tour, President Roosevelt traveled at the expense of the railways. . . .

Springfield Republican (Ind.), July 31 (weekly ed.).—Mr. Baker has promptly returned the pass in his case, and sent a letter in which he tells the company some plain truth. . . . There are probably 150 members of Congress—Representatives and Senators—living in Baltimore and Ohio territory, and "cards of travel" have obviously been sent to all of them. How many besides this one have been returned? Probably very few. If it were the common practice of Congressmen to return the passes, the company would not continue to send them out or have "regulations" about the matter. . . . The inter-State commerce act prohibits the granting of free passes except in certain specified cases which do not include the one before us. The inter-State Commerce Commission has so interpreted the law, and the roads know it and the Congressmen know it. Still the roads continue to issue these unlawful bribes, and Congressmen continue to accept them; and when the law is thus flouted at its source, what is likely to come of it as it winds its way out among the people?

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Aug. 1.—How Mr. Baker could have accepted this annual pass without placing himself under obligation to the railway is not clear. Nor is it clear why the railway should have tendered the favor except with the implied understanding that as a member of Congress he would vote when its interests were involved that the company thus would receive an equivalent for the transportation.

THE POPULIST REORGANIZATION.

Nebraska Independent (Peo.), July 30.—As a national organization the People's party will never again join hands with any other party. It will have its own candidate for President and Vice President. Whether this action will result in rallying around its standard the former adherents, depends almost wholly upon what the old parties do next year. The Republican party is safely plutocratic. . . . Given next year an Iowa platform and a Gorman or Parker, and the Democratic party will lose hundreds of thousands of votes. The People's party will poll one and one-half to two millions. But Populists generally recognize that with a Chicago or Kansas City platform and a man of Bryan's stamp, the Democratic party can kill the People's party—Independent action or no action, or fusion, cutting no figure.

LAW AND ORDER.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Aug. 5.—The Denver Citizens' Alliance, which affects to speak for law and order, has approved the unlawful expulsion of certain miners from Idaho Springs. It was thus shown that its remedy for disorder is more disorder, and its superlative concern for the law finds expression in fresh incitements to anarchy. This contradiction is of such common occurrence nowadays that the citizens who are rushing frantically in to suppress crime by criminal acts are doing more to hurt the reputation of the country than the original wrongdoers whom they burn or banish.

OHIO POLITICS.

Springfield, Republican (Ind.), July 31. (weekly ed.).—It seems to have been practically settled that Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, shall head the State Democratic ticket in Ohio this Fall. . . . Johnson does not care especially about making the fight, and has no expectation of winning, but the only alternative to his nomination is that of John L. Zimmerman, of Springfield, who would stand for conservative, anti-Bryan Democratic policies, and the Johnsonites, or radicals, have no notion of surrendering their present and admitted control of the party in the State.

So Johnson is to be pressed into the running and is now said to have given his consent. He does not believe in the free silver doctrines, but he is strongly in sympathy with the general radicalism of the Bryan faction, and there is not likely to be any dodging of the Kansas City platform in the Johnson convention. With the Cleveland mayor up for governor, there is the certainty of a warm and picturesque contest in Ohio this fall. If Johnson cannot win the governorship, it is believed possible that he may bring in a Democratic legislature, which would send Johnson or some other Democrat to the United States Senate in place of Mark Hanna. Of all the State campaigns this Fall, that in Ohio will most engage the attention of the nation.

ANGLO-SAXON DECADENCE.

London (Eng.) New Age.—As with us, so with the Americans, the deadly poison of Imperialism is destroying all that makes a nation really great. What would it profit a nation to gain the whole world if it lost its soul? Just as we have become dead to all the great traditions once our chief pride, so America is losing its hold on its old ideals. Negrophobia is every day more rampant. . . . We, with the murder of 15,000 children on the national conscience, have no stones to throw at America. We do but note the infinite degradation wrought by a lust of conquest and a thirst for blood.

THE ABANDONED DECLARATION.

The Commoner (Dem.), July 31.—The Kenton (O.) Press thinks it is strange that the President neglected to quote from the Declaration of Independence when he sent that Fourth of July cable to Manila. The Press has seemingly overlooked the fact that a censor has a desk at the other end of the cable.

MISCELLANY

CHILDREN OF HEAVEN.

In heaven we shall be children again: Children of One, from children of twain.
None but children shall come into heaven; Children of seventy, children of seven.
So it is said, and so it is sung:
"As we grow older, we shall grow young."
—Timothy Otis Falne.

MAJORITY RULE VS. BRIBERY.

For The Public.

One of the burning questions of the hour is: How shall majority rule be restored to the voters? In theory we have majority rule to-day through our representatives; but in practice we are governed by aggressive minorities, who cooperate more or less closely with party bosses. Bad laws and ordinances are constantly being passed, and much needed laws and ordinances as constantly fall of enactment; and the people seem helpless in either case. Under the present system the venal legislator may be so well rewarded by those who purchase his evil services that he does not care for reelection, and if he can escape the penitentiary, the public has no recourse but to elect a successor, who may be as corrupt as the first one. In this respect the public cannot even "lock the stable door after the horse is stolen."

The fault lies not so much with individual members of our law-making bodies as it does with our present system of legislative control. The tap-root of all our present trouble and disgrace lies manifestly in the irresponsible power of the law-makers. This power has a tendency to corrupt our representatives. Their votes are now too valuable for their own moral safety.

HOW THEY ARE TEMPTED.

Hon. William Flinn, for 12 years a member of the senate of Pennsylvania, recently said: "It is not strange that the average legislator, earning a salary of \$100 per month, or less, would be tempted to be dishonest when he is confronted with a bribe of \$20,000 for a single vote." If under present conditions bribes like this have been given, or may in the future be given, is it not the part of wisdom so to change matters that no bribe will be offered?

How can this be done? The answer is, Remove from the law-makers the final power to enact laws. Do this by restoring that power to the people, and then no bribery will be attempted. No man will pay for goods that cannot be delivered. Give the people an optional veto upon all legislation, and you have solved the vexed problem now under consideration. Direct legislation through the method of the initiative and referendum will do for any of our States what it has done for so many years in Switzerland, and for a shorter period in South Dakota.

In Switzerland the people originally held town meetings, which, when the population grew too great for convenient assembling for law-making purposes, were abandoned for the representative system. After a time that system became corrupt, because of the evils of government by the few, bribery and partisanship being exceedingly prevalent. The condition of Switzerland then was the same as prevails in the United States to-day. The referendum was then adopted, restoring to the Swiss people the veto power; and at once there was an improvement for the better. The members of their parliament now occupy the high position of counselors and advisers to the people. Hon. N. Droz, ex-president of Switzerland, says:

Under the influence of the referendum a profound change has come over the spirit of parliament and people. The net result has been a great tranquillizing of public life.

IT PLEASES EVERYBODY.

Prof. Frank Parsons, of Boston, who recently visited Switzerland and conversed freely with all classes, says:

I did not find one man who wishes to go back to the old plan of final legislation by elected delegates without chance of appeal to the people.

Gov. C. N. Herried, of South Dakota, says:

Formerly our time was occupied by speculative schemes of one kind or another, but since the referendum has been a part of the constitution these people do not press their schemes on the legislature, and hence there is no need of recourse to the referendum.

JAMES P. CADMAN.

Chicago, August 3, 1903.

ON THE STRENUOUS LIFE.

For The Public.

What is this strenuousness of life of which we hear so much nowadays? Has our youthful spirited President succeeded in giving this old world such a kick with his seven-league boot as to send it whirling on a little faster in space than heretofore? Not too hard, Mr. President, lest you soon be holding that toe in anguish which even the tanned visage of the rough rider may not conceal.

Is the "strenuous life" the vital message for Americans to-day? Has this phrase a magic for the ears of us of 1903, like the watchwords of our revolutionary forebears? Will it press the button and turn on the current from the giant dynamos of patriotism?

Do we kindle, as did the audiences of the demagogue Patrick Henry, at this exhortation of our spirited President? Does this phrase newly coin the golden wisdom which has counseled and cheered generations of men in the long ascent from barbarism?

Was Columbus, when he sailed forth, simply ambitious to lead the strenuous life?

Was Galileo searching into the motions of the planets, doing a stunt to show his strenuousity?

Was Pasteur, toiling in his laboratory past 80 years of age, doing a calisthenic exercise for the sake of strenuousness?

Was Von Moltke planning campaigns, or Garibaldi, or any other real heroes, just taking exercise because they had adopted for their motto the strenuous life? This description of motives fits better the gay Capt. Kidd, for whom buccaneering was a pastime, rather than a serious pursuit of either fame or lucre.

Without wishing merely to be sarcastic, we assert that the "dash up San Juan hill" and the battle of Bunker Hill were not in the same class.

Is it not a schoolboy fancy, that because great men have been stren-

uous, if we say, let us be strenuous, we shall therefore do something great?

Among the celebrities of the past we can recall at this moment only Don Quixote whose ambition was of this very general nature, pining to achieve some great deed, no matter what.

Have not men been great who, along with their inborn strenuousity, dared to ally themselves to great causes? And these same leaders have fired others, not by appeals for gymnastic exhibitions of prowess, but by enlisting them in real battles against real foes.

Are there not causes to be championed in plenty, any one of which would occupy the time of any one of our most gifted patriotic sons to advance by one inch? Behold, let us spend the people's money and build a great navy, and we shall be great. Or let us hypnotize the public by returning to them a fraction of their tribute in the form of public institutions. These are the popular avenues of greatness nowadays.

Some may be misguided by this well-meant appeal to live strenuous lives. Already our national greatness is beginning to suffer because men who reach 50 find their powers failing, and their years of experience hence counting for nothing. In Germany men more often reach 60 and find themselves enjoying the full powers of body and mind. There is many a noted German scientist to-day who is busy with experiments and making discoveries in advanced old age. It is for this reason that old men count for more in Germany than in America. An old man with full powers and his years of experience is a possession that no race can afford to be without. In the long run such races will prevail against one which uses up its men during their immaturity and casts them on the dump when they ought to be in their prime. Of course this fever which possesses our nation as a whole is the result of individual error, rather than public policy; but it does not seem to the writer, at least, that appeals to strenuous living express the real want of the times. Such appeals may indeed apply well to the small class of gilded youth who cut no real figure in our national growth, except as excrescences. And it seems indeed the true explanation of the President's attitude, regarded as a phenomenon, that it is a strictly class appeal, emanating from

one of that class who sees the growing evils of luxury, and possibly overestimates the importance of the gilded youth to the country. It will do no harm, at any rate, to have the jeunesse doree preached to, however little they may heed.

XXXX

THE RELATION OF SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT TO SPIRITUAL REGENERATION.

Prepared for and read at a meeting of the New Church "Round Table," held in connection with the eighty-third annual convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian), at the Kenwood Parish church, Chicago, June 30, 1903. By Louis F. Post.

If individual regeneration consisted in selfishly trying to save one's own soul from eternal misery, social environment might be excluded from the field of religious concern. The individual problem of escaping some dreadful doom of the damned would be absorbing enough, perhaps, without confusing it with the complications of social laws and institutions. But personal salvation "by the skin of your teeth," is as far away as possible from any true idea of regeneration. In no sense whatever is regeneration analogous to a hair-breadth escape or a lucky rescue. It is a process of orderly growth.

This growth is, indeed, an individual matter. Everyone is confronted with an alternative which distinguishes his manhood from his animalhood—the alternative, namely, of spiritually living forever or spiritually dying forever; and it must be determined by each for himself. Nobody can choose for any of us. Parents cannot give us eternal life as distinguished from eternal death, nor can companions confer it upon us. Pastors cannot put us into that narrow path; church organizations cannot snatch us as brands from a burning; laws and institutions cannot lift us out of the slough of despond. No social environment can turn us away from the darkness that is death and toward the light that is life everlasting. Between the disorderly spiritual process of eternally dying, and the orderly spiritual process of eternally living, the choice must be individually made. It is in the strictest possible sense individual; and genuinely to make this individual choice in favor of spiritual living as against spiritual dying, is to enter upon that process of orderly spiritual growth which we call regeneration. Primarily, therefore, the human requisite for regeneration is alto-

gether a matter of individual volition.

But while it is true enough that the process of regeneration rests throughout upon individual volition, is it not questionable, at least, whether it is affected in its development by the impulses of the individual's life alone? May we not fairly ask whether this growth, like any other growth, may not be retarded, distorted or promoted by influences of an entirely different character from those which determine the individual choice? When we consider the philosophy of the greater man—the solidarity, that is, as well as the individuality, of men—which involves, both here and hereafter, an intimate interrelationship between each individual and the mass of individuals, how is it possible to escape the inference that the processes of individual regeneration are affected not only by the individual life but also by the social life? To me, it seems, at any rate, that the limitations of social environment are as truly matters of spiritual concern to the regenerating man as are his personal limitations of heredity and habit. In his spiritual pilgrimage, they confront him, not only as obstacles to be individually overcome, but also as evils to be socially put aside.

Social environment is to be understood, of course, as the body of laws and institutions that regulates the conduct of individuals as members of civil society. It cannot govern their motives; but it can and does in greater or less degree govern the conduct in which they embody their motives. The slave, for illustration, though he may have angelic motives (which constitute the human requisite for individual regeneration), is "cribbed, cabined and confined" by a devilish social environment that interferes with his developing angelic substance into its best angelic form. While it may be freely conceded that even the most oppressed of men, though their degradation be unspeakable, have all the angelic potentialities, how can we deny that it is impossible for them in this world to realize those potentialities in actual experience? They are like the death-bed repentant, who may be regenerate or may be self-deceived. They may be truly repentant, as was the crucified thief, or only badly scared, as—

When the devil was sick, the devil a monk would be;
But when the devil got well, the devil a monk was he.

Choice of good instead of evil, if made in a social environment which prevents

or obstructs conduct in accordance with the choice, may be spurious.

When it is not spurious, the circumstances are nevertheless spiritually unwholesome. Freedom to exercise choice is normally necessary to growth in regenerative strength. Even if the individual whose choice is genuine does surmount all the abnormal difficulties of his social environment and go on living his spiritual life to its celestial heights, what about the spiritual life of those of us who tolerate, apologize for, and even foster a spiritually unwholesome social environment? Suppose the slave does manage to thrive spiritually in spite of his slavery, shall that count one in the regeneration of the proslavery citizen who conserves the institution of slavery in order to profit by it? Is any one blameless who helps to perpetuate unjust laws, even when the victims of the social injustice do succeed nevertheless in fully living regenerate lives? We should not think so if the question related to physical instead of spiritual unwholesomeness. Even if babies with strong constitutions did live through diphtheria, and grow lusty, we should none the less pass judgment of condemnation upon ourselves if we tolerated the communal propagation of diphtheretic germs. How, then, can we expect to escape our own judgment of condemnation when the germs are those of spiritual disease? How can we ourselves be fully in process of individual regeneration if we conserve social institutions and laws that place limitations upon the regenerative potentialities of even the humblest of our brethren? It is not enough that a slave, for example, grows in grace even unto completeness, in spite of the slavery which limits his conduct by the caprice or the greed of a master. Every responsible member of the community who would also grow in grace, must exert his influence in the community to remove the evil institution of slavery. How can any man be making the most of his individual regenerative experience if he does nothing to abolish unjust institutions? Is not that obligation as truly individual as the obligation to uproot his own evil habits?

Let us make no mistake. It is impossible for any influential member of the community—and every writer, speaker, thinker, or gossip, as well as every voter, is an influential member of his community—it is impossible for any such to escape spiritual responsibility for civic inaction where

institutional injustice exists. Above all things, let us beware of making in the forum of our conscience any such plea as that the greater the spiritual difficulties overcome, the greater the spiritual reward, and, therefore, that the regenerative slave, or other regenerative victim of institutional injustice, really has an advantage over those whose lives have been cast in a social environment less conducive to enforced cultivation of spiritual energy. There is a sense in which it may be true, even spiritually, that the harder the struggle the greater the prize. It may be true when the difficulties are unavoidable. But shall we, therefore, take credit for placing or keeping obstructive social environments in the way of the spiritual growth of our brethren? Would there not be something sadly absurd about that? Should we not be just a little like the riddle maker at the minstrels who described the stork as something that stands on one leg and looks like a bird; but added that it barks like a dog—not because storks do bark like dogs, for they don't, but so as to make the riddle harder to guess? It is not our function, let us bear in mind, to make the spiritual life of anyone harder to live. It is not our right to render doubtful the genuineness of the regenerative choice by making it difficult or impossible fully to embody it in conduct. It is our function, it is our spiritual duty, to adapt our social environment naturally to the nurture of every good motive that stirs the soul of man, and not to the blight of any. Let us never forget that he who offends the least of these little ones—who hurts even the smallest grain of good motive in the the humblest manger of the mind—that "it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."

The truth is, however, that all are injured spiritually by an unjust social environment. It checks individual freedom; and under divine order individual freedom is the only soil in which the regenerative process can take root and blossom. It fosters individual love of dominion; and under divine order love of dominion is death everlasting. All of us are poisoned with the miasma of institutional injustice—those who support or ignore it, in common with those whom it is intended to wrong. As the rich family on the broad and beautiful avenue suffers from physical diseases that originate in the pest-breeding slums

into which industrial maladjustments drive their brethren, so are the beneficiaries as well as the victims of all unjust social environment spiritually infected with the hellish effluvia it generates. Master and slave, lord and serf, the monopolists of God's earthly bounties and the disinherited multitude, the idle rich and the industrious poor, the ragged hoboe who begs a little and is held in contempt, and the hoboe in velvet and fine linen who extorts much and is honored accordingly—all are spiritually involved in the iniquity of social maladjustments.

With each victim individual regeneration is possible. That is true enough. But it is a regeneration that cannot in this world reach the maturity and strength that would be possible if social environments were orderly and social institutions just.

For this orderliness and this justice each individual is in some degree responsible, because, as we have already observed, each individual can to some extent exert an influence in determining the communal character of his community. Even the non-voter, however humble, may influence public opinion; the voter's responsibility is greater yet. Consequently individual regeneration implies more than the good motives and good conduct which relate only to private affairs. It also involves good motives and good conduct with reference to the life of the community as a whole.

Just a suggestion here with reference to the individual's primary obligation to his community. That the individual members of a community are its guardians may be inferred upon a moment's reflection. Considered physically, is not the individual man a conscious organism of unconscious cells, while his community is an unconscious organism of conscious cells? Does not each individual man then occupy the place of a moral guardian over two kinds of morally irresponsible wards? On the one hand he is the moral guardian of the morally irresponsible cells that constitute his individual body. His spiritual life governs the behavior of that organism with reference to moral standards. On the other hand, then, isn't he the moral guardian, in cooperation with the other individual men of his community, of the unconscious and morally irresponsible organism that constitutes the body of their social life? Do not their respective spiritual lives govern the behavior of this organism with reference to

moral standards? Then upon them individually must rest in varying degrees the responsibility for unjust communal institutions.

Don't misunderstand me. The social body has no soul. Like the cells of the individual body, it is without a soul, without thought, without opinions. We talk about the public opinion of a community; but this is only a figure of speech, referring to a consensus of the individual opinions of the individual men who compose the community. In a similar figure of speech we often refer to the conscience of the community, meaning thereby not that the community has a conscience, but that there is a sort of ascertainable equilibrium of individual consciences, somewhat less sensitive than the best and more sensitive than the worst. Likewise, to save circumlocution, the community may be said to have a soul. But this can mean nothing more, of course, than that a communal effect is produced upon the laws and institutions of a community by the spiritual behavior of the individual souls that compose it. Whether this figure of speech be approved or not, there can be no dispute that individual souls can regulate communities in a spiritual sense, if justice is a spiritual idea; for they do regulate them, for good or evil, with reference to matters of institutional justice and injustice.

They cannot do that, however, except as they direct their influence toward things of public as distinguished from those of private concern. Institutional wrongs might still persist though all other wrongs had been rejected by every individual. It is quite possible to be absolutely righteous in all private transactions, yet absolutely unrighteous, and with an amazing unconsciousness of it, with reference to public laws and institutions. To resort again to slavery for an illustration, the old slaveholder of our Southern States was no less righteous in his personal relationships than anybody else; yet slavery persisted in his community, not because he or his neighbors were personally unrighteous beyond all other men, but because the perpetuation of slavery was not regarded even by the righteous as being a matter of spiritual concern. But can that individual regeneration which does not stimulate a sense of duty in the individual of a slave community to influence his community by direct effort to abolish the slavery institution—can that re-

generation be complete? It certainly can never release regenerate slaves from their unspiritual habits or servility, nor regenerate masters from their unspiritual habits of dominion. So long as the institution exists, it will tend to confirm those habits and so to check the regenerative process in both master and slave. And it is certain that the institution will continue to exist, unless violently overthrown, until the regenerate recognize more comprehensive spiritual obligations than those of a purely personal character.

The same considerations apply also to all other unrighteous social institutions, as well as to slavery. I have used slavery only for illustration. What I am urging is that the individual regeneration which induces a righteous life with reference only to distinctively personal concerns, is incomplete. To be complete, it must broaden out. It must relate itself as well to social institutions as to personal obligations. Not only must it affect each one's personal standards of right and wrong; it must in addition affect his attitude and conduct toward the institutional moral standards of his community. Every regenerate soul is under a spiritual obligation to contribute to the development of a communal character, the ideal of which shall be justice. This is as much an obligation of the regenerate individual as are any of his obligations of private concern. Since men make their own social environment, it must be true that every man stands, as an individual soul, in a relation of duty toward that environment. No one can ignore the obligation which requires him to persuade the community as well as himself to cease to do evil and learn to do well.

One hopes that the Congregationalist clergyman of Chicago who has advised the Baptists, being pretty flush, to buy out the other churches and consolidate them, is not in earnest. Christianity is already beyond the reach of the very poor. If we were to go much higher, the government would be forced, in order to protect the consumer, to seize and operate the churches, and that would be socialism.—Life.

There are tricks in all trades. A young writer who will be a financier one of these days "fired," as he phrased it, article after article into the various magazines and newspapers for weeks without an acceptance. Confident of

his ability to turn out as good rot as any published, he finally adopted this plan and it worked to his aggrandizement: On the northwest corner of each article he wrote something like this: "Rejected by Harper & Brothers, McClure's, the Cosmopolitan and Outing. Respectfully submitted to your superior judgment." The ingenuity of the idea caught in some quarters and he disposed of enough matter to buy a cottage on the installment plan.—N. Y. Press.

Jackson—If you are so anxious to visit the Pacific coast, why don't you go?

Johnson—Why, I can't afford it.

Jackson—Why don't you travel free?

Johnson—Free?

Jackson—Yes, become a president.
G. T. E.

When the President intimated that we had steered between the Scylla of plutocracy and the Charybdis of mob rule, he hadn't noticed how the paint is scraped on the Scylla side.—The Detroit News.

If, as they say, the giants of the commercial world are almost without exception dyspeptic, the question arises, Are little fish good for big fish, as a steady diet?—Puck.

A little bird sat on a telegraph wire,
And said to his mates: "I declare,
If wireless telegraphy comes into vogue,
We'll all have to sit on the air."
—London Fishing Gazette.

BOOKS

THE ART OF LIVING LONG.

When a man writes with his own hand at the age of ninety-five a treatise on temperate living, telling us that he finds himself healthy, strong, contented and happy, that his appetite is so good that he always eats with relish, that his sleep is sweet and peaceful, that his mind is clear, his judgment sound, his memory tenacious, his heart full of life, and his voice still strong and sonorous, and when we know that when he wrote thus he had seven years of happy old age ahead of him, surely we have to acknowledge that such a man has a right to speak on the subject of health and long life.

Louis Cornaro was born in Venice in the year 1464, and died at Padua in 1566, in the one hundred and third year of his age. Up to his fortieth year he was by no means strong, nor had he taken care of his health, so that between his thirty-fifth and fortieth years he expected an early death. Then he was led to begin and to persevere in a temperate mode of living, which restored his shattered health and carried him

cheerfully past his centennial. His rules were very simple, as the reader of his discourses will see.

Cornaro wrote four discourses on his favorite subject of *The Temperate Life—La Vita Sobria*—one at the age of eighty-three, one at eighty-six, one at ninety-one, and the last at ninety-five. "For three hundred years," says his recent biographer, "this treatise has been a classic in his native land. Translated into Latin, as also into many modern languages, it has been popular wherever studied. Slight as the book is, it has, and will continue to have, a permanent place in general literature; though we believe it may be questioned if many in this country, even among the most cultured readers, have had an opportunity of reading it."

This last remark is doubtless true, and for this reason Mr. Butler has done a good service in bringing out this very attractive and useful volume (*The Art of Living Long*, William F. Butler, Milwaukee, \$1). Besides the four discourses of Cornaro, the book contains an introductory essay by Addison, and selections from Lord Bacon and Sir William Temple. There are also appendices and notes and four well-executed portraits. The book gives evidence throughout of thorough and intelligent editing, and Mr. Butler deserves the thanks of the public for his timely and handsome production of these great classics of right living.

I cannot close this brief notice of the book without calling attention to the fact that Cornaro valued, and praised, and urged upon others, his method of frugal living, not only for the sake of living long, but for the sake of living well. He found that his way of life affected his mind and his temperament. "For," said he, "as sobriety keeps the humors of the body pure and mild, so, likewise, does it prevent fumes from arising from the stomach to the head; and the brain of him who lives in this manner is, as a result, constantly in a clear condition, permitting him to maintain entire the use of reason."

It may be that there is nothing startlingly new in Cornaro's treatise; but he writes with such sincerity and good-will that no one can read him without being influenced for good.

J. H. DILLARD.

BOOK RECEIVED.

—"The Failure of Jesus and His Triumph. Silhouettes touching the story of the unfolding of the Son of God in the Son of Man." By Frater Occidentalis. Red Wing, Minn.: The Argus Press. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS.

There is a most delightful little satire on newspaper reports in the August Scribner. It comes in Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams's short story, "The Burglar and the Lady," which is worth reading for other reasons as well. Another feature of this attractive summer number is the poem "In Quiet Ways," and even better than the poem are the charming illustrations and the old-fashioned decorations which accompany it. Some will find interesting "The Skyscraper Problem," discussed by Montgomery

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Published weekly by THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1641 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

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"JUSTICE"—IN THE AIR.

The Landless American—I take it then, Mr. President, that you favor the abolition of land monopoly in the United States?
Mr. Roosevelt—Ah, my dear sir, you are wrong. That is not practical politics, you know.

Schuyler from the architect's point of view.
J. H. D.

The Craftsman, published monthly by the United Crafts at Syracuse, N. Y., is always beautifully printed and illustrated. The August number contains plans for an urban house which seem to be of exceptional merit—the problems of the admission of daylight, the preservation of privacy, and the arrangement of attractive garden spaces within the limits of a city lot, receiving unusual and admirable solution. Decorative designs setting forth the old fairy-tale of Puss-in-Boots are given added interest by a brief account of the democratic role played in the folk lore of oppressed peoples by the clever, humanized animal, who "expressed the subversive revolutionary thought" which it was not safe for story-tellers to attribute to a man. A. T. P.

Mr. Steffens, who has been writing for McClure's the articles on the government of certain cities, has a paper in the August number of that magazine on Mr. Jacob A. Riis, who has become famous by his books (especially "How the Other Half Lives"), and by the remark of President Roosevelt that he is New York's most valuable citizen. We say "famous" by his books and the President's remark, though of course his most valuable work lies back of books and comments, and there is no doubt whatever that he has performed great service for his city. In his laudation it must not, however, be forgotten that his work has lain mostly in the temporary curing of sores, and that he has contributed almost nothing to the thought of a permanent lessening of New York's terrible poverty. J. H. D.

The front page of Public Opinion for July 23 furnishes two striking instances of modern forms of insincerity. The President said not long ago that "no pressure, political, social or personal, of any kind, will be permitted to exercise the least effect in any question of (army) promotion or detail." Notice the word "personal," and the emphatic sweep of the expressions "of any kind" and "the least effect." Then think of Assistant Surgeon Leonard Wood turned into a major general. As Collier's Weekly says, it is picturesque! Side by side with this stands the gall of Chamberlain with his incessant talk of the "policy of conciliation" in South Africa. What is the fact? In the words of Public Opinion, there "is being erected the narrowest sort of crown-colony government, backed by a permanent garrison of 25,000 soldiers." Louis Botha, the first

general to submit, is protesting against the "autocratic depotism" and the barren record of promises unfulfilled. J. H. D.

The New-Church Messenger of July 15 publishes a most excellent address on "The Personal Equation in the Nurture of Childhood." It is a vital subject, not enough considered either by parents or by those who have the selection of teachers. The tests are too exclusively intellectual, and the teacher who appears bright and makes the fairest show is chosen—whereas there is no way to examine for sincerity and genuineness of character. Speaking of a similar difficulty in another line the writer says: "Probably no sign of the times in the churches about us is more discouraging than the apparent satisfaction that is manifest in good talkers who are notoriously devoid of genuine sincerity and trustworthiness. Where the demand is for clever orators, there is very little possibility of the development of genuine spirituality." J. H. D.

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