

The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 1903.

Number 280.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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

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

Now that the people of the city of Cleveland are to vote on the question of establishing a municipal lighting system, many arguments are advanced against the project by the local privileged interests. But they are silent about their real objection. If the city were to establish its own lighting plant, one more chance for corporation "graft" would be gone. The plutocratic "grafters" are accordingly standing together. They hope against hope that this is one of the times when you can fool most of the people.

Ex-Speaker Lawrence E. Sherman, of Illinois, is reported as having said at the Rock River Chautauqua on the 8th that the "single tax would ultimately pass all property into the hands of the government; rent would represent the tax now paid; there would be no private pursuits; great bodies of workingmen would be in the government employ and the state would become a landlord." It is quite evident either that the Rock Island Chautauqua listened to a grossly ignorant lecturer, or that Mr. Sherman is the victim of a fool reporter of high degree.

After stubborn dickering, Secretary Hay has finally sold a piece of Washington real estate to the Federal government for more than twice its value as assessed for taxation. It is assessed at \$32,506, and Mr. Hay parts with it for \$68,262.60. The price he demanded was \$133,418.50, or \$100,000 more than it had paid taxes on. Inasmuch as

half the revenue of the District of Columbia is provided by Congress out of national funds, this instance of tax-dodging is of national interest. It is only fair to Mr. Hay to add, however, that he is not the only Washington tax dodger of his kind. All the rich landowners and large land speculators there are in a combine to defraud the public in this manner and to throw the burden back upon the people of the United States in general and the small home owners of the District of Columbia in particular. If the revenues of the District of Columbia were raised by taxing land values alone, the small home owner would have his taxes reduced, the people of the country at large would be relieved of the burden of providing half the expense of the local government there, and tax-dodgers like Mr. Hay would lose much unlawful plunder.

The comments of the plutocratic press upon Congressman Baker's return to the Baltimore & Ohio railroad attorney of the pass-bribe which other members of Congress have "taken and kept still" about, have the flavor of that corruption in Greece to which Demosthenes referred in his speech on the venality of public men and the decay of Greek patriotism. "What is it," asked Demosthenes, "that has ruined Greece? Envy, when a man gets a bribe; laughter, if he confesses it; mercy to the convicted; hatred of those who denounce the crime,—all the usual accompaniments of corruption."

Those Jews who have indignantly denounced as false a recent statement that Moses married a Negro, are brought around with a sudden turn by Julius F. Taylor, editor of the Chicago "Broad Ax," who reminds them of

the record in the 12th chapter of Numbers, 1st verse, which reads: "Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Ethiopian woman whom he had married, for he had married an Ethiopian woman." It is difficult to understand what bearing the question of racial intermarriage has upon the question of individual rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness regardless of race; but those white men who think it necessary to deny these rights to Negroes lest "your daughter marry a nigger," ought to be interested in that marriage of Moses. Would the foul stain of miscegenation be removed from the record of the great law giver, we wonder, if some astute commentator should show that the marriage was morganatic?

The report of a bankruptcy case in Akron, Ohio, is significant of the progress of the times. In the olden days of bankruptcy there would have seemed to be some incongruity about adjourning a bankruptcy proceeding for the purpose of allowing the bankrupt to take a pleasure trip to Europe. But that has been done in the bankruptcy proceedings of George W. Crouse at Akron. Mr. Crouse owes about \$1,900,000, and his assets amount to about \$200,000. His creditors, therefore, are likely to lose about \$1,700,000 through his default. It is this magnificent evidence of a successful career, possibly, that divests the affair of its incongruity. However that may be, the examination of the bankrupt was postponed from July to October, by the referee, to enable Mr. Crouse to take his European pleasure trip. If he does not return by that time, his pleasures are again to be preferred to his creditors' claims and a further adjourn-

ment granted. The creditors who assented to this arrangement were generous creatures, truly, and the debtor who availed himself of it cannot be lacking in the saving sense of humor. To a bankrupt debtor without a very strong sense of humor, a European pleasure trip under those circumstances might be quite funereal.

Gen. Miles's address to the American army upon retiring from its command is worthy to be a classic in our military history. Its keynote is the sovereignty of citizenship within the army. The soldier who leaves his country the legacy of such a letter, backed by such a record of high ideals and both moral and physical courage as this man's record of two score years in its military service, can well afford to ignore the pettiness of his accidental superiors. What if President Roosevelt has put another officer through the bare formality of a six-day term in Miles's place, for the purpose of depriving Miles of the empty honor of being last in a discarded line of service where in Washington was the first? What if the Secretary of War did celebrate the end of this general's service with nothing but a cold record of the fact? These acts do not reflect upon Miles. They represent the actors, and no one else. As to the latter act, nothing else could have been done in decent good faith. The administration could not praise Gen. Miles upon his retirement when it had insulted, obstructed, and abused him during his service. The one commendable thing about the administration, in all its official intercourse with Gen. Miles, is its refusal to play the hypocrite when he retired. How could President Roosevelt and Secretary Root praise Miles without condemning themselves. He stands for high ideals of patriotism, they for the low ideals of a selfish national life; he for honor in the army, they for honoring the army's dishonor.

Our suspicions of last week

based on the non-action of the grand jury (p. 275) that the reports of labor violence in Chicago had been greatly exaggerated and the spectacular injunction proceedings a good deal of a sham, has received further confirmation. So long as the cases came only before Judge Holdom, whose action in the matter has been fairly open in several respects to severe criticism, it was made to appear that the strikers were behaving most lawlessly. Some of them were fined by this judge; one of them, an invalid, he threw mercilessly into jail; and others he condemned to imprisonment without appeal,—a right he had no legal authority to deny them. What with legislation by injunction order and trial upon affidavits, the proceedings in his court were of a "hop-skip-and-jump" kind which could hardly fail to bring the court into contempt even if the men had deserved the penalties it imposed. But there is now grave doubt even of the good faith of the proceedings. Not only has the grand jury refused to act, serious as were the charges against the strikers, but injunction cases of the same general kind have come before another judge, Kavanagh, who has exposed the flimsiness of the affidavits upon the strength of which he was invited to imitate Judge Holdom. Since then the exciting reports of lawlessness have died down. Such trifling with the courts is inexcusable. Riotous conditions have existed or they have not. If they have, the grand jury ought to act. If they have not, it is an outrage upon the administration of justice to apply the expedient of government by injunction in order to manufacture law for one party to strikes and against the other.

In commenting last week upon the action of the Denver conference of reformers (p. 257) we expressed regret that it had "recommended the organization of a new national party immediately," and gave our reasons, indicating among other objections that such

a party would be only a "paper organization," and suggesting that while little could be gained through it much might be lost. This comment, an entirely fair and considerate criticism of a policy to which we are firmly opposed, has elicited the following letter from Mr. J. A. Edgerton, the chairman of the conference in question and of the organizing committee it has appointed:

Your criticism of the Denver conference would not be noticed if it were in an opposition paper, but in a reform paper it is liable to breed misunderstandings.

In the first place the conference formed no new party, either paper or otherwise. It had no such power. That can only be done by a national convention composed of properly accredited delegates. This conference simply reunited the People's party, an organization that has been in existence since 1892. In addition to this it appointed a national organization committee whose duty it is to bring about a union of reform forces.

The object of those participating in the conference is exactly the opposite of that which you ascribe to us. We desire to amalgamate all those who favor a people's government, not divide them. It strikes me that the only possible effect of criticisms written in the spirit of that in *The Public*—if they have any effect at all—must be divisional rather than unifying.

It is all very well to talk about forming a party by a bolt at the time of the national convention. Those who have had any experience in managing campaigns know that it is necessary to have some sort of a preliminary organization. You cannot organize a national campaign in a few months. You must move in time or be caught unprepared.

No political party of any moment was ever formed by a bolt after the manner outlined by you. A little reading of history is all that is needed to make this point clear.

The sincere desire of those who made up the Denver conference is that there may be a real union of all those who favor the people's rule. We do not seek to dictate in what manner that union shall come. We simply are preparing for the inevitable. It becomes more and more apparent each day that the Democratic national convention will be controlled by the reactionary element of that party. We are determined that the reform cause shall not die because of that fact.

We beg the editor of *The Public* not to jump at conclusions and not to be too ready to condemn his co-workers. Most of those who made up the Denver conference have been sincere followers of Mr. Bryan. All of them, I think I am

safe in saying, desire a genuine reform party in America that will stand for the things for which Mr. Bryan stands—together with such other reforms as the time may demand. We have no disposition to force matters, no intention to quibble over the name or other details. We are ready to meet all reformers in the spirit of brotherhood and conciliation. We simply serve notice to the country that the people's cause is not to die, whatever the action of any party may be.

We must expect misrepresentation in the opposition papers, but we have a right to ask fair treatment at the hands of reform papers such as *The Public*.

Truth is more valuable than any party whatsoever, and this letter is written in the interests of Truth.

Had Mr. Edgerton read our criticism with the care and reflected upon it with the calmness that ought to characterize the chairman of a committee which undertakes, in a time as critical as the present, to serve notice upon the country that the people's cause is not to die, he would have escaped the error of charging us with misrepresentation. A re-perusal of our criticism will satisfy any impartial reader that it not only does not misrepresent the Denver conference, but that it is eminently fair in its treatment of that body and its action—unless, indeed, to differ is to be regarded as unfair. The reader will find in our criticism nothing whatever to justify Mr. Edgerton's remark that the object of himself and his associates was the opposite of what we ascribed to them. We ascribed no purpose of dividing those who favor a people's government. What we did was to predict the probable outcome of such a movement, wholly irrespective of the sincerity of its original promoters. The sincerity of their desire to effect "a real union of all those who favor the people's rule" is cordially conceded. But the probability of such a union through the third party method, at this time and in existing circumstances—these are different matters. And as to these matters we must beg the liberty of disagreeing with the Denver conference, notwithstanding our respect for the sincerity of its promoters, and even

at the expense of being charged with misrepresenting them and with obstructing their cherished programme.

It is not to be presumed, of course, that Mr. Edgerton intends to lay stress upon the fact that in our criticism we described the conference as having "recommended the organization of a new national party," as the dispatches seemed to indicate, whereas it "simply reunited the People's party, an organization that has been in existence since 1892," as Mr. Edgerton describes it. This discrepancy does not in the slightest degree affect the merits of our criticism, which was addressed not to the point of the literal newness of the side party, but to the policy of trying to drain away democratic elements from the Democratic party into any side party at all, at a time when the democracy of the Democratic party is in the thick of a fight for control of that organization. In this connection it is to be observed that Mr. Edgerton does not regard the struggle within the Democratic party as important. He thinks "it becomes more and more apparent each day that the Democratic national convention will be controlled by the reactionary element of that party." Such is the opinion, true enough, as it is also the desire, of the Democratic reactionaries themselves, of the Wall street combines which are to furnish the reactionary campaign funds, and of the "goldbug" organs of both parties. But there is ample reason to believe that with them the thought is fathered by the desire. At any rate it is by no means apparent that they will win. But be this as it may, the Denver side party movement is certainly not calculated to discourage them.

Whether Mr. Edgerton is right or not in indicating that a bolt from the Democratic convention would be impracticable, if the reactionary elements regain control, need not be considered.

For all the purposes of our criticism it might be conceded that "you cannot organize a national campaign in a few months," and that "it is necessary to have some sort of a preliminary organization." But what is the use, for such a purpose, of the kind of preliminary organization the Denver conference seeks to effect? None whatever. If preliminary organization be needed for making a Democratic bolt effective, it must be an organization within and not outside of the Democratic party.

Is it so certain, however, that preliminary national organization is necessary? Mr. Edgerton fortifies his belief with a sweeping reference to political history. "No political party of any moment," he says, "was ever formed by a bolt after the manner outlined by you." Just what reservation may be concealed in the final clause, "after the manner outlined by you," is not clear. It may be that Mr. Edgerton intends by this clause to hold us to strict similarity in every detail. If so, of course he is right. No party ever was formed by a bolt exactly like the one which in our criticism of the Denver conference we have outlined as possible. But, for that matter, history never repeats in anything—exactly. Consequently no one who insists upon ruling out historical parallels that are not mathematically parallel, has any right to quote history against prophecy. In simple fairness to Mr. Edgerton it must be assumed that by his reservation clause he means "after the manner" of our article in general, and not "after the manner" of it in exact detail. But if that is what he does mean he has read his American history to little purpose; for there are two notable instances of such a bolt. One was the Breckenridge bolt of 1860. Some delegations bolted the Democratic convention at Charleston in April. Others bolted the adjourned convention at Baltimore in June. The bolters subsequently nominated John C. Breckenridge. At the election they

polled for their candidate 18 per cent of the popular vote and 23 per cent of the electoral vote, in a quadrilateral contest. This result testifies strongly enough to the fact that their party was one of some moment. The second notable bolt was that of 1848, out of which the Free Soil party sprang. Two factions of the Democratic party had come to the national convention from New York, each claiming to represent the Democracy of that State. Both were admitted, with half a vote. But the democratic faction, strongly anti-slavery, refused the compromise and bolted. In June the bolters held a State convention which called a national convention. The latter met in August and nominated Martin Van Buren. At the election following this party polled 10.14 per cent of the total vote in a tri-lateral contest, which is about 1.5 per cent more than Gen. Weaver polled in the phenomenal Populist year of '92. That fact should entitle the Free Soil party to be regarded as a party of some moment. Bolts are of moment when there is a strong popular sentiment back of them. Without that, no independent political movement is of any moment, as a political movement, whether it originates in a spontaneous bolt or in a premature organization.

In closing this discussion let us assure Mr. Edgerton and his sympathizing associates in the Denver movement, that we have no more idea of getting in the way of their efforts to bring about "a union of reform forces" than of obstructing the latest inventor of a perpetual motion machine. Their task is hopeless enough in itself. But this movement—insignificant of popular endorsement as the size of its conference showed it to be, and hopeless as its purpose of uniting the irreconcilable "reform forces" in a side party is—is nevertheless a subject for fair comment. We have made and shall make no other kind. It is also an object for con-

demnation. This may seem unfair to its supporters. But condemnation is both the right and a duty of those who from observation and experience have learned that under our present political system side parties fritter away energy in "futile banding," even at the best, while at the worst they fall a prey to petty "grafters" from within and plutocratic politicians from without. As we have on other occasions definitely and circumstantially pointed out (vol. iv., p. 3), no third party is ever likely to be anything but a futile or otherwise objectionable side party, unless it rises spontaneously out of a great popular demand and quickly becomes either the first party or the second. Real political parties are born, not made.

The Grover Cleveland organ of Chicago represents the shameless mendacity and malignant hatred of the whole tribe toward Bryan. "During the last eight years," says this organ in its issue of the 10th, "Mr. Bryan has had no visible means of support. He has traveled extensively. He has not done a day's work in any honest occupation. He has had no business. He has not even pretended to be a lawyer. Yet in that time he has grown rich." To readers who know the facts, the foregoing statement is so transparent a lie, that it must defeat its own purpose. A man whose extensive traveling is for the most part as a lecturer commanding and everywhere conceded to be deserving of high pay, and whose daily work consists in editing a weekly paper of exceptional popularity and influence, which has a circulation of 150,000 copies and is his own property through no one's favor, is not to be regarded by candid men, however hostile their feelings, as an idler who has grown rich without visible means of support. But if the misrepresentations of the Chicago Chronicle are made so blunderingly as to be self-destructive, that is not the case with the equally mendacious criticisms with which Eastern

papers of the Cleveland cult stuff their gullible readers. Yet it all has its funny side. The gullers pretend and the gulled believe that Bryan, whose popularity throws them both into spasms of fear, is an innocuous "has-been"! By the way, speaking of getting rich without visible means of support, why are the friends of Mr. Cleveland so reluctant to explain that enigma in his behalf?

PSYCHOLOGY OF NEGRO LYNCHING.

In his complimentary letter of last week to Gov. Durbin, of Indiana, President Roosevelt very properly condemns the Negro lynchings that have become so ominously prevalent.

Less ambiguity might have been desired in some respects. When, for instance, the President writes that "The nation, like the individual, cannot commit a crime with impunity," the reader is encouraged to hope for a revival of genuine national morality in an unexpected place. And his satisfaction grows as, reading on, he finds the President sounding this true note of warning: "If we are guilty of lawlessness and brutal violence, whether our guilt consists in actual participation therein or in mere connivance and encouragement, we shall assuredly suffer later on because of what we have done." But there is a natural reaction of feeling when the President indicates that by "crime" and "lawlessness" he alludes not at all to defiance of the moral law but only to infractions of statutory regulations. "The corner stone of this republic," he goes on to say, "as of all free governments, is respect for and obedience to the law." That seems, at least, to refer only to municipal law and not to moral principle. And in another part of the letter the reference is confirmed; for there the President writes about penal statutes as if their proper object were vengeance—not reform of the criminal nor protection for the community, but ven-

geance. "It certainly ought to be possible," he writes at this point, "by the proper administration of the laws to secure swift vengeance upon the criminal; and the best and immediate efforts of all legislators, judges and citizens should be addressed to securing such reforms in our legal procedure as to leave no vestige of excuse for those misguided men who undertake to reap vengeance through violent methods." It would appear, then, that President Roosevelt thinks of criminal law only as a decent substitute for lynching; and that his ideas of social order do not go beneath the surface of obedience to statutory regulations, be they morally right or wrong.

But allowance must be made both for the inadequacy of language and for Mr. Roosevelt's verbal habits. It may be that he does allude to a higher law, and seems not to only because, his attention being fixed upon a moral crime which contravenes statutory regulations, he unconsciously emphasizes the latter. There is confirmation for this inference, also, in other parts of his letter. For it is possible to conclude, after some reading between the lines, that President Roosevelt really recognizes, in a vague way, that the Negro lynchings are but manifestations of a spirit of moral lawlessness which by no means confines itself to the race problem.

Respect for statutory regulations, merely as such, is, indeed, a thing to be rationally inculcated. Peace and order do depend, in a very large measure, upon observance of such regulations. Whether the law of the road, for instance, requires you to turn to the right or to the left, you ought to respect it. Yet it makes no difference which way it requires you to turn. All that is needed is uniformity, for the sake of peace and order. So is it with many other statutory regulations.

But there are statutory regulations regarding which it does make a difference, a very great

difference, which way they require you to turn. These are regulations that either express or defy the moral law. Of the former class are those that forbid murder; of the latter are such as support slavery. The one are to be respected, the other condemned.

He who refrains from murdering merely because human law forbids it, and who promotes slavery because human law supports it, exalts human law above moral law. He is a mere legalist, not a moralist. Whether a thing is right or wrong, he cannot tell you until he has read the session laws. Such a man would commit murder without compunction if human restraints were removed. Nor does he always require those restraints to be removed formally. Although the session laws are held in higher esteem by your legalist than is the moral law, he never hesitates to regard them as repealed the moment he knows they cannot be enforced. Therein may be found an explanation of Negro lynching. Lynching is murder. It is morally wrong. Not only is it morally wrong, it is legally wrong. But in respect of Negroes its illegality has been informally set aside under certain circumstances. In the mind of the legalist, therefore, there is nothing wrong in murdering Negroes under those circumstances.

This view of the psychology of Negro lynching was recently set forth with great clearness by Prof. William James, the distinguished psychologist, of Harvard, in an article in the Springfield Republican. Says Prof. James:

I find it hard to comprehend the ignorance of history and of human nature which allows people still to think of Negro lynching as of a transient contagion destined soon to exhaust its virulence. It is, on the contrary, a profound social disease, spreading now like forest fire, and certain to become permanently endemic in every corner of our country, North and South, unless heroic remedies are swiftly adopted to check it. . . . The North is already almost as fully inoculated as the South, and the young white American of the lower classes is

being educated everywhere with appalling rapidity to understand that any Negro accused of crime is public spoil, to be played with as long as the fun will last. Attempts at general massacres of Negroes are certain to be the next thing in order, and collective reprisals by Negroes are equally certain. The average church-going civilizee realizes, one may say, absolutely nothing of the deeper currents of human nature, or of the aboriginal capacity for murderous excitement which lies sleeping even in his own bosom. Religion, custom, law and education have been piling their pressure upon him for centuries mainly with the one intent that his homicidal potentialities should be kept under. . . . But the water-tight compartment in which the carnivora within us is confined is artificial and not organic. It never will be organic. The slightest diminution of external pressure, the slightest loophole of licensed exception, will make the whole system leaky, and murder will again grow rampant. . . . Negro lynching is already a permitted exception in the midst of our civilization. . . . One or two real fanatics there may be in every lynching, actuated by a maniacal sense of punitive justice. They are a kind of "reversion," which civilization particularly requires to extirpate. The other accomplices are only average men, victims of the moment when the greatest atrocities are committed, of nothing but irresponsible mob contagion, but invited to become part of the mob and predisposed to the peculiar sort of contagion, by the diabolical education which the incessant examples of the custom and of its continued impunity are spreading with fearful rapidity throughout our population. Was ever such a privilege offered? Dog fights, prize fights, bull fights, what are they to a man hunt and a Negro burning?

Commenting upon what it justly calls this "acute analysis of the lynching mania," The Nation carries the logic of the analysis a step farther. At least it points more definitely than does Prof. James to the possibilities of a complete subversion of social peace, in which the race problem will have ceased to be a factor:

The whole phenomenon, with the steady march of lawlessness and ferocity to the North, is enough to stagger the stoutest patriot. We are in the presence of a new national peril. Senator Tillman is quite right in maintaining that lynching can no longer be said to be sectional. As a nation, we are disgraced by it. As a nation we are also put in imminent danger by it. For let no man attempt to deceive the people with smooth words. Prof. James is irrefragable. A plague worse than the cholera is upon us. Epidemic lawlessness, stamped all over with fiendish

brutality, is a thousand-fold more to be dreaded than epidemic disease. There is no need to waste breath in either describing or denouncing the frightful evil. Every man not steeped in ignorance or lapped in delusion knows what it is—knows that it is not merely making us a hissing and scorn in the eyes of the world, but is undermining our own safety, and causing American society to revert to the time when no man knew at what moment a savage foe might not spring upon him from ambush. The time has passed to apologize for lynching, or even to explain it; and we must all unite to put it down if we would not see it topple all our laws and courts into the abyss.

But both Prof. James and The Nation fall short, as does President Roosevelt, when they come to deal with remedies. Prof. James calls for special legislation, of a kind apparently which would itself be lynch law under a different name—the law of irresponsible tyranny instead of the law of the murderous mob. The Nation does much better. It calls for no special legislation, saying—

There are laws enough. The statutes against murder are ample—and lynching is murder. If governors and sheriffs and police officers will enforce the present laws up to the hilt, we need ask no further enactments against lynch-ers. Let every officer who refuses to parley with the mob, and talks to it in the only language it can understand, receive a special meed of praise from his fellow citizens. That sheriff in Danville, who stood to his guns and disabled a dozen of the rioters, deserves well not only of his county and state, but of the entire nation. He did what he could to strike down an enemy more formidable than any foreign levy. It was upon the fanged head of the new domestic treason that he set his heel. If the citizens of Illinois know what becomes them at such a moment, they will find some means of testifying their gratitude to Sheriff Whitlock for his great public service. Sheriffs everywhere must be given to understand that this is what is expected of them. It is said that an "ungovernable homicidal instinct" takes possession of the mob; a vision of blood is before them. But if they are made to know that the blood will, in every case, be their own, and not that of a trembling and helpless victim, they will find a way to govern their instincts. It is good psychology as well as good patriotism which calls for the putting down everywhere of the lynching madness with an iron hand that knows no faltering.

That is good as far as it goes. Murderous mobs must be held at

bay and dispersed, by the fullest exercise of all the power that can be brought against them and which the necessities of the case require. But the civilization that stops with suppressing mobs "with an iron hand" is unworthy of the name. Though the iron hand may be at times a terrible necessity in aid of civilization, it is itself neither civilization nor a sign of civilization. Much more than the iron hand is needed—so much more that when we have it there is no necessity for the iron hand. This is dimly recognized by The Nation, for it follows its demand for the iron hand with the following eminently sensible, even if inadequate, appeal to public opinion:

But there is also a great duty laid upon every law-abiding citizen, whether directly in contact with the lynching spirit or not. He must do his part to bring about a correct state of public sentiment. Against all forms of race discrimination he must set his face like a flint; for he will see, if he keeps his eyes open, that the prime initiative of all this shameful access of lynching has been, as Prof. James says, the notion, which has spread with "appalling rapidity," that "any Negro accused of crime is public spoil, to be played with as long as the fun lasts." This is the fruitful mother of all our woes. Even if we thought the Negro always a brute beyond the pale of the law, we should be bound not to assert it, or ever to say thoughtlessly: "Served him right," since through the Negro the licensed mob is striking at our national life, and no man will be safe if the thing goes on. So we affirm that every form of apologetic reference to the lynching mob is, as the case stands to-day, a kind of participation in the crime from which every good citizen will refrain. Let us hear no more about "passional crimes," and "if we were only in their place," or "Could we but see the woman's face." The terrible fact is that we are face to face with a kind of national dementia. We are in danger of going mad. An individual over whom such a peril hangs observes the strictest regimen. So must the nation. We must all desist from countenancing, even in our private speech, even in our secret thoughts, anything but the severest and most sweeping condemnation of lynching. Only so can we nerve the officers of the law to do their duty and prevent all our institutions from tumbling into the pit. In the present hour of peril from furious mobs driven by wild obsessions, we can only denounce as a recreant any man who is able to find words of extenuation or tolerance for them.

This is inadequate, sadly so

from such a source, because the appeal strikes no deeper and rises no higher than President Roosevelt's seems to. It adjures the people to frown upon lynching, merely for self-protection. The moral note is wholly lacking.

We realize, of course, that appeals to the protective instinct may be proper without allusion to moral obligation. But here is a social disease which originates in moral insanity, and from which recovery is impossible without restoration of the moral function. At bottom the Negro lynchings are not attributable to the cause that Prof. James assigns and The Nation adopts. The murderous propensity is secondary. That which, primarily, makes these horrors possible at this stage of our civilization, is a general deadening of the moral sense which has taken place within the past generation or two.

None but the very thoughtless can have failed to observe the loss of that moral sense in the body politic to which it was once possible to appeal. It has been so completely deadened in the individual that in almost any group, churches not excepted, a majority are not only deaf to such appeals, but will bluntly subordinate moral considerations to selfish ones, or deny their existence altogether.

This tendency was most notable in the United States during the American war of conquest in the Philippines, and in England during the British war of conquest in South Africa. But it has been observable for a long time in other connections.

The moral element in the suffrage question, for instance, has been so far ignored in the South that even ballot-box stuffing, in order to deprive one class of the ballot, is approved by public opinion. Both North and South the same moral element has been denied in order to withhold the suffrage from women. Even women suffragists have denied it, so as to enable them consistently to advocate the suffrage for some women while insisting upon denying it to others. In the North especially it is denied for the purpose of propagating the idea of disfranchisement of the "lower" class of white men.

These examples arise out of the "better than thou" feeling—one expression of which is the comfortable idea that "I am fit to vote, but you are not." It is expressed by the millionaire with reference to the "Alameda citizen;" by millionaires and "Alameda citizens" together, with reference to the mechanic; by all three with reference to the common laborer; by the whole four with reference to the Negro; and by some Negroes with reference to others. This pharisaical feeling is a product of the conviction not alone that some men are inferior, but that the "inferior" ones have no rights which the "superior" is under any moral obligation to respect—whether they be rights of suffrage, rights to work and own and trade the products of work, or even the right to live and when dying to die without being brutally tortured.

It is out of the same conviction that there arises that murderous instinct to which Prof. James refers. Given a condition in which one class denies equal rights to another, and you have only to remove the restraints of statutory regulation to see the "inferior" class disfranchised, robbed, mobbed, murdered, and tortured, and the infamy applauded or excused by the public opinion of the "superior" class. The mania for lynching Negroes, this exhilarating man hunt, in which white men are hunters and Negroes the hunted, is not a Negro problem peculiarly. It is a man problem with a moral setting. Negro lynchings are only one expression of a general repudiation of the idea of a moral sense and moral obligations.

And why isn't it logical? If there is no moral law, why shouldn't white men lynch Negroes, provided they get satisfaction out of it and don't get caught? More than that, if there is no moral law, why shouldn't workmen fight each other for jobs—with bricks, or knives, or pistols—if they want to and are strong enough to hold in check the restraints of municipal law? Indeed, why shouldn't they, if there is no moral law, and they can override statutory regulations—why shouldn't they in that case, go a little farther and resort to the lynching method for set-

ting disputes with obdurate employers?

Is it answered that wholly apart from any question of morals society must have peace and its members must have personal security? But it is not true that society must have peace, apart from considerations of justice. To illustrate with extremes: The choice between a society where all members but one are slaves and peace prevails, and a society where all are free and mobs run riot, lies decidedly with the latter. The peace of tyranny is the peace of death. The only peace worth having is the peace that makes for justice. But that peace cannot be considered apart from morals, for justice is of the essence of morals.

Throw morals overboard, and only a choice between the tyrant and the mob remains. No, not even that choice would remain, for first would come the mob and then the dictator. Our own experience proves it. So far as the Negro is concerned, the mob is here; and so far as Prof. James is concerned, the dictator is consequently in effect demanded.

We have invited both. When a people evade moral obligations by running to cover under the theory that there are none, the natural effect is a recession towards the lowest forms of might;—first toward the naked might of the mob, and then toward the naked might of the mob's master. And this running to cover from the demands of the moral law is what our people in all sections have been doing. Our colleges have taught the right of might as "scientific;" our lower schools have chorused the refrain; our honored statesmen have translated the diabolical doctrine into "destiny determines duty;" even our churches have garbed it in ecclesiastical phrase and taught it as the religion of the righteous Nazarene. As with every new disorder our surgeons rush with ready knives to rip out an organ, so with every new demand for justice have our social leaders rushed upon the body politic to rip out a moral principle. At last none are recognized; and the great cumbersome body politic, bereft of moral impulses, has begun to run amuck. Superficial differences of race have made the Ne-

gro its first victim. The labor question offers an inviting field for its insane orgies, when Negroes shall have come to be looked upon as small game for a man hunt. Just where the dictator may step in no one knows. But his advent is certain if the moral insanity that cannot distinguish right from might continues.

Until the people come to their senses, the iron hand may frequently be necessary in dealing with mobs. But it can only check insane outbursts. It cannot cure the insanity; for that is rooted deep in the moral philosophy of the time—the philosophy, namely, that there is no moral philosophy. So long as public opinion is swayed by the doctrine that might makes right, so long will that doctrine express itself terribly on the lower and more brutal planes of injustice. So long, also, will the teachers and exemplars of this indefensible doctrine be primarily responsible for those barbarous expressions of its true character. Its brutal manifestations will disappear when the doctrine is discarded. So, also, will those more subtle manifestations, whereby the privileged are enriched and the industrious impoverished, which make this philosophy acceptable among men of "light, leading and lucre."

The one cure for social disorder, from lynchings to conquests, from petty larceny to monopoly, is the general recognition of the moral law and general acquiescence in its application. Nor is the moral law difficult either to recognize or to apply. As related to society, its root is the principle that with reference to elementary rights—life, liberty and pursuits—none may justly have dominion over others. Its best expression is the golden rule, which requires each to judge the rights of others by the standard he sets up for himself.

Men without moral sense are murderers at heart, as Prof. James says, and are restrained from committing murder only by the pressure of customs and laws. When this external pressure is removed such men will lynch, and hang, and burn, and shoot, and administer water cures to Filipinos, and loot palaces in China, and do

all manner of wickedness. They deny human equality, and to them there is no moral law.

But men with the moral sense are different. They are not murderers at heart. Realizing that every man is their equal, knowing that no one's elementary rights are inferior to their own, perceiving that physical might is essentially a different thing from moral right, and having adopted moral right as their ideal, these men need no external restraints to hold their murderous instincts in check, nor any iron hand to prevent them from murdering their fellow men. Abolish all municipal law, and they would nevertheless harm no one.

The fundamental cause of lawlessness, therefore, is false notions of human inferiority, and consequent indifference to the primary elements of the moral law; its remedy lies in the inculcation of respect for human rights and love for the moral law. In the degree in which the philosophy of moral right is propagated by pulpit, newspaper and high official, and takes possession of the multitude, displacing the prevalent philosophy of physical might—in that degree, and only in that degree, can the peace and order of a true civilization reign undisturbed and unquestioned.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 13.

The long expected Balkan war (vol. v, pp. 712, 728) seems now to be almost certain to break upon Europe. As one of the cable dispatches reports the situation, "Turkey is face to face with another crisis in Macedonia, and war with Bulgaria seems to be a question of the tossing of a coin. The entire Balkan region is aflame and Turkish troops are constantly employed in putting down insurgent bands." A general European war is consequently within the possibilities. For, as the London Spectator has said, "If there is a chance of the revolutionaries succeeding, there would be a horrible scramble, certain before it ends to involve the great neighboring Powers, who cannot be expected to act in concert. The interest of Russia is to make a

Greater Bulgaria, such as the treaty of San Stefano would have built up; the interest of Austria is to clear her road to Salonica, where only she can hope to acquire Oriental trade; and the interest of Italy, or her presumed interest, is to obtain some foothold on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. There will be just the kind of muddle of ambitions, national aspirations, and diplomatic plans which almost invariably ends in an appeal to the sword." The Spectator might have added that Great Britain and Germany would be interested in holding Russia in check, and that France would be interested in supporting Russia in order to retaliate upon Germany and to humiliate Great Britain.

The Balkan region takes its name from the Balkan mountains, the eastern branch of the mountain system which comprehends the ranges of Montenegro, Herzegovina and the Dinaric Alps. The Balkans extend from the plain of Sophia to Cape Emineh, on the Black sea, and, forming the southern boundary of the basin of the Danube, separate Bulgaria from Eastern Rumelia. They are of great strategical importance. The principal route across them is through the Shipka Pass, where one of the fiercest battles of the war of 1877 between Turkey and Russia occurred. At the close of that war the treaty of San Stefano was signed between the belligerent powers. This treaty would have reduced European Turkey to a narrow strip, and have established a Bulgarian nation, including the territory in which revolts against Turkish dominion now threaten the European peace. But England and Germany interfered, jealous of an extension of Russian influence toward the Mediterranean, and a conference of the Great Powers—Russia, Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy—was called, which met at Berlin. Abrogating the treaty of San Stefano, this conference substituted for it what is known as the Berlin treaty of 1878, whereby the governmental relations of several Turkish dependencies and of some Turkish territory were re-adjusted.

One of these dependencies was Roumania, consisting of the Danubian principalities that were united in 1861 under that name and had proclaimed independence of Turkey in 1877. Another was Servia, to the throne of which Karageorgevitch ascended as successor to Alexander upon the triumph of the recent Servian revolution (p. 200). A third was Montenegro, which had achieved substantial independence of Turkey as early as 1697, but remained in nominal dependency until the treaty of Berlin. Bosnia and Herzegovina were at this time still Turkish provinces, and what are now known as Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia (or Southern Bulgaria), were also part of the Turkish empire. The Balkan States, therefore, as constituted by the treaty of Berlin, consist of Roumania, Servia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Southern Bulgaria and Bulgaria. The independence of Roumania was recognized by the treaty. So was the independence of Servia. Montenegrin sovereignty, also, was recognized, though with the limitation that the waters of Montenegro should be closed to the ships of war of all nations, and that her maritime and sanitary police should be under the control of Austria. Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed fully under the administration of Austria. Bulgaria was erected by the treaty into a tributary principality under Turkish suzerainty, with the proviso that its local government should be Christian and that it should have a national militia. The prince was to be elected by the people, subject to confirmation, however, by the Sultan, with the consent of the signatory Powers, no member of any of the reigning houses of the great European Powers to be chosen. Eastern Rumelia also was carved out of Turkish territory. It was to remain under the direct political and military authority of Turkey, but with administrative liberties. A revolution broke out seven years later, 1885, when it proclaimed its independence of Turkey and its union with Bulgaria. Thereafter, by consent of the Powers, Turkey agreed to place East Rumelia under the governor-generalship of the Prince of Bulgaria, upon

the recession to Turkey of certain East Rumelian districts which were Mussulman; but this compromise was not carried out, and by force of circumstances rather than any agreement, East Rumelia has for all purposes become part of Bulgaria and is known as Southern Bulgaria.

To these Balkan provinces must be added that large section of Turkey known as Macedonia, in order to survey all the territory involved in the Balkan question. Macedonia is a collection of more or less Christian districts in Turkey, where religious antagonisms have made Turkish maladministration and persecution extreme. Its boundaries are indefinite. As described by the *Edinburgh Review*, it—

may be divided into three parallel zones—south, middle and north. The first comprises the strip which extends along the littoral to the Gulf of Salonica and the territory adjacent to Thessaly in the south and Epirus in the west. This is the only district occupied by a homogeneous population, and is purely Hellenic. The corresponding zone in the north is Slav, the Bulgarian element preponderating in the eastern and the Servian in the western portions of it. The intermediate zone, which forms the central third of the province, may be considered as debatable ground. It is in this zone that a truceless strife between Slav and Hellene is waged with unremitting vigor.

Under the Berlin treaty this territory was not segregated from Turkey, as were the other Christian principalities and districts, but Turkey was obligated to introduce immediate reforms there looking to the establishment of religious liberty. These obligations appear not to have been redeemed, and the region is ablaze with insurrection. Recapitulating conditions there several months ago, the periodical just quoted proceeds:

A wretchedly framed and more wretchedly administered fiscal system; a corrupt and indolent bureaucracy; want of justice, of security and of means of communication. To these evils must be added the moral degradation arising from the social subjection in which the Christian is held, from the insults heaped upon him at the least provocation, and from the high-handed insolence which always marks the Turk in his dealings with those whom he considers as so much property intrusted to him by Allah. The discontent which re-

sults from this state of unmitigated misery is intense, all the more so because it has to be pent up within the bosoms of the sufferers, and is not allowed any of those outlets which in other countries serve as safety-valves to popular indignation. Nor is it confined to Macedonia. The traveler sees eloquent signs of it in every part of the sultan's dominions, and everywhere it is a source of danger not to be ignored. But in Macedonia this danger is further accentuated by the fact that the animosity nourished by the subject races against the tyrant is equaled, if not surpassed, by the hatred of those races for each other.

It is by such conditions that the Macedonian insurrection has been fired.

A committee of Macedonians, with headquarters at Sofia, in Bulgaria, has long been established for the purpose of agitating for the reforms guaranteed by the Berlin treaty, and with a view also to the ultimate annexation of the Macedonian districts to Bulgaria. This committee works secretly, of course, fearing on the one hand the authority of Turkey, which is suzerain over Bulgaria, and on the other the interference of the Bulgarian government itself, which dare not openly countenance the annexation movement. Roumania and Servia are reported as unfriendly, fearing the extension of Bulgarian influence should Macedonia be annexed. The committee has within a few days officially described the Macedonian revolution in these words:

The present revolutionary organization came into existence nine years ago, when the persecution of the Bulgarian population of Macedonia became flagrant. To-day all Macedonia is embraced in the movement, and, though it was not intended to strike so soon, because the preparations for the uprising were not sufficiently completed, the recent outrages of the Turks, the massacres of the innocent, the filling of the prisons with the pacific rural population, pillaging entire villages and the extorting of heavy fines from others under various pretexts, so exasperated all that the insurrection was decided upon, no matter what might be the outcome. The fighting area is widening and will gradually embrace every vilayet in Macedonia until the autonomy of the country has been gained by force of arms or by the intervention of those great Powers which desire peace. Not until then will we lay down our arms. The object of the rising is to win reform which will assure to the Christian population of Macedonia security for their

lives and property, and the right to participate in the administration of the country.

For two years there have been frequent reports of revolutionary outbreaks in Macedonia. They finally became so numerous and ominous as to cause the Powers to act diplomatically. This action resulted in the submission last winter (vol. v, p. 728) to the Sultan, by Austria and Russia, with the approval of France, Great Britain and Italy (Germany holding aloof), of a note demanding the Macedonian reforms called for by the treaty of Berlin, and also the appointment of a governor for Macedonia (not necessarily a Christian), with authority to act without specific instructions from Constantinople.

According to the general reports that reach this country, the Sultan has not complied with these demands. In his behalf the contrary is claimed. At any rate, the insurrection has not been stayed. Early in March last a battle occurred near the village of Vladinorovo, between the Turkish soldiery and the Macedonian revolutionists under Boris Saraffo, a native Macedonian educated in Bulgaria, who is the military leader of the revolution. There were reports of other conflicts all through that month, and April furnished a succession of similar reports. It also appeared in April that the Turks were coming into collision in the Macedonian regions with Albanians, who are Mussulmans, and who had been aroused, it was reported, by the application by the Sultan of the demanded reforms to Albanian provinces. In connection with these Albanian revolts the Russian consul at Mitrovitz was shot and mortally wounded. The reports of the time were to the effect that murders, pillage, incendiarism and atrocities of every description were of daily occurrence, and that they were committed alike by Albanians, Turks and Bulgarians. There was no cessation in May. A battle occurred in the early part of that month in the Monastir district, in which both the Turks and the Macedonians suffered severely. There was also a serious outbreak in Salonica, where martial law

was thereupon proclaimed, and into the harbor of which squadrons of the Austrian and the Italian navies at once entered. Throughout the remainder of the Spring and into the Summer reports of sporadic conflicts were received, and now a general civil war seems to have broken out.

On the 6th of August it was reported that the governor's palace at Krushevo, in the Monastir region, and within a few miles of Monastir, had been dynamited by insurgents, and that the village of Dihovo, also near Monastir, had been burned by Turkish troops. Telegraphic communication between Monastir and Salonica was at that time interrupted. It has since been learned that the Russian consul at Monastir was murdered on the 8th by a Turkish policeman on duty outside the consulate. For this the Russian government has demanded the immediate and exemplary punishment of the policeman and of all officials, civil and military, who are responsible for his crime. From Salonica, on the 7th, came a report that four battalions of Turkish troops, supported by artillery, had met and routed a body of 1,700 Bulgarians on the 6th near Sorovitch. Still more significant was a report of the 11th from Sofia, Bulgaria, that the revolution had spread to the Uskub and Adrianople districts and that 30,000 armed insurgents were in the field. This was accompanied with accounts of the destruction of villages by both combatants in the Monastir region. Between then and the 12th the situation grew still more serious. A report of the latter date from Constantinople is to the effect that fighting was in progress in the Dibra district, where Albanians were attacking Bulgarian villages. The same report predicts a desperate battle at Krushevo, near Monastir. Macedonians to the number of several thousand held the town and were in possession of its arsenal filled with arms and ammunition. Turkish troops had twice assaulted the town and been each time repulsed. Four thousand Turkish infantry, with several batteries of artillery, were surrounding Krushevo at the time of the re-

port, and news of a battle was hourly expected. The report states that the Turkish troops were under orders to give no quarter.

An appeal to the Powers was made on the 10th by the Macedonian committee, urging intervention. It is signed by Tatartcheff, Christo and Matoff, and is as follows:

The Mussulmans' systematic persecution has compelled the Christians in Macedonia and the vilayet of Adrianople to institute a general uprising. They have had recourse to this extreme measure after exhausting all pacific means to secure the intervention of Europe to enforce the provisions of the Berlin treaty. At the present moment intervention is the only means of remedying the evil and stopping bloodshed. The sporadic efforts of the Powers to secure reforms having failed, they resulted merely in a recrudescence of Turkish fanaticism and government oppression. It is evident that reform measures to be efficacious must include the appointment of a Christian governor general of Macedonia, some one who has never held office under the Porte, and who must be independent of the Turkish government in the exercise of the functions, and the further appointment by the Powers of a joint permanent administrative board, with full powers to deal with any disturbance. Having published the foregoing facts to the civilized world and made known the causes which have driven the Macedonians to despair, the committee for the Macedonians now in arms proposes to continue the fight till the object of their uprising has been attained.

Bulgaria also has appealed to the Powers, doing so through an identical diplomatic note reported from Sofia on the 9th, and strongly suggestive of the war spirit there. In this note the Bulgarian government pledges itself to use its utmost efforts to pacify the unrest in Bulgaria caused by the uprising in Macedonia; but it insists that the Powers must do their part by taking the necessary steps to induce the Sultan to stop the persecution of the people and to quit using the savage bashi-bazouks in suppressing the Macedonian rebellion.

Another report of sanguinary difficulties in the Philippines (p. 281) is at hand this week. It comes from Manila and tells of an attack by 200 "ladrones," un-

der the command of "the notorious Ola," upon 25 members of the American constabulary under a native sergeant in the province of Albay on the 6th. According to this report the constables—

were forced to retreat into a stone house, where they were besieged half of the night. They finally made a sortie and charged the ladrones, killing 29 of them and capturing a dozen guns and several prisoners. There were no casualties among the constabulary. Col. Bandholtz reports six encounters with scattered bands of ladrones. Records which were captured show that these bands have been collecting tribute from natives and passing sentences of death on Filipinos who support the American administration. These disturbances seriously affect the hemp trade.

Negro lynching news in the United States (p. 281) for the week comprises five cases, in only one of which, however, was the victim murdered. One case was that of a well-known Negro lawyer of St. Clairsville, Ohio, near the West Virginia line, who was charged with an assault upon a white woman, and was pursued on the 6th by a mob of prominent citizens, bent upon lynching him. No result is reported. A Negro named Strong, in the custody of the sheriff at Henderson, Texas, accused of having attempted an assault upon a white woman, was taken from the sheriff by a mob on the 7th, and was about to be lynched, when the district judge saved him by promising speedy action by the grand jury. The next day he was sentenced to 99 years in the penitentiary. In Hillsboro, Ohio, an attempt was made on the 9th to lynch Maynard Hudson, a young Negro charged with attacking a little white girl, but the sheriff spirited his prisoner away. The news report, which is sympathetic with the lynchers, describes the town as being quiet on the following day, but says that "the white citizens openly declare that Hudson shall be lynched—or some other Negro—as a lesson to the blacks," who constitute almost half the population. At Hattiesburg, Miss., on the 8th, Amos Jones, a Negro, was hanged by a mob. He had attempted to break jail, along with another Negro and two white prisoners, and in the melee

had shot the jailer. On the 12th, at Indianapolis, a Negro named Kay Woods, who had shot a white man in the hand during a quarrel between them, was pursued by a lynching mob, but a policeman arrested him and with some difficulty held the mob at bay until he got his prisoner into jail.

There is no American political news for the week except from Ohio. After opening the Democratic campaign on the 30th at Canton (p. 281) Mayor Johnson went on the 5th to Urbana, where he addressed the Champaign county convention. This convention was addressed also by Mr. Bryan. The other speakers were John L. Zimmerman, of Springfield, and John J. Lentz, of Columbus. The convention chairman appointed a committee which selected delegates to the State convention, and these delegates afterward signed a pledge, not authorized by the convention, to vote for John L. Zimmerman for the gubernatorial nomination first, last and all the time. Mr. Zimmerman represents the conservative or so-called reactionary element of the party. The resolutions of the convention endorsed the Johnson policy. Since that convention the Hamilton county convention (Cincinnati), meeting on the 12th, has elected 42 delegates to the State convention, of whom a majority are reported to be for Zimmerman. The Johnson supporters, alleging that this convention had been packed by George B. Cox, the Republican "boss" of Cincinnati, are reported to have bolted, under the leadership of Herbert S. Bigelow.

Between these two conventions it was announced that John W. Bookwalter, of Springfield, will be a candidate before the State convention for United States Senator. Mayor Johnson is reported to favor Mr. Bookwalter. This announcement was followed on the 7th by one to the effect that Mr. Johnson had decided to allow his name to go before the convention for the gubernatorial nomination. Mr. Johnson has been averse to entering the State campaign as a candidate. He has expressed his hope that the Democrats may carry the legislature,

to the end that reforms in State legislation may be secured, but has coupled this with a positive refusal to be a candidate for United States Senator, and a statement that he would not be the gubernatorial candidate, unless assured that thereby he might help elect the legislative ticket. In reporting his decision to accept this nomination if offered him, the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 8th explained:

Although it is well known that Mayor Johnson's chief interest in the State campaign this Fall lies in the election of a Democratic legislature and the defeat of Senator Hanna in his desire for reelection, the Mayor will also enter the gubernatorial fight to win. His own success, however, will be a secondary consideration, and throughout the campaign his main attention will be given to the legislative fights in every county of the State.

The argument urged with most telling effect by those who have been importuning Mr. Johnson to become a candidate has been that with Mr. Johnson's name at the head of the ticket the chances for electing a Democratic legislature would be enhanced.

The outlook in Wall street is reported to have improved, although affairs there got worse before they showed signs of getting better. The market was demoralized after the failures on the 5th (p. 282), but after the first hour on the 6th it recovered somewhat. One small failure—Laidlaw & Garrie—was announced. The expectations, however, which this recovery aroused were disappointed on the 7th, and the market remained dull during the week and until the 11th, when a "more hopeful feeling was reported." A slight upward movement in prices was reported on the 12th.

Lieut. Gen. Nelson A. Miles retired from active service in the United States army on the 8th, having reached the age limit of 64 years. Gen. Miles, commanding general of the army at the time of his retirement, was not a West Point graduate. A civilian until he entered the army at the age of 22 as a volunteer officer of the 22nd Massachusetts infantry at the opening of the Civil War, he had risen to the command of a brigade when 25, and subsequently gained an enviable reputation on the Indian frontier. Gen. Miles was entirely out of

sympathy with the destructive policy regarding the Indians. Upon retiring on the 8th he addressed a farewell order to the army, in the course of which he said:

Unswerving devotion to our government and the principles upon which it was established and has been maintained is essential to the efficiency of the national forces; and especially is this so in a democratic government, where the individual, in order to be a perfect soldier, must first be a true citizen. The boast that every soldier of a great nation carried a marshal's baton in his knapsack is in a high sense more than equaled in significance by the fact that every American soldier personifies sovereign citizenship, and may by his own conduct exemplify impartial justice to those who have never experienced it, and the results of the highest liberty to those who have been strangers to it, thereby aiding to secure for his country a moral influence not otherwise attainable. . . . Always to maintain truth, honor and justice requires the highest moral courage, and is equally as important as fortitude in battle.

The only official notice of Gen. Miles's retirement after his long and distinguished service was the following order:

Washington, Aug. 8, 1903.—The retirement from active service by the President, August 8, 1903, of Lieut. Gen. Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A., by operation of law, under the provisions of the act of Congress, approved June 30, 1882, is announced. Lieut. Gen. Miles will proceed to his home. The travel enjoined is necessary for the public service. By order of the secretary of war.—H. C. Corbin, Adjutant General, Major General, U. S. A.

Another order assigned Lieut. Gen. S. B. M. Young to the command of the army until August 15, when he is ordered to assume the duties of chief of staff under the new army regulations.

NEWS NOTES.

—The Hungarian ministry resigned on the 10th.

—Pius X was crowned at Rome on the 9th as Pope of the Roman Catholic Church.

—The international convention of the Catholic Order of Foresters met at Dubuque on the 11th.

—The convention of the International Typographical Union opened its sessions at Washington on the 10th.

—The Philadelphia textile strikers (p. 170) to the number of 20,000 out of 80,000 decided on the 8th to return to work.

—An accident in the tunnel of the

Metropolitan Electric railway, Paris, on the 10th set fire to two trains and caused great loss of life. Bodies to the number of 94 have been recovered.

—In a railroad collision of circus trains on the Grand Trunk near Durand, Mich., on the 7th, 23 men were killed and about 30 severely wounded. They were members of the circus troupe.

—At the convention of the National Building Trades Council at Denver on the 11th a resolution endorsing Congressman William R. Hearst, for President of the United States, was adopted.

—In the British House of Lords on the 11th, the Irish land purchase bill (p. 264), as amended in behalf of the landlords, passed its third reading. It now goes back to the Commons for action on the Lords' amendments.

—A hurricane swept the west coast of Jamaica on the 11th, doing but little damage; but on the 12th it veered to the south, devastating the northern and eastern parts of the island, making thousands of the people homeless and killing 50 or more.

—John Gilbert Shanklin, of Evansville, one of the oldest editors of Indiana, and formerly secretary of state of that State, died on the 6th at the age of 62. He was a brother-in-law of Justice Harlan, and a democratic Democrat of national distinction.

—The Chicago traction question (p. 248) is to be complicated with another law suit. Walter K. Fifield, as a bondholder of the North Chicago company brought suit on the 12th in the State courts for a receiver, alleging that the suit in the Federal Court is collusive for the purpose of removing the assets as far as possible from the creditors, and that no defense will be made by the Union Traction company.

—The date for the dinner of the Chicago Commercial club to ex-President Cleveland (p. 257) has been finally set for October 14.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 215) for July, shows on hand July 31, 1903:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	28,291,444.21
Total.....	\$378,291,444.21
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1903.....	384,394,276.58
Decrease.....	\$6,102,832.37

—In an action brought by the Welsh Coal Owners Association against the Miners' Federation for \$500,000 for ordering a strike without consulting the owners, the English Court of Appeals decided on the 11th that the Federation is liable. In the lower court the decision had been in favor of the Federation on the ground that it acted without malice; and this decision is now reversed on the ground

that the Federation wilfully induced the miners to quit work in violation of their contracts.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 215) for the month ending July 31, 1903, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff.....	\$23,146,507.33
Internal revenue.....	21,959,749.37
Miscellaneous.....	3,506,325.22
	<hr/>
	\$48,611,575.92
Expenses:	
Civil and misc.....	\$14,739,368.16
War.....	17,953,685.24
Navy.....	7,879,645.62
Indians.....	1,470,394.25
Pensions.....	11,878,731.58
Interest.....	3,068,970.72
	<hr/>
	\$56,986,185.67
Deficit.....	<hr/>
	\$7,776,612.66

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE POPULIST REORGANIZATION.

The Commoner (Dem.), Aug. 7.—The committee declares that experience shows the futility of fusion and that "the time is now at hand when the united People's party should declare itself emphatically opposed to affiliation with either of these (Republican or Democratic) parties." Such a declaration would not be out of place coming from a committee of the middle-of-the-road Populists, for that party so declared in the last campaign; but the regular Populists favored fusion in the last campaign and they have had no opportunity to speak upon that question since. If the national committee of either of the old parties attempted to commit its party to a policy diametrically opposed to the policy of the previous campaign there would be a protest from the rank and file. Will the rank and file of the Populist party be less firm in their insistence upon a voice in determining the party's policy? In the second place, it will be noticed that the compromise is no compromise at all, but an open surrender of the regular organization to the middle-of-the-road organization. The united party adopts in toto the policy of those who in 1896 and 1900 bolted the regular convention and, while pretending great loyalty to the Populist party, gave what assistance they could to the Republican party. In Nebraska the leader of the middle-of-the-road movement of 1900 demanded and received of the Republicans a Federal office as a reward. . . . The most noteworthy part of the new platform, however, is its failure to deal with several vital issues of the day. While it adheres to the party's position on the money question it fails to make specific mention of the trust question or the question of imperialism. . . . And what a travesty to call upon the reform forces to unite to "obtain proper legislation whereby self-government may be had for themselves and posterity," and then pass over in silence the assault that is being made on the doctrine of self-government in the Philippines! Solicitude for our own rights will avail little if we ignore the rights of others, and a party that is willing to suppress an expression on so important a subject in order to conciliate the men who helped the Republicans carry out an imperialistic policy will not appeal very strongly to the friends of reform.

OHIO POLITICS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Aug. 11.—[Mayor Tom Johnson would invite the hostility of the McLean crowd in Cincinnati by running for governor. They would not hesitate to knife him at the polls—indeed, they would delight in the opportunity. Between Mr. Hanna on one side and Mr. McLean on the other Johnson's chances

must be regarded as slim.—Springfield Republican.] Mr. Johnson so regards them. He doesn't purpose running for governor in the hope of winning that office. He takes the burden of the race because he has been convinced that by doing so the legislature can be captured and Hanna thus put out of business. And Mr. Johnson has declared that in no event will he be a candidate for the senatorship.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Aug. 8.—Mayor Tom Johnson, of Cleveland, appears to have stirred up a hornet's nest with a syndicate of Ohio politicians, who in solemn conclave, with Mark Hanna at their head, aided by Mr. Herrick, Mark's candidate for governor, have resolved on administering the Cleveland mayor "a body blow that will put him off the political map of the State." As Mr. Johnson is likely to be nominated for governor, and make one of his characteristic and telling automobile canvasses of the State, this particular "body blow" is deemed of supreme importance. . . . The Republicans have called in the help of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet, and a score or so of United States senators, and declare their purpose to give the State such a canvass as it has never seen before, with money and trust pressure galore.

THE SINGLE TAX IDEA.

Chicago Chronicle (Ind.), Aug. 7.—There is something to be said in favor of the single tax contention. It is manifestly unjust to other taxpayers that some people should hold vacant land for years on speculation almost without taxation while people who have improved their land are punished by assessment of their property at its full value. There is no economic or ethical reason why the community at large should bear the burdens of people who choose to invest in unproductive property.

Milwaukee Free Press (Ind. Rep.), Aug. 6.—There is the principle of the single tax theory underlying this subject of bonuses for enterprises that bring large numbers of people into a place. It is not the shoe factory that is going to benefit Fond du Lac, but the 500 men and probably 2,000 women and children who will follow the factory there, needing shelter and sustenance, who will boom the town, filling up empty houses and requiring hundreds of new ones to be built. It is the people who are of value to the towns, not the factory. There might be ten such factories there, all of them run by people living in Oshkosh, coming and going daily; and in such case it would be the waste places and empty houses of Oshkosh that would be filled, and Oshkosh would get all the benefit. The value of real estate is in the people. Where they congregate the price of land is high. In deserted places it has no value. The price of land in Fond du Lac has advanced marvelously in two years because people have been coming there. The land itself is just what it always has been.

POLITICAL ETHICS.

The Nation (Ind.), Aug. 6.—Senator Platt agrees with Senator Gorman that it would be shocking to introduce the Negro question into politics. The matter is too grave, too painful, too heartrending for politicians to think of touching it. Politics being, in the Platt-Gorman definition, simply a scheme for dividing the offices, it is obvious that the intrusion of any such question as equal enforcement of the law or the vindication of elementary human rights, must seem to them a wild absurdity.

CLEVELAND'S WEALTH.

The Commoner (Dem.), July 31.—The Chicago Chronicle avows and avers that Mr. Cleveland has not grown rich in the service of the silver mine owners. This is all very well as far as it goes, but will the Chicago Chronicle be good enough, now that it is on that subject, to tell us in whose service Mr. Cleveland has grown rich?

MISCELLANY

IN THE VACANT SUBURBS.

For The Public.

How sifts the sunlight through these oaks
outspread!

And through their boughs what flash of
crimson wings!

Each cup and fern a fragrant censer
swings.

Earth's loveliness to me is dally bread.

At this rich board I bow my grateful head,
And eat and drink, the while my bosom
sings,—

Forgetting, for an hour, the thousand
stings

Of yonder city—Palace of the Dead!

At every living tomb, or South or North,

The spirit, heark'ning, heareth Nature
chide:

"O souls of men, to Beauty why so slow?
Day's realm awaits you! Lazarus, come
forth!"

And then, to them that stand the grave
beside:

"Unbind their cerements! Loose, and
let them go."

JAMES H. WEST.

A PROPER PROTEST.

The following letter, which has been sent
to President Roosevelt, explains itself.

To Theodore Roosevelt, President of the
United States of America, Washing-
ton, D. C.

Dear Sir: On July 28th I mailed a
personal letter to Mrs. Helen Wilmans
Post, editor of Freedom, Seabreeze, Fla.

To-day, August 3rd, that letter is re-
turned to me, unopened, with the word
"Fraudulent" written in red ink across
the face of it, and further stamped with
the order "Return to writer," which the
postmaster at Seabreeze could easily do,
as my name and address were plainly
written upon the envelope.

As the head of the administration, I
appeal to you, to ask by what right the
postal authorities at Washington pre-
sume to order the postmaster at Sea-
breeze or any other place, to refuse to
deliver letters which in themselves are
not fraudulent, nor do not otherwise
conflict with postal regulations, and
upon which full postage has been pre-
paid, to the parties to whom they are ad-
dressed?

If Mrs. Helen Wilmans Post, editor
of Freedom, of Seabreeze, Fla., has vio-
lated postal regulations by using the
mails for fraudulent purposes, why does
not the department proceed against her
in the usual manner and arrest her,
bring her to trial, and see that the
usual penalty for such violation is ad-
ministered, instead of taking such an
unwarranted and unprecedented action
as ordering the postmaster at Seabreeze
not to deliver her mail to her?

This latter action of Mr. Madden, or
whoever is responsible for it, is a high-

handed outrage and an infringement
upon the personal rights, not only of
Mrs. Helen Wilmans Post, but of every
person in the United States who may
have occasion to use the mails, which
they should not submit to, and it is time
that the people of the country learned
whether they have any rights which
Washington officials are bound to re-
spect.

To this end I address this letter to you,
as it is within your jurisdiction to see
that this malicious ruling of the post of-
fice department at Washington is
changed, or the one responsible for it is
removed from office.

By such an action on your part, the
people will know that you do not per-
sonally indorse what has every appear-
ance of a game of "hold up" to compel
the people to patronize private express
companies at the expense of the govern-
ment's postal system.

It ill becomes the post office depart-
ment at Washington to cry "stop thief"
at Mrs. Post or any other individual,
when so many men connected with that
department have been shown to be so
unquestionably corrupt as to make the
whole administration a stench in the
nostrils of every decent man and wom-
an in the country, and a reproach among
the nations of the earth.

I have sent my letter to Mrs. Post, to
the postmaster at Seabreeze, Fla., in its
original wrapper, with the demand that
it be delivered to Mrs. Post, as *my letter*
is not fraudulent, and I have complied in
every respect, with the usual postal
regulations and do not recognize any
right of authority upon the part of post
office officials to refuse to deliver it.

Trusting that this matter will receive
your earliest personal attention, I am,

Most respectfully yours,
HULDA L. POTTER-LOOMIS,
Chicago, Ill.

Aug. 3, 1903.

CAUSES OF MOB VIOLENCE.

A portion of a sermon delivered August
10, by Herbert S. Bigelow, at the Vine
street Congregational church, Cincinnati.

"The Lord set a mark upon Cain, lest any
finding him should kill him."—Genesis, 4:16.

In the treatment of this primeval mur-
derer, Cain, more good sense was shown
than can be found anywhere in the civ-
ilized world to-day.

You may take this Genesis story for
a statement of fact, or you may take
it for a work of fiction; no matter.

Reflect upon the course which the
Lord is said to have pursued with Cain
after the crime. It may not be history,
but it is sound philosophy.

Cain's murder made him an outcast.
Henceforth he was an object to be
shunned. His crime had set him apart

from society. This was his inevitable
punishment. But he was not to be mur-
dered because he was a murderer. He
was to be protected against the vio-
lence of the mob. He was permitted to
depart into the wilderness. There he
founded a city which he called after
the name of one of his sons. Vengeance
was not visited upon him. He was
banished beyond the pale of the society
which he had offended. But he was not
denied the right to work out his own
salvation. "Vengeance is mine. I will
repay."

What is the meaning of the present
epidemic of mob violence? It is an out-
burst of the spirit of revenge. The pop-
ulace still looks upon the punishment
of the law as society's method of get-
ting even. And when the law is slow it
sees nothing out of place in wreaking
its own vengeance upon offenders. Be-
tween the ordinary hanging, and a
lynching, the only difference to the av-
erage mind is a question of formalities;
the spirit is the same. It is the thirst
of blood for blood. If the state may
strike back, why not the mob? If it is
proper to take revenge, why be fastidi-
ous about the method? That is the un-
conscious logic of the street.

Popular government is at stake. Mob
violence should be put down. But we
need, too, a change of heart in our at-
titude toward criminals. The state, as
well as the mob, must know that "all
revenge is crime." We still believe as
Whittier said:

In staying Murder's hand
By murder at that Law's command.

In Kentucky the other day two boys
were hung by the sheriff. I care not
what the crime of those children was,
the law which hung them was conceived
in hate; it was executed in the spirit of
revenge, and it made the judge and the
jailer and the jurors the accomplices in
a murder at the law's command.

Here is the chamber of horrors where
men are officially executed. There is
the chair. There is the lever by which
the current is turned on. The guard
will tell you who last died there. This
man went to the chair protesting his
innocence. That one went with curses
on his lips. One was prostrated so that
they had to carry him. One nearly suc-
ceeded in committing suicide and rob-
bing the law of its murderous function.

I declare that in some respects the
murders committed in our penitentiaries
are more hateful than those committed
by the mob. The law is more or less
deliberate in the choice of its victim. To
that extent the innocent are protected.
But if there is anything more dastardly
than the violence of the mob, it is the
cold, calculating, studied legal murder
which the state commits against social

offenders. For almost without exception it is true that those who fill our penitentiaries and die on our scaffolds are among the disinherited of earth, who have been stunted in body and mind by the crimes of the law which presumes to punish them.

The other night, after a torrid day, I walked through a crowded section of our city. It was that part of the city under which the sewer mains pass which connect with the slaughterhouse region. The people swarmed the streets, and up into their nostrils came a sickening stench. The sewer belched its nauseous-gases into their very faces. Men and women were sprawled out on the pavement like panting dogs, and little children were sleeping near man-holes which gagged me with their poisonous vapors. Strangers to that region have been known to sicken and vomit on the street. By a mechanical device which would cost the city a little money the most of that stench could be carried away. But the city has no money. Yet, before our very eyes, men who have no visible means of support and whose only occupation is politics, are building themselves mansions and amassing fortunes. Our "best citizens," without a blush of shame, acknowledge this public plunder, and yet, for the sake of favors which they hope to receive, they hold their peace.

Some hapless child whose only playground has been over these belching man-holes, whose road to virtue has been made hard and whose road to vice has been made easy by these predatory politicians,—with abundant examples before him of rascality rewarded and honesty punished, some child arises from this human cesspool, and, less discreet than his oppressors, commits some crime which brings him to the penitentiary, perhaps to the gallows. How will you place responsibility for that crime? Justice steps between that youthful criminal and the state and says: "Let him that is guiltless cast the first stone."

How much better it would be for the state to set an example to the mob, by going out of the hanging business altogether, and deal with its criminals as Cain was dealt with! Establish a penal colony. Not a despotism, but a democracy. Give men free access to the earth. Give them more liberty. Give them better air. Give them greater opportunities. Merely require them to live apart from the rest of society. Let them work out their own salvation under freer conditions, after the manner of Cain and his descendants or the Australians.

The only objection to such a programme would be that thousands would

be willing, if necessary, to become criminals in order to gain admission to such a society. I would rather live under free conditions among criminals than with saints under a monopoly-ridden government. With freedom, criminals will become good; but without freedom there is no salvation, even for saints.

THE TRUTH ABOUT HAYTI.

By his Excellency J. N. Leger, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Hayti to the United States.

Reprinted by especial permission from the July number of the North American Review. Copyright, 1903, by the North American Review Publishing Company.

Now and then, sensational stories about Hayti appear in the newspapers. Sometimes people who are ignorant even of the correct geographical position of the island, think they can talk with competency about the Haytians and their country; and, indeed, statements from such a source are unworthy of attention. But, unfortunately, it seems that the strange inventions concerning voodoo, "papa-loi," etc., are beginning to be taken in earnest by the best men in the United States. I have just read in the May number of the North American Review what Mr. Colquhoun, writing on the future of the Negro, says about Hayti. I am not at liberty to discuss the Negro problem. That problem is for the American people a question of political and social interest; and it would not be proper for me to interfere in such a controversy, nor have I any desire to do so.

However, I cannot help noticing that many a time Hayti is made a scape-goat by men and newspapers who have a purpose of their own to serve: hence all the persistent and grotesque misrepresentations about a country which is struggling hard for progress and liberty. Mr. Colquhoun, whose good faith is certainly beyond question, must have been misled by these misrepresentations when he wrote that "Hayti has become a by-word among the nations, and it is incontrovertible that, with the removal of white control, the Negroes have reverted to a condition almost of savagery." In different words, this is the story about Hayti which is told over and over by sensational newspapers, viz.: "Hayti is less civilized than it was a hundred years ago; it is lapsing into barbarism."

All lovers of truth would prefer substantial facts to such asseverations. Nations, like individuals, have their honor, their dignity to maintain; they must have the right to ask their accusers for proofs, when an attempt is made upon their good name.

To be a by-word among the nations, Hayti must be, indeed, the worst country in the world. Whereas, any impartial observer, anyone who will take the trouble of thoroughly studying the people, their customs and their government, will reach but one conclusion: Hayti is no worse than the other Central and South American republics, and it is very far from relapsing into barbarism.

To revert to a condition almost of savagery, to relapse into barbarism, a nation must be, at the time when the charge is made, in a state of civilization less advanced than formerly, it must be going backward, instead of forward. So, to ascertain whether, since the removal of the white control, the Haytian Negroes have or have not "reverted to a condition almost of savagery," one must necessarily compare their condition to-day with their condition before the "removal of the white control." What was the condition of the Haytian Negroes a hundred years ago? They were slaves. They were treated like beasts. They were compelled to work like machines in the fields. They could not read. They could not write. They were not even good artisans, because they were not allowed to learn anything. The sanctity of their homes was held at naught and profaned; their daughters, their wives were mere pastime for their white masters. Their degradation was complete.

Such was the condition of the Haytian Negroes under the white control; a condition which will be found minutely described in the many books written on Santo-Domingo at the end of the eighteenth century or in the early days of the nineteenth century.

It is needless to say that the condition of the Haytian Negroes is quite different now. When the Haytians proclaimed their independence, all the Frenchmen were expelled from the country. The factories, the rich plantations, had been all destroyed during the war. The Haytians found themselves in possession of a devastated land. Besides, they agreed, in the first years of their independence, while the country was still in ashes, to pay a heavy indemnity to France. Hayti, being the first country to abolish slavery, met at the very beginning of its existence with the ill-will of all the powerful nations which were then slave-owners. These nations did their best to strangle in its cradle the young people whose entrance into political life was the most energetic refutation of absurd prejudices; the new state was, in their opinion, a bad example for their subjects in Jamaica, Cuba, Guadeloupe.

So Hayti could not rely on any outside help in building up its government

and educating its citizens, the majority of whom were men who had just emerged from slavery. The Haytians had then to create all instrumentalities of government and administration from statesmen to policemen. Their detractors do not seem to have ever thought of the difficulties they had to overcome. On the contrary, they affect to believe that my fellow-countrymen, to show their ability to govern themselves, ought to behave like saints, and to be perfect models of virtue; forgetting intentionally that some nations of the old world are still struggling to reach the best form of government, and are from time to time subject to appalling scandals. However, from the outset, the responsibility of the Haytians was great; their recognition of this responsibility helped them to work out their destiny. Their cities and towns have been rebuilt. They cultivate, nowadays, their own properties, for almost every inhabitant of the island is a landowner. Now every man is a man. The sons of the former slaves are to-day lawyers, doctors, physicians, architects, engineers, sculptors, chemists, skilled artisans, shrewd business men, good laborers; some of them, without being multi-millionaires, live on large incomes. The Haytians operate their own telegraph system; they control their own telephone system. They build their railroads without external help. Under the white control, there was not even a decent primary school in the island; to-day Hayti devotes almost a sixth of its revenues to education. All the schools are free, from the elementary ones to the highest. There are law schools, a medicine and pharmacy school, a school for electrical sciences, even a painting school; and these are open to all. Not satisfied with the knowledge acquired at home, many Haytians go to France to obtain still higher or special instruction; they achieve success in the French schools of mines, of agriculture, of moral and political sciences, etc.

Religion and education combine their efforts for the moral advancement of the mass of the people. Since 1860, there has been a concordat with the holy see. The pope has a diplomatic representative in Hayti, a legate; and Hayti sends a minister to the vatican, to say nothing of its other legations abroad. There is at least one Catholic priest in every commune of the republic. Almost all the priests are European; and, after living in the closest intimacy with people of all classes on the island, they return to Europe in their old age. Is it not strange that not one of them has ever mentioned voodoo or cannibalism as existing in Hayti? The same remark can be made

concerning the clergyman of the Protestant faith. They must know the country better than the traveler who spends but a few days in Port-au-Prince in quest of sensational news for a book or a credulous newspaper. Yet none of them has until now given an account of personal observation of voodoo or cannibalism there. And, as Mr. Bassett, a former United States minister to Hayti, properly said in an article on the subject: "How is it that the story is in general left to be told by fleeting visitors, who never, or at any rate very rarely, go among the country people, and who know little or nothing of their language?" The truth is that voodoo and cannibalism do not exist any more in Hayti than the "night doctor" in Washington.

Personal safety is everywhere assured; one can travel from one end of the island to the other without trouble or danger. In the remotest mountains, a foreigner will find peaceful, kind-hearted and hospitable men. There is no race prejudice or hatred. Frenchmen and Germans marry Haytian girls, and many Haytians have white wives; all of them have very happy homes.

In the light of these facts and conditions, which may be easily verified, Haytians may confidently appeal to the fair-minded and intelligent reader to decide whether the assertions so frequently made, that they are relapsing into barbarism, and reverting to a condition almost of savagery, are worthy of credence, or are merely unjust and unsupported aspersions upon a people who since their emancipation from white control, have been striving, with success commensurate with their opportunities, to attain the practical ideals of modern civilization.

Nine little shipyards, making lots of mon; Morgan made a Combine—and then there was but one!

One big shipyard, Schwab behind the gun; Haute Finance touched the fuse—and then there was none!

—McCready Sykes, in *Life*.

The American Eagle edged over toward the Russian Bear with real sorrow in his blood-red eyes.

"I feel keenly the disgrace you have brought upon modern civilization," he said, as he scratched the clothes off his Filipino children and shook out the change.

"It's a beastly shame, you know, to allow such outrages in your kingdom. Have you no sense of shame?"

"None whatever," said the Russian Bear, curtly. "I am but fulfilling my destiny."

"Well," said the Eagle, as he swooped down on two colored men and put them

slowly out of their misery, "you might at least be hypocritical about it and preserve appearances."—Tom Masson, in *Life*.

BOOKS

"GOD'S CHILDREN."

"A Modern Allegory" is the descriptive sub-title of this 113-page volume, which bears the name, as author, of James Allman (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.), and is about on the level, as a specimen of the allegorical art, with the products of the American Tract society of half a century ago. It is intended, however, to point a different and in many respects a better moral. Socialism is what it aims to inculcate, but a socialism which, as socialism, is out of date. Commonplace as the allegory is, it presents nevertheless a faithful picture of the paganistic piety and of the incongruities of wealth and poverty that appear in a great modern city.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Travels of John Wryland; being an account of his Journey to Tibet, of his Founding a Kingdom on the Island of Palti, and of his War Against the Ne-arians." Allentown, Pa.: The Equitable Publishing Co. To be reviewed.

—"The Future of War, in Its Financial, Economic and Political Relations." By Jean Block. Translated by R. C. Long, and with a conversation with the author by W. T. Stead and an introduction by Edwin D. Mead. Published for the International Union by Ginn & Co., Boston. To be reviewed. A book that every reader of *The Public* should own.

THE CLASSIC OF DEMOCRACY

Direct Legislation By The People

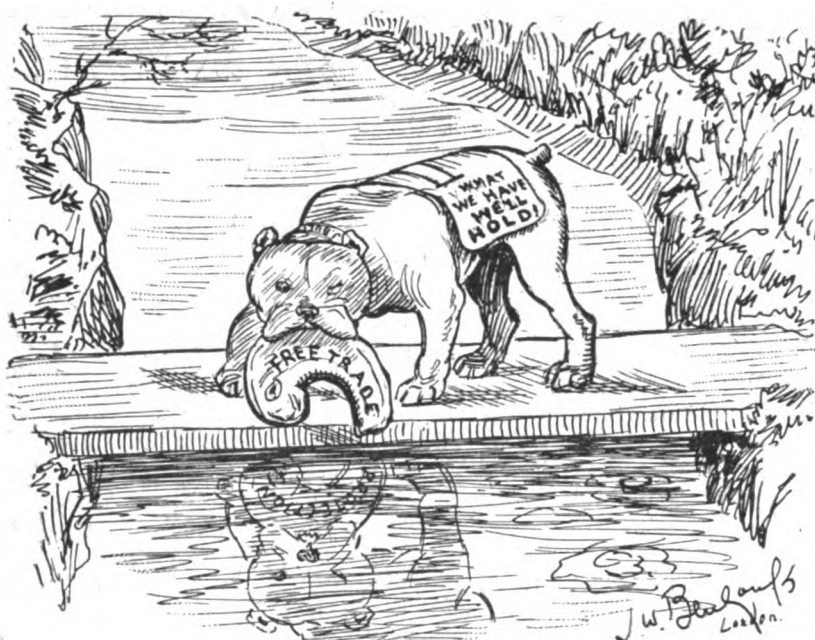
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF MARTIN RITTINGHAUSEN

This celebrated work, from the pen of the immortal founder of the Referendum, is now made accessible to English readers. It is the book which led to the establishment of the present form of legislation in Switzerland. The eminent Rittinghausen here lays down the principles of Direct Legislation by the people, showing it to be the only true type of democratic government; all other forms, and particularly the representative system, being shams. No social reformer, no matter of what creed, can fail to derive instruction from its pages.

Paper Cover, 15 cents. 8 copies, \$1.00 \$10.00 per 100 copies

TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS 17 East 16th St., New York

BY THE FATHER OF THE REFERENDUM



"SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW."

PERIODICALS.

Speaking of the passing of Miss Porter's famous school at Farmington, the Independent echoes a regret which many educators are beginning to feel. It is unquestionably true that in our highly-organized, machine-like schools we are in danger of missing that fine, unmanufacturable influence of culture, religion and dignity, which is something quite apart from the required "teacher's certificate," and quite apart even from the college graduate's diploma. "Doubtless," says the Independent, "many of its graduates have left Farmington woefully deficient by certain standards. On the other hand, they carried away what mere standards can never give, ideals of the meaning of life." J. H. D.

The way in which the orthodox, conservative periodicals allude to Judge Clark shows how unfamiliar these journals are with what may be called, for lack of a better name, reform literature. Even wide-awake Life, of Aug. 6, speaks of him as "a gentleman named Walter Clark, of North Carolina, a judge, highly spoken of by Mr. Bryan." In the same editorial Life makes a prophecy, as follows: "The Democrats will run some one next year. We guess he will be a man whom all Democrats can vote for; we guess he won't be Mr. Cleveland; we guess tariff revision will be the main issue of the campaign." If it should happen to be a gentleman named Walter Clark, we guess Life will vote for him. J. H. D.

Mr. William G. Nash, of Cataumet, Mass., has a letter in Harper's Weekly of Aug. 8 proving that Mr. Cleveland can not be elected. In the course of his letter he says: "If the Democratic convention should name Mr. Cleveland, it is certainly reasonable to suppose that Mr. Bryan would withdraw from the party, and lead the dissenters, or at least guide their campaign. Neither Mr. Cleveland nor his friends could complain if he did, for he would be doing what they did in 1896. We should then have the astonishing and interesting spectacle of three parties, each with a singularly popular leader, one ultra-conservative, one fairly so, and one frankly radical." Now who is the ultra-conservative or the one fairly so—Cleveland or Roosevelt—which is which? J. H. D.

The July-August number of the American Law Review (St. Louis) contains several articles of very unusual interest even to laymen. Mr. F. N. Judson, of St. Louis, the able writer on the subject of taxation, occupies the foremost place in the Review by the publication of his interesting and learned address before the Colorado University upon The Quarter Century in Amer-

ican Jurisprudence. In closing Mr. Judson said, "There is another form of warfare for which our system of jurisprudence provides no efficient preventive and that is the strife of class against class." One would like to ask what preventive there can be in this case except that of removing the cause. Another most interesting and valuable contribution to the present number is an article by Judge Walter Clark on Law and Human Progress. "Slowly, but surely," says Judge Clark, the ages lift humanity upward, and every step for the betterment of the condition of the masses is bitterly fought. But in that betterment lies the progress of civilization." Judge Clark is to address the Virginia State Bar Association at its meeting in August. J. H. D.

SERIOUS SOCIAL PROBLEMS

How about the trusts? Are they going to own the whole of the United States as they now own most of it? If not, what is to stop them? If they are, what becomes of the individual?

How long before the next panic? When the mills shut down to wait until consumption catches up with production, how about the right of every man to earn a living?

How are you going to use your vote to make conditions more secure for yourself and your fellow workers?

To questions like these there is just one straightforward, reasonable, logical answer, and that answer is given by the socialists.

Possibly you think you have no use for the socialists. But are you sure you know what their ideas really are? It isn't fair to them or to yourself to take your idea of them from the daily papers published in the interests of one of the old parties in general and the capitalists in particular.

There is one periodical that will teach you more about the socialist movement and the socialist philosophy than all the newspapers in America. It is called **The International Socialist Review**. It isn't very bulky, 64 pages monthly. It isn't as easy reading as the Police Gazette or the Ladies' Home Journal,—it treats of more important topics. It does not abuse the capitalists. It shows how necessary they have been in the past, and how unnecessary they have now become. It is the best exponent in the English language of the greatest political and social movement the world has ever known.

Price one dollar a year; ten cents a copy. A sample copy and a booklet on socialism will be mailed for six cents in stamps to any one mentioning this advertisement.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, Publishers
56 Fifth Avenue, CHICAGO

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with **THE PUBLIC** will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

TERMS—Annual Subscription, \$2.00; Semi-Annual Subscription, \$1.00; Quarterly Subscription, 50 cents; Trial Subscription (4 weeks), 10 cents; Single Copies, 5 cents. Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of **THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.** Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

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

ATTORNEYS.

EWING & RING,
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS,
HOUSTON, TEXAS.
Presley K. Ewing. Henry F. Ring.

FRED. CYRUS LEUBUSCHNE,
COUNSELOR AT LAW,
BENNETT BLDG.,
99 Nassau St., Borough of Manhattan,
Tel. Call, 4094 Cortlandt. Rooms 1041-1042,
NEW YORK.

CONTRACTORS.

G. H. ATKINSON & CO., CONTRACTORS,
JERSEY CITY, N. J.
Electric Light, Telephone and Municipal Work.
Trolley Roads Built and Financed.

Trade

The National Tea Bank

130-132 Water Street
NEW YORK

Since 1874 we have been supplying Banks, Institutions and families in all parts of the Union with

Finest Teas and Coffees

We can supply YOU.
Samples sent on application.
Write for booklet, "What You Should Know About Coffee."

The Anti-National Bank League.

Send 10 cents for prospectus to
FELIX GRUNDY, 278 Manhattan Ave.
NEW YORK.

Progressive Religious Literature free.
Apply Mrs. C. F. Wetmore, 4432 Sidney Avenue, Chicago.