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A great work in the renovation of Democratic politics was accomplished on the 26th at the Democratic convention of Ohio.

Tom L. Johnson's nomination for governor was something phenomenal, made as it was after a bitter fight against him at the primaries of the State, and by acclamation.

This is an inspiring example of what can be done without "boodle"—for it is now well understood in Ohio that Johnson uses no "boodle" in his political work, and that he spends but little money for any political purpose, however legitimate. He depends upon open and candid campaigning for radical democracy. This is what makes his public speaking so effective and his party organizing so successful.

Not the least of Johnson's accomplishments at the State convention was his exposure and repudiation of the Cincinnati "boodlers" who have manipulated Democratic politics in Hamilton county so long and so profitably. In Herbert S. Bigelow, Johnson has found a fighter who can not only talk about doing things, but can do them and does do them. It has taken Bigelow and Johnson three years to overthrow the Bernard ring of Cincinnati, but they have done it; and the State convention by a tremendous majority has indorsed their work.

Another of the men upon whom Johnson has learned by experience to trust—for his personal in-

tegrity, his oratorical power, his statesmanship, and his fundamental democracy—is John H. Clarke, whom the convention nominated as the direct adversary of Mr. Hanna in the Ohio senatorial contest. It was urged most strenuously against Mr. Clarke that he had bolted the Bryan nomination in 1896, but the convention sensibly refused to regard this objection in such a case.

It is true that Mr. Clarke does not believe in bimetallism, and that for that reason he voted against Mr. Bryan in 1896, as did many another man who is to-day among Mr. Bryan's staunchest coadjutors in politics. But in 1900 Mr. Clarke did not vote against Mr. Bryan. He both worked and voted for him. And while he is still a non-believer in bimetallism he is an adversary of financial monopoly as pronounced as is Mr. Johnson, of whose hostility to financial monopoly there is no ground for question. Moreover, Mr. Clarke stands squarely upon the platform adopted at Columbus, a platform regarding the construction of which he was consulted and of which he approved. Loyalty to the cause that Mr. Bryan so ably represents does not call for hostility to such a Democrat. Mr. Clarke is no "reorganizer," and there was no reasonable excuse for raising that objection. Before the campaign is well over, the democratic Democrats of Ohio and of the nation will rejoice that the objection did not prevail.

What may be the result of the Johnson campaign in Ohio cannot be predicted. But what Mr. Johnson is aiming to do should be understood in advance. He is quite indifferent to his own election. What he is concerned about is the legisla-

ture. To eject corporate influences from that body is necessary to the municipal reforms he has undertaken to accomplish in Cleveland. So long as the privileged corporations are in power in the legislature, municipal reform is in great degree impossible. It is to get rid of their power there that he consents to make a gubernatorial campaign to promote the legislative fight. Should he be elected, with an anti-monopoly legislature, so much the better. But if he secures the election of such a legislature, though failing of election himself, he will have no tears to shed. Johnson is of the kind of politicians that are so scarce that they are easily misunderstood at first. He has no private axes to grind, no private interests to serve, no private ambitions to obtrude. When his cause wins he wins, no matter what the effect upon his personal fortunes.

In view of the urgency of third party men, as exhibited at Denver recently (p. 290), to adopt a policy which can at this time serve no other purpose than to embarrass the real democrats of the Democratic party and give aid and comfort to the common enemy, we confess our great gratification at receiving so emphatic an endorsement of our opposition to this fatuous policy as is expressed in the subjoined letter from Gen. James B. Weaver:

I observe the recent action of the Populist committee at Denver does not meet your approval. I heartily concur with you. While I have great respect for the gentlemen present, I think the meeting and action taken premature and calculated to do harm. I so telegraphed, in substance, to the secretary at the time. While Democrats who adhere to the Kansas City platform are not Populists, yet they are truly democratic in spirit, sincere in purpose, formidable in numbers and organization, and represent all the reforms which the people are likely to accept during this

generation. Hence it is our duty to act with them, unless future events and plain duty impel a different course. When brazen imperialists and organized plutocracy, which is imperialism in business, aided by their powerful weapon, the subsidized press, are moving in solid phalanx to capture the Democratic organization, which is now out of their hands, patriots should not fall apart, but stand together like heroes upon line of battle. He who leads a column away from us on such an occasion defeats the very object he claims to have in view. The enemy will laugh at our factions, but he trembles before a united people. Again, in the great race before us, it is idle to expect our horse to win if we cut his hamstring before starting.

Gen. Weaver's record for devotion to principle in preference to party, together with his most distinguished service as a radical leader in American politics, should bespeak for his opinion the interest, respect and consideration of democratic men of all parties, factions and organizations.

Consistently with the whole Philippine policy, the American superintendent of schools at Manila sets up a sort of censorship to keep the American people in ignorance of carpet-bag government in the land of Aguinaldo. This loyal superintendent has addressed a circular letter to the teaching force in the Philippines. His letter should be read with thoughtful care. Here it is in full:

Circular to Division Superintendents and Teachers—Dear Sir: Because of our great distance from the States and the prevailing conditions here being different from conditions there, it is very difficult for home people to correctly understand many things that we may be disposed to say to them in letters. They get a wrong impression, talk matters over very freely, and frequently allow letters to be published, thus multiplying the wrong impression many times. Recently I have had my attention called to two cases of this kind, which have resulted in great embarrassment to the authors of the letters and considerable annoyance to the civil commission and this office. Teachers are requested to exercise such care as the situation demands, both in their statements and by special direction to correspondents, and all private communications shall be treated as such. Any misuse of matter sent to the States will be treated as if authorized by the party sending it.—E. B. Bryan, General Superintendent.

Observe the last sentence. "Any misuse of matter sent to the States will be treated as if authorized by the party sending it." What does that mean? Simply this: If teachers in the Philippines write home the truth about the carpetbag administration there, and the persons who receive these letters publish them, the teachers so writing will be punished. Discreet suppression appears to be one of the characteristics of benevolent assimilation.

The Steel trust is getting its feet more firmly than ever upon the ground. It was reported on the 20th from New York as having purchased the last large single block of ore property on the Messaba range in Minnesota, which is for sale. It is in this way that trusts are fortified. Mere combinations of capital, without land monopoly, are impotent. Capital can be multiplied. But natural resources, including rights of way over land, give to trusts a resistless power.

What trifling explanations the Chicago newspapers and rule-of-thumb business men are making of the burdens under which legitimate business there is struggling! With puerility that ought to disgrace the pupils of a high school they charge it all to the demands of labor unions. Yet at this very moment there are astounding revelations of conspiracies among business men to raise prices arbitrarily. Why should it be supposed that high wages obstruct prosperity and high prices do not? If conspiracies to raise the prices of commodities were not a factor, the demands of labor unions would do but little to cut off "prosperity." If monopoly prices for locations were destroyed, trades unions could do nothing to destroy prosperity.

An interesting exposure of the operations of a detective bureau in Cleveland, calling itself the "Corporations Auxiliary Company," has been made by a disgusted business establishment of

Connecticut—the D. R. Whiton Machine Company, of New London. Mr. Whiton publishes his full correspondence with this detective bureau which masquerades under so nice a name. The correspondence is too long for reproduction here, but it may be summarized as showing that the principal business of this Cleveland bureau, in which it seems to succeed, is putting spies upon labor organizations by introducing detectives into their membership. The details, as disclosed by Mr. Whiton's pamphlet, are somewhat startling and very interesting.

#### A NEGRO'S VIEW OF THE RACE PROBLEM.\*

The more one studies the present relations between the two great races of people in the South the more prominently does the fact loom up that "carpet bag" politics is chiefly responsible for the unreasonable estrangement of these people. "That might have accomplished much for the benefit of both races 20 years ago," said Rev. E. G. Coley, a leading Negro clergyman of Montgomery, Ala., in reply to the suggestion that Negroes lend political support to their white neighbors, "but I regard it as too late now." There is a general feeling, however, that if the Negro voter declares his po-

\*To appreciate fully the significance of this signed editorial (to which we have no hesitation, with reference both to the personal character and standing of its writer, and of the general nature of the editorial itself, in giving the endorsement of editorial position), it should be understood that it comes from the pen of a Negro business man and lawyer, who is in economics a disciple of Henry George, and in politics a democratic Democrat. Mr. Warren has for many years been well and favorably known at Mackinac Island. He resides in Detroit, but carries on a large business as barber at Mackinac during the summer months. Among his friends there is Edward Osgood Brown, the prominent Chicago lawyer and democratic Democrat, who was recently elected to the circuit court of Cook county, Ill. It was through his intimacy with Brown that he became a convert to the teachings of Henry George. Mr. Warren is also a lawyer, having graduated from the Detroit College of Law with the degree of L. L. B., and become a member of the bar of Michigan. With special reference to the interests of his race in the United States he is active in the movement for the migration of American Negroes to Africa, of which Bishop Henry M. Turner is the best known leader. Mr. Warren is vice president of the Colored National Emigration and Commercial Association, one of the projects of which is the establishment of a steam navigation line for cheap and direct travel between the United States and Africa.

litical independence by word and deed, the time will come when the white people will split on local questions and both sides of the split will seek Negro votes to help them win.

There are some Negro Democrats in the South, it is said. But the general expression of those blacks whom I have approached upon the subject is that it would be a very bitter pill to vote with the people and the party that have so ruthlessly pursued the work of their undoing. To them the word "democracy" is synonymous with oppression and disfranchisement. They do not readily understand that democratic principles must eventually be the guiding star of all parties and sections governed in the name of "democracy."

When we leave politics and glance at business and industry we find the Negro of the South employed in almost every vocation and the utmost confidence is placed in him by his employers. They work, however, for small pay, common laborers and teamsters getting from 75 cents to a dollar a day; and it is well-nigh impossible to subsist upon this pay, much less to save a competence or buy a home. Mechanics get from \$1.50 to \$2 a day, and many of them own their own homes and are leading the lives of excellent citizens in apparently well-to-do circumstances.

Business Negroes are numerous in Montgomery, and of these between 15 and 20 are said to be worth above \$10,000. It is astonishing how many highly intellectual and educated Negroes one meets in a day in that pretty Southern city, and it seems impossible that any dominant race could ever stigmatize them as incapable of self-government. The debates during the business sessions, last June, of the annual meeting of the Colored National Emigration and Commercial Association would have done credit to the halls of Congress. In point of logic, forensic power, and breadth of thought, a more earnest and capable body of men of any

race never met in convention. I believe that out of American bondage will come the civilization and salvation of the entire African race in Africa and elsewhere.

The population of Montgomery is about evenly divided between the races, and fully two-thirds of the Negroes have a strain of white blood. More than half of them range from mulattos to octoroons, it being impossible to distinguish many of the latter from white people, though there they are all classed as Negroes.

The whites of Alabama are now showing hostility to Negro business enterprises. At the last session of the legislature, legislation tending to embarrass Negro insurance companies is said to have been enacted. That the Negroes are smarting under their proscription is plainly apparent. The Negro countenance that formerly was smiling and happy has given way to an expression sad and serious in a marked degree. But they are not deficient in intelligence. I never talked an hour and a half on so dry a subject as that of taxation to an audience that was more attentive and appreciative than the Negro audience I recently addressed in Montgomery. On the day following many Negroes used expressions to me that left no doubt that they had not only understood my explanation of the single tax, but that they realized the boon it would be to the Negro race.

One cannot travel through the South and observe the wretched one-room huts that shelter large families, both white and black, in the outlying districts, without gaining a new appreciation of the great work being done by Booker Washington. With plenty of idle land round about, these people are either too lazy or too ignorant to provide for themselves a home fit to inhabit; and such institutions as Tuskegee not only teach men how to build homes, but they instill in the students thrifty habits that cling to them throughout their careers, and these in turn exercise a good influence upon all

with whom they come in contact after leaving their alma mater. Every Southern State is sorely in need of its Booker Washington to accomplish this work.

But the chasm separating the two races is being continually widened both by legislative enactment and by enforced custom. South of the Ohio river the "jim crow" car idea has been carried into the street cars. If a Negro complains to the officers of the law when the victim of the aggressions of white men he is laughed at. If he dares to exercise the right of self defense or attempts to defend his wife, daughter or sister he is promptly "lynched for assaulting a white man." When an employer refuses to pay a Negro employe for his work, the latter dare not question the word of the employer on pain of being mobbed. In short, the Negro in the South exists only by the sufferance of the ruling class. So long as he will tamely submit to the conditions imposed by law or custom, but mostly by custom, he must do the work of the ruling class, accept the pay offered, and ask no questions. To this latter condition there is an apparent exception. Where unions are formed they manage to exact union wages, though the number of Negroes belonging to unions is relatively very small.

The constant bombardment of Negro character through the press of the country has had its effect north of the Ohio river also. This is plainly apparent to one visiting those sections at intervals of a decade. Twelve years ago, to the personal knowledge of the writer, no objection was made in various restaurants, saloons and places of amusement in Cincinnati to Negro patrons. To-day this is all changed. Negroes are not permitted even to buy a glass of soda water in a drug store, nor are they accommodated in any of the businesses above mentioned when conducted by whites. As far as their civil rights are concerned they are here in little better position than their brethren on the southern side of the Ohio river.

Two causes seem to be chiefly responsible for this state of affairs between the races, namely, the attitude of politicians and that of the press. It is always to the interest of politicians having control of affairs to narrow and limit the sources from which to draw public officials, for the smaller the number of office seekers the easier they may be controlled within certain lines. Now Southern politicians, when they set about the task of rendering the work of Congress, in granting the suffrage to ex-slaves, a nullity, had an existing prejudice between the races at the start to work upon; and, having many examples, no doubt, of misgovernment by "carpet baggers," they found it quite easy to drive the Republicans (i. e., blacks) from the field of politics by intimidation and force of mob law. But later, desiring to legally perpetuate what they had accomplished lawlessly, they set about discrediting the Southern blacks at the North by a systematic use of the press to advertise the crimes of Negroes, real or supposed, thus rendering neutral any Northern opposition to the constitutional amendments of various Southern States disfranchising the Negro vote under the plea that Negroes were unfit to exercise the suffrage.

What the future has in store for the black man in the United States is perhaps largely problematical. It would seem that the race question, so called, can never be settled in this country of democratic constitutional law until all men are fully accorded all the rights and privileges that any class of men enjoy by reason of said law. The opposition to such a programme is very powerful and apparently growing. But there are, I think, two suggestions that may be successfully employed which would at least in a measure obviate the horrors of the race war towards which we seem to be drifting.

First, the word "Negro" or "colored" should be eliminated from all press dispatches in connection with crimes, and the perpetrators of crimes be reported by name only, the same as is done when persons of other races commit crimes. By so doing the Negro would not be constantly

held up before the public as a race of wrong-doers, and the public would soon cease to look upon them as such and would come to judge all men by their individual character, as is now the case with all other races except the Negro.

During the last week in June of the present year there was printed in one of the great journals of the country, published in the State of Kentucky, a column editorial entitled "Remove the Cause," in which it was declared that the reason more Negroes are lynched than white men is because more Negroes commit the crimes which call forth the wrath of the mob. That editorial drew a vivid picture of the sufferings of the victim of the "criminal assaulter" and of the family concerned, by way of excusing the mob for taking the law into its own hands. But it did not explain how the Bellville, Ill., mob came to lynch and burn a Negro for murder, nor upon what grounds of justification the masked Arkansas mob lynched a Negro for assault and battery upon a white man.

In the same issue of that paper was a reporter's account of the capture of a white man caught in the act of assaulting a six-year-old white girl in the neighborhood where the journal is published. I have watched the dispatches in vain for an account of his "burning at the stake" by "an outraged people." It appears he is still in jail awaiting a trial by the tribunal established for the purpose of disposing of such cases according to law. The report of his crime also disclosed the fact that he had already served a year, from May, 1896, to May, 1897, for the crime of rape, committed upon a white child. Had this white criminal been a Negro, he would not only have paid the penalty with his life at the stake, but his crime would have been held up to the world as one peculiar to the Negro.

The other measure that I think would tend to mitigate the difficulty between the races would be the establishment of a steamship line between some Southern port and Africa, whereby all ambitious and dissatisfied Negroes might secure cheap transporta-

tion to a country where American Negroes are leaders of their kind and where they preserve life, cherish liberty and pursue happiness without let or hindrance.

If the idea once takes root in the South that the Negro is going to emigrate, and that there is a way provided for him to go, it is certain that measures will there be adopted to prevent the Negro from leaving—even unto granting him the simple justice of equal civil and political rights with other men.

The South needs its Negro labor, and that it will adopt measures to retain this element of its population is shown by the fact that many of the Southern States have adopted laws prohibiting agents from inducing laborers to emigrate to other States. African emigration, then, would provide a prolific opportunity for those Negroes who choose to leave the conditions that surround them here; and at the same time it would render a lasting service to those who remained in the United States.

FRANK H. WARREN.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cleveland, O., Aug. 24.—The Democratic State convention and Mayor Tom L. Johnson's prospective nomination for governor of Ohio is the engrossing subject of interest here. Until three o'clock on the 22d, there was not the slightest indication of any opposition from Mayor Johnson's own county, to the anti-corporation, home rule, and just taxation policy which he and his supporters are advancing into State politics.

The Democratic primaries had been held, and no opposition had developed here. The county convention, composed of delegates chosen at these primaries, had come together on the 22d, and, without a hitch, had done its work, naming a local ticket composed of men of conceded ability. At the head of the senatorial ticket was Frederick C. Howe, who, as a Republican member of the city council two years ago, joined Mayor Johnson in his fight against corporate monopoly and unjust taxation. Besides choosing a local ticket, the county convention named the delegates of Cuyahoga county to the State convention.

Not until after the adjournment of the county convention were there any signs of opposition or dissatisfaction. But three hours later, an opposition meeting was held which gravely resolved itself into a nominating conven-

tion. Its members, except seven, had not been elected at any primaries. These seven had been elected to the regular convention, but had made no protest there or anywhere else against its election, organization or proceedings. The meeting had gathered secretly, without public announcement. It was managed by an attorney of the gas company. Its members were few, and these were mostly old-time office holders, corporation leeches, and men discharged from the public works for incapacity or worse. Nothing was known of its existence until it had adjourned and announced the selection of a full contesting delegation to the State convention. This delegation is made up of as fine an assortment of corporation lawyers, saloon politicians, and assistant Republicans generally as could be found in a week's journey.

The motive is plain. So is the source of the organization. It is one of Senator Hanna's side-shows. Mr. Hanna is moving heaven and earth to prevent Johnson's nomination for governor. On the surface he pretends to want it badly. His candidate for governor, Mr. Herrick, takes pains to publicly profess to welcome Johnson's nomination by the Democrats as the weakest possible, and the Hanna papers over the State take up the echo. But, all the same, they are fighting his nomination "tooth and toenail." This is the meaning of the fights for Zimmerman at the Democratic primaries in other parts of the State. Hanna and McLean have joined hands to get Johnson out of the way. Their efforts have not succeeded well. The delegates to the State convention are overwhelmingly for Johnson. It is to balk this pronounced demand of the rank and file of the Democratic party, that the "fake" contest from Cuyahoga county and similar contests from other counties are being organized with Senator Hanna's campaign funds.

In the midst of the turmoil which this excites, Mayor Johnson was advised that Mr. Bookwalter, upon whom he had relied as the party nominee for United States senator, had decided to decline a nomination. A hurried interview between Mr. Johnson and Mr. Bookwalter revealed the unalterableness of the latter's decision.

Then came renewals of the urgent demands that the declarations of the convention of last year be ignored and no candidate for senator be nominated. Mayor Johnson refuses to lend himself to this proposal. He objects, for one thing, to leaving the senatorship open to a scandalous and demoralizing scramble in the legislature, certain to result in auctioning off the office. Furthermore he positively declines to be the candidate for governor unless the convention nominates a candidate for senator, explaining that he will not be put into the position of appearing to be a senatorial possibility himself.

The first day of the convention is

the 25th, but only preliminary committee work will be done on that day. Early in the morning a special train leaves Cleveland for Columbus carrying the Cuyahoga delegates and their friends.

Columbus, O., Aug. 26.—When the regular delegation from Cuyahoga county arrived at Columbus yesterday morning the air was full of predictions that Johnson was losing ground. The campaign against "Johnsonism," which had for weeks been carried on through Republican and reactionary Democratic papers, and spoils-hunting wire pullers, all at the expense of Mr. Hanna's campaign fund, had culminated at this central point on the eve of the State convention. It was an ear-splitting tin-can campaign of opposition. But in a few hours the uproar subsided. Mr. Hanna's Republican campaign within the Democratic party had completely and ignominiously collapsed.

The State committee assembled in the afternoon of the 25th. A test vote soon showed that it stood 18 to 3 for Johnson's policy. One of the first duties it performed was to dispose of the contests. That from Cleveland required but little time and caused no trouble. Upon the written statement of the chairman of the meeting which had named the contesting delegation it appeared that the meeting had been organized to make a "fake" contest. The committee decided upon the facts as presented by the contestants themselves that a delegation appointed by a secret meeting, secretly called, and without even a pretense of having so much as sought support at primaries, was not a contesting delegation. Accordingly it refused to send this "contest" to the committee on contested seats, but ruled it out as manifestly fraudulent.

The contest from Cincinnati, led by Herbert S. Bigelow on one side and Lewis G. Barnard on the other (p. 312) was sent by the State committee to the credentials committee of the convention. So also were all other contests, seven or eight in number.

Meanwhile the various delegations had made their selections for the credentials committee, and that committee had assembled and organized. Before midnight it had decided them all. The decision in the Cincinnati case was in favor of Bigelow by 16 to 3. The importance of this action consisted in its taking Barnard (McLean's manager and the Democratic lieutenant of the Republican boss of Hamilton county) off the State committee and out of Democratic leadership in Cincinnati. Other bosses, such as the "Bernard" of Toledo and Congressman Norton (against whose reelection Johnson successfully campaigned last Fall) were similarly disposed of. These spoils hunting "reorganizers" were lifted out of the political swim.

At this time the committee on reso-

lutions also was in session. It did not finish its work until after midnight. Long before that, however, the collapse of the reactionary anti-Johnson movement was conceded. Zimmerman had really retired from the field, and the loud boasting of the Republican papers through their flaring headlines began to look extremely silly. The chorus had been, "Johnson Beaten," or words to that effect. On the 26th the chorus was like this: "Tom L. Johnson Dictator."

A little before noon on the 26th the convention assembled. In order to pursue their opposition, the anti-Johnson forces united upon opposition to the nomination of any candidate for United States senator, a policy to which some of Johnson's own supporters were opposed. They were of the old type of politicians who believe in the old machine methods, and who argued that it would be good politics to leave the nomination for senator open to a scramble in the legislature, so as to make every aspirant believe that he might have a chance. But even with this advantage the anti-Johnsonites polled only 211 votes to 446—less than a third.

Some further factious opposition was made upon the basis of a "reorganizers" platform offered as a minority report, but it was voted down overwhelmingly and the Johnson platform adopted.

So fast did the opposition now recede, that when nominations were made Johnson's was the only name proposed. He was nominated by John H. Clarke, in a brilliant speech of the democratic-Democrat order. Not so much as a roll call was demanded and Johnson was nominated for governor by acclamation. The enthusiasm was wild as Johnson, responding to repeated calls, left his seat in the Cuyahoga delegation and went to the platform. He made a short business-like speech, which was interesting throughout and in places thrilling. It was prophetic of a campaign which for vigor and democratic spirit has never before been experienced in Ohio.

Next in order was the nomination of a candidate for United States senator. Mr. Johnson's original choice was Mr. Bookwalter, a free silver Democrat who had announced his candidacy but had at the last moment withdrawn it. Therefore Johnson threw his influence to John H. Clarke, of Cuyahoga. Objections were raised to Mr. Clarke because he had opposed Bryan in 1896 and gone off with Palmer and Buckner. Notwithstanding the fact that in 1900 he cordially supported Bryan, that he has been one of Johnson's most efficient supporters in all his campaigns for two years and more, and that he approved the radically democratic platform just adopted, there was opposition to him from several quarters. This opposition was reinforced by the remnant of the opposition which had so bitterly fought Johnson himself. Two ballots were

taken, with three candidates at each ballot—John H. Clarke, John J. Lentz and Gaylord M. Saltzgeber, who had been temporary chairman of the convention. The second ballot resulted in the selection of Mr. Clarke, the vote being 95 for Saltzgeber, 205 for Lentz and 395 for Clarke.

The next important nomination was that of Frank M. Monett, the former attorney general of the State whom Mr. Hanna shut off from renomination because of his vigorous legal proceedings against the Standard Oil trust.

L. F. P.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 27.

The leading news event of the week in the United States is the action of the Democratic convention of Ohio, which met at Columbus on the 25th, and concluded its work on the 26th.

At this convention Tom L. Johnson was nominated for governor by acclamation. Frank H. Monett received the nomination for attorney general, and John H. Clarke was named as the party candidate for United States senator. The nomination of Johnson and Clarke, both of Cleveland, makes a peculiar situation; for the Republican candidates, Herrick for governor and Hanna for senator, also live in Cleveland. The campaign will probably be an extension of the Cleveland contest to the whole State.

The platform adopted, omitting matters of only local significance or interest, is as follows:

The Democrats of Ohio, in convention assembled, reaffirming the declarations on national issues of our platform adopted at Sandusky, hereby renew our allegiance to the Democratic party of the nation, and again avow our devotion to the principles of its last national platform. We accordingly condemn colonialism and imperialism, denounce trust and trust-fostering tariffs, repudiate government by injunction, and oppose financial monopoly, together with every other legalized monopoly and special privilege. Adhering to these principles of the Kansas City platform, we repeat our condemnation of all efforts to renounce or ignore them.

We nevertheless urge the people of Ohio, regardless of party, to consider the transcendent importance of State over national issues at the coming election. National policies are not at

stake. Although one seat in the United States Senate depends upon the political complexion of our next legislature, no other national consideration does; and the Republican party is so largely in the majority in the United States Senate as to deprive that consideration of all practical importance. The vital question, therefore, which now confronts the voters of our State, Republicans as well as Democrats, is a local question. They are to determine whether the personal ambitions of one man for reelection to the Federal Senate, shall be gratified at the expense of placing the vast local interests of all the people of Ohio at the mercy of a State government nominated by and in alliance with the privileged corporations. Let the people of Ohio consider what is really involved in this election. Great corporations, possessing valuable and oppressive franchises and reaching out for more, have effected a union with the leaders of the Republican party in Ohio. So intimate has this union grown, that it can no longer be determined where the legitimate politics of the Republican party leaves off and the corrupt politics of the privileged corporations begins. In consequence of that coalition of corporation magnates with Republican managers, in some instances identical in person, the people of all political parties have been systematically plundered and oppressed.

Having then enumerated the leading items of misgovernment of the Republican party in Ohio under the manipulation of this ring, the platform proceeds to summarize the Republican record in the State on the subject of taxation:

In consequence of the alliance of privileged corporations and Republican managers in Ohio, the recent history of the Republican party of this State in connection with taxation is a glaring and unvarying record of double dealing with the people, of favoritism toward railroad, street car, and other public service corporations, of arbitrary interference with such local officials as have tried to remedy these fiscal abuses, and of free pass bribery—open, bold and habitual—together with indications of kinds of bribery more profitable and potent, though less audacious. With such a record it is natural that the Republican leaders and their corporate allies and beneficiaries should endeavor to avoid a campaign on State issues. Their bad record in state and municipal government is explanation enough of their challenge to a controversy upon national issues, at a time when and in a State where no national principle or policy is at stake, either directly or indirectly.

There is no effort at concealing the part in this alliance with cor-

porations which corrupt Democrats play. On the contrary, an open confession is made. The platform on this point reads:

That the alliance of Republican leaders in Ohio with the privileged corporations has the aid of some Ohio Democrats, we freely concede. But these Democrats are not in control of the Democratic party of the State; and that party as now organized is rebuking and disowning them as fast as it finds them out. An object lesson on this point was furnished at the special session of the legislature. Eight Democratic legislators supported the corporation alliance by voting for the Cincinnati "curative act." For this treachery to their party, and violation of their pledges to the people, every one of them has been relegated to private life by the Democratic party. While conceding that some Ohio Democrats are corruptly allied with the privileged corporations, we ask the people of the State to observe an important fact in that connection. In the Democratic party as now organized, Democrats who serve such alliances are punished; whereas, in the Republican party as now controlled, Republicans who make such alliances are rewarded.

The conclusion of the main part of the platform is as follows:

We confidently believe that the awakened voters of the Republican party in Ohio will no longer tolerate the betrayal of the public interests and their own confidence, by their party managers and the privileged corporations to whose service those party managers are primarily devoted. Republicans by thousands have refused to do so in the city of Cleveland, where the Democratic party is now successfully leading the fight of the people against the privileged corporations and their confederates in both parties. But this is a State fight, and must be waged in every part of the State. The legislature must be recovered from the corporations and restored to its proper place as an agent of popular government. The fight for that object must be unflinching and unremitting. It must be not for one campaign only, but for all campaigns until the corporations are driven out of politics. The present campaign is especially opportune for this purpose. The absence from it of every reasonable ground for solicitude respecting national issues, enables the people to express themselves without hesitation or reservation in favor of home rule and just taxation, and against the continued reign of privileged corporations in the State of Ohio.

The remainder of the platform consists of a series of specific pledges and promises. Those of general interest may be summarized as follows:

Appraisements of the property of pub-

lic service corporations to be at salable value.

Public service corporations to be required to make public reports.

Free passes on railroads denounced and a minimum passenger rate of two cents a mile advocated.

Government by injunction condemned.

Home rule for counties, cities and villages, and extension of merit system of civil service to all city departments, including water and lighting service now authorized by law, and municipal street car service, etc., as introduced.

All franchises to be submitted to popular vote, and initiative and referendum applied to all other matters of legislation.

Custom of compelling railway employes to insure with the companies and to waive claims for damages, to be declared null and void.

A school law that shall preserve the principle of home rule and prevent the extortions of book trusts.

Election of United States senators by the people, and nomination of United States senators by party conventions.

The pledge regarding all these promises reads:

Upon these principles of home rule and just taxation, and to the accomplishment of these purposes in municipal and State affairs, we invite the cooperation of all citizens of Ohio, regardless of their party affiliations or personal views on national questions, hereby solemnly pledging our candidates to the faithful observance of this platform of principles and declaration of purposes, both in letter and in spirit.

A resolution proposed by the committee on resolutions, and adopted by the convention, instructs the executive committee to invite Mr. Bryan to participate in the State campaign.

The only other political event of note is the action of the Populist convention of Nebraska. It met at Grand Island on the 26th. A motion that the convention approve the action of the Denver conference (p. 262) declaring against fusion was voted down and a substitute adopted. The substitute referred the question of fusion to the Populist national convention of 1904. This action was followed by the nomination by this convention and the Democratic convention, in session at Omaha, of a fusion State ticket.

In Europe, the Macedonian insurrection (p. 311) continues to concentrate attention. Turkish official reports of the 20th were to

the effect that Kushevo (p. 312) was still in the hands of the insurgents. But Associated Press reports of the 21st, from its correspondent at Monastir and coming by way of Salonica, confirmed the earlier reports. They stated that the Turks had taken possession of Krushevo on the 14th and had pillaged the houses and massacred the people. Reports of widespread fighting throughout the Macedonian region continue. An important battle was said to be in progress on the 21st near Flornia, which was occupied by an insurgent garrison. The town had been bombarded and the garrison annihilated; and the battle was then raging among the neighboring villages. On the 24th the reports were to the effect that the previous reports of massacres were being verified and that the Monastir region was completely under Turkish control. At that time it was apprehended that the insurgents would move the center of their activities closer to the Bulgarian frontiers. The latest reports of the situation are from Sofia. They tell, on the one hand, of the calling out by the Sultan of reserves sufficient to bring the force in the field up to nearly 350,000 men, and on the other hand of a fresh appeal by the Macedonian committee to the Powers for intervention.

The Russian squadron which, at the time of our last report (p. 312-13), had arrived off Jani Ada has been withdrawn. Its contemplated withdrawal was reported from Paris on the 21st. These reports indicated that the Turkish government had given adequate assurances to Russia, and that the withdrawal would be made in consequence. They were confirmed on the 23d by dispatches from Constantinople, announcing full compliance by Turkey with Russia's demands regarding the murder of her consul at Monastir, and the sailing of the Russian squadron out of Turkish waters.

Greece has followed the example of Bulgaria (p. 312) by appealing to the great Powers. On the 20th the premier of the Grecian ministry, who is foreign minister, communicated to the representatives of the Powers at Athens the gist of the reports made by Greek con-

suls in Macedonia, showing numerous outrages, and asked intervention to terminate the disturbed condition in Macedonia.

Regarding the report that the British squadron in the Mediterranean had been ordered immediately to Salonica (p. 313), the British admiralty denied on the 20th that any such orders had been issued.

British military operations in Nigeria (p. 89) appear to be unfinished. The British colonial office made public a dispatch on the 20th which had been received from the British governor of Northern Nigeria. It stated that a British column, consisting of thirty whites and 500 natives, with four Maxim guns, successfully attacked Burmi on July 27. After a determined fight the tribesmen were routed. They suffered a loss of 700 killed. The town was destroyed. The British loss was eleven killed and seventy wounded. The former sultan of Sokoto and most of the chiefs were killed.

The British-American yacht race at New York on the 20th, between Shamrock III. (British) and Reliance (United States), was declared off for the day, the wind being too light to carry either boat over the course within the prescribed time. On the 22d the first race of the series was completed and the Reliance won it by 7 minutes and 2 seconds. The second race came off on the 25th. This also was won by the Reliance, the corrected time being 1 minute and 19 seconds.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—Lord Salisbury, formerly premier of the British ministry, who recently resigned and was succeeded by Balfour (vol. v., p. 232), died on the 22d.

—Secretary Root sailed from New York for Liverpool on the 21st to attend the meetings of the Alaska boundary commission, of which he is a member.

—Elihu Root's resignation as secretary of war was tendered and accepted on the 25th, and Gov. Taft, of the Philippines, was appointed in his place. Luke E. Wright is to succeed Gov. Taft.

—The arbitrators appointed by the Czar to consider the question of priority of the claims of the three blockading powers against Venezuela (vol. v., p.

728) to 30 per cent. of the customs duties will hold their first meeting on September 1.

—Altenberg, or Moresnet, the little neutral district barely covering one and one-half square miles and having a population of about 2,500, has ceased to be, Prussia having surrendered her claims, dating from the Napoleonic period, to Belgium.

—Great Britain has offered the Jews a vast tract of territory in East Africa for Jewish colonization. The offer was considered at the sixth Zionist congress in Basel, Switzerland, which on the 26th appointed an inspection committee to view the land.

—The national shorthand reporters' convention, in session at Cincinnati on the 21st, presented a gold medal to Ben Pitman, of that city. Mr. Pitman, a brother of Sir Isaac Pitman, the inventor of phonetic shorthand, is the pioneer of that system in the United States.

—At San Francisco on the 20th Gen. John C. Black, of Illinois, was elected commander in chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. Resolutions adopted before adjournment on the 21st were highly complimentary to Gen. Miles. Boston was chosen as the place for the next meeting.

—The eruption of Mt. Vesuvius (p. 314) was reported on the 26th as becoming more alarming, an immense column of lava having on that day burst through the side of the mountain 1,000 feet below the central cone. A stream of lava 15 feet in diameter was being thrown 700 feet into the air.

—The item of the week in connection with the subject of Negro lynching (p. 298) is the conviction of the leader of the Danville (Ill.) mob which seized and murdered a Negro prisoner. The specific charge upon which this lyncher has been convicted is assault upon the sheriff with intent to kill.

—The world's record for horse trotting was reduced on the 24th to 2 minutes. The winner is Lou Dillon, a mare without a record and almost without breeding, her sire having been a horse of only average ability and her dam being described as "short bred" and without "a place in the stud book."

—Associated Press dispatches of the 21st from Berlin report that the Socialists are entitled to have appointed from their party one of the three vice presidents of the Reichstag, on account of their increased representation, and that the other parties appear willing to concede this; but that the Socialist leaders differ as to whether they ought to accept the office. Bebel opposes, while Bernstein favors accepting.

—The Public Printer of Washington issued an order on the 26th requiring all the heads of divisions in the government printing office to file an oath of allegiance to the United States. It was

announced that the same order would be extended to all employees. In explanation it is said that this requirement is to offset the oath of the Typographical union, which pledges its members to loyalty to their organization without reference to the allegiance they owe or may owe or may come to owe "to any other organization—social, political or religious."

—With reference to employment on government work President Roosevelt has publicly announced that there is no objection to the employes of the government printing office constituting themselves into a union if they so desire, but that no rules or resolutions of their union can be permitted to override the laws of the United States. He declares that it is "mere elementary decency" to require that no person shall be refused employment or in any way discriminated against on account of membership or nonmembership in any labor organization, and that there should be no discrimination or interference with any employe who is not a member of any labor organization by members of such organization.

### PRESS OPINIONS.

#### OHIO POLITICS.

The Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Aug. 26.—So far as any issue of principle is involved, the success of Johnson is, or will be, heralded as a triumph of the Bryan forces in the convention, and will be followed by a reaffirmation of the Chicago and Kansas City platforms. This is a little peculiar, as Mr. Johnson was never a silver man, although a warm friend and admirer of Bryan, and a believer in his plans of party policy, as against the policies proposed by those Mr. Bryan calls the "reorganizers." Mr. Johnson is distinctively strong on State issues in which the people of Ohio are much interested. He believes in reform and equality of taxation, as between the farmers and the corporations, and his figures showing the favoritism to corporations and the injustice to the agriculturists have taken a strong hold on the popular mind in Ohio.

Akron (Ohio) Times-Democrat (Dem.), Aug. 24.—To push his fight to a successful conclusion Mr. Johnson needs something more than to be elected governor. In Ohio, the governorship, without more, is as near nothing as anything political well can be. To win any relief or bring any measure of justice to the people, he must have a majority of the legislature behind him. Without this he can do nothing; with it he can do much that he professes to wish to do.

Cleveland Recorder (Dem.), Aug. 19.—If the people elect a Democratic legislature, it can be promised that something important in the matter of taxation will be accomplished. It is with this end in view that the fight which is now opening will be carried on.

#### JUDGE GROSSCUP'S SOCIALISM.

The Farmer's Voice and National Rural (Agr.), Aug. 22.—We have no wish to belittle what Judge Grosscup has to say on the pressing problems of the time, but we are forcibly reminded by his observations, of what Tolstol has so shrewdly said of a certain element in the world whose talk is all of their desire for the advancement of the plain people and the lightening of their burdens. Of this element the famous Russian says: "They are ready

to do everything for the poor except get off their backs!" Instead of palliatives, administered to repress or relieve mere symptoms of the real disorder, we would "change the laws so that no set of men could" become possessed of rights which are the natural heritage of all, so that no set of men could be given power to tax the public, so that no man or set of men should be possessed of one iota of special privilege, but all men should enjoy equal rights before the law of man as now they do before the law of God.

#### ALSO IN INDIA.

London New Age (Rad.), Aug. 6.—Both the Viceroy of India and the Commander in Chief of the British army have protested against the gross assaults on the people of the country committed by English soldiers and civilians, but their protests are not heeded. The British are the dominant race in India, and the native is a "nigger" in the eyes of Tommy Atkins and his superiors. That is the radical trouble. . . . Of course, we know that many Englishmen in India are gentlemen, but the average Anglo-Indian is conscious that he belongs to a dominant race, and cannot help showing it. The gifts and attainments of the educated Indian do not count in the eyes of the Anglo-Indian Philistine, for he places very little value on such things. And we fear that until the day when India, no longer subject but self-governing, ceases to be exploited by a dominant race, neither viceroy nor commander in chief will save the Indian from contempt and abuse.

#### THE LOVE OF LAW.

(Chicago) Free Society (Com.-An.), Aug. 2.—The initiative and referendum law of Oregon went down to defeat before the street railway companies of Portland, the courts having declared it unconstitutional recently. The legislature enacted the law as a constitutional amendment, the people then voted upon it, and it was duly declared law. Now a judge puts the imposing thing aside with a wave of his hand. But when the people are told that laws do no good, when they are told that they rather prevent the possibility of good taking place, they retort with proof that a man who steals five dollars will find a home in jail and be punished; and go right on with their baling.

#### IMPERIAL CENSORSHIP.

The Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Aug. 23.—Editors have been banished to Guam from Manila for free speech descriptive of Philippine affairs, others have been imprisoned, with all the delicious enjoyments of an equatorial climate, and now the screws are to be applied to the male and female teachers, and they must be muzzled by President Roosevelt's agents, in their letters home, lest the stories they tell grate harshly on American ears.

#### APPEALS IN CRIMINAL CASES.

(New York) Nation (Ind.), Aug. 20.—With Justice Brewer's belief that one desirable remedy for lynching is the abolition of the right of appeal in criminal cases, we cannot agree. Take the case of Molineux in this city. Convicted on his first trial, this man went free the second time he faced a judge and jury. Without the aid of the wrongfully introduced evidence of the first trial, the case against him collapsed.

Dick—Those folks next door have an awful good time.

Dora—How?

Dick—Oh, they don't go anywhere and they don't entertain.—Detroit Free Press.



MISCELLANY

TO AN OLD VIOLIN.

For The Public.

What say the wondrous chords  
That thrill the listening air?  
They wake long-silenced words,  
They heal a heart's despair.  
O, wondrous, throbbing wires!  
Ye voiced beneath his bow,  
Love's hollest, best desires  
In the days of long ago.

O, eager, flashing eyes!  
Ye could a world enthral;  
O, hand, that quiet lies—  
O, tenderest heart of all!  
Beneath his magic sway  
The strings would whisper low  
The dreams of youth's brief day—  
They vanished long ago.

If 'mid the ransomed throngs  
My soul dare enter in,  
Dear heart, among their songs  
I'll know thy violin.  
Then welcome Death's dark stream,  
With current deep and slow,  
Thou'lt bring me back the dream  
And the love of long ago.

MARY McNABB JOHNSTON.

THE LEISURE CLASS.

The leisure class is the fruitage of material prosperity. It comprises two species, namely, the smart set and the hoboes.

These species differ (genus plus differentia giving us the scholastic definition of species) both accidentally and essentially; accidentally, in that the smart set always have money to burn; essentially, in that hoboes sometimes have a sense of humor.

The smart set are the successes, the hoboes the failures, of our civilization. Our civilization is remarkable in that its successes and its failures are equally good for nothing.

However, we are not money-mad; merely money-drunken; in the morning, doubtless, we shall be sober.—Life.

DIGNITY IN THE WARD ROOM.

At this writing some ward room dignitaries on a United States cruiser are seriously inconvenienced. They are forced to eat after meal times, because an officer, newly promoted to the ward room, is black instead of white. Strictly speaking, he is brown, but to his brother officers he is a Negro for all that, so they decline to dine with him. The solitary diner is a man who, by diligence, intelligence and good behavior, has worked himself up in the service. And it is said strangely of the man that although the crime of being brown hangs heavily on his conscience, he displays no sign of unrest. He does his work faithfully, and he eats his meals regularly. And peeping through the door,

three times a day, to see if he had finished, is the thin white line of other ward room officers, each busily engaged in upholding the navy's dignity. It is a dignified picture.—Editorial in Puck.

HARD TIMES IN MANILA.

Manila is just now in the throes of financial depression, says a Manila correspondent of the North China Daily News. Business is stagnant, and the commercial outlook for the immediate future is far from reassuring. The population (American) has fallen in one year from 13,000 to 6,000, and each departing steamer carries away scores on whom fortune has frowned. Of course all of the 7,000 who have drifted away were not "wealthy and influential citizens." Camp followers, adventurers, and a weird aggregation of grafters comprised a goodly portion of the departing host. But it is also true that many visitors of sound business judgment and ample financial support have returned to the States in discouragement after a few months in the Philippine capital. Those more determined persons who have stuck to their posts will stand excellent chances of recouping when the present difficulties are past; but the question is, how long will these tribulations continue, and how many will be crowded to the wall before the hard times are over? Several of the smaller local concerns have already gone to the wall. The oldest weekly paper in the islands quietly expired last week. Local branches of the big home corporations are in sore straits, many falling grievously behind during the last few months' depression. But their credit, bolstered as it is by the strength of their home offices, will save them from the general wreck of smaller concerns. . . . Prevalent conditions are, indeed, dismaying, and at times even the more optimistic lose courage. The present is certainly an unsuitable time for immigrating to Manila, but a most propitious moment for getting out. There are better days coming, but from the very nature of the country's afflictions they may be long delayed.—Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat of Aug. 20.

CLASS IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

INTEREST.  
For The Public.

Professor: This morning, gentlemen, I will speak to you upon the subject of interest. That science is most interesting, as a matter of course, which has most interest in it. The whole subject of interest pertains to the science of political economy; therefore political economy is the most interesting of all

the sciences. I regret to say that many people seem to be unaware of this fact, and neglect to read the books that treat of these subjects. There are different kinds and degrees of interest. Personal interest is usually first in everyone's thought, but the interest on capital is the kind that is most talked about. Some people think the savings banks should pay more interest than they do. Others think it is not right to be compelled to pay any interest at all. Others again have no interest in this question either way. Yet the interest on capital continues to be drawn, because it is to the interest of the capitalist to draw it. No man can ever hope to succeed unless he takes interest in his business. It is, therefore, undoubtedly right to take interest; and if it is right for one man to take interest, it must of necessity be right for the other man to pay the interest. Some contend that the interest of an employe is identical with that of his employer. Evidently this is not the case, since the rich man's thousands are usually invested in mortgages at five or six per cent., while the poor man's hundreds are in the savings bank, and are drawing three and a half or four per cent. The taxation of mortgages is an interesting question, and the amount of interest each man takes is in proportion to the amount of capital he has invested in that way. The general interest of the community is seldom of any particular interest. Interest when it reaches its highest degree is called breathless interest. The best example of breathless interest I know of is when a young man is drawing interest on millions left him by his father, and yet is too lazy to draw his own breath. The personal interest is of all kinds most important. Our truly great men apply themselves to this branch of the subject with untiring industry, and the intelligent interest they take in all matters which may affect their dividends at-tests the clearness of their heads, and justifies the wisdom of their course.

The Class: We thank you very much, Professor; we have been greatly pleased and instructed. If we do not now have a thorough knowledge of the subject it will not be your fault.

The Professor: Thank you.

J. H. WELLS.  
East Moriches, N. Y.

THE FALL OF THE "OUTLOOK."

From an article on "The 'Outlook' and the Army," by Ernest Crosby. Published in "City and State," of Philadelphia, for August 13.

Is it not high time to remind the Outlook of the Golden Rule, which, with the Declaration of Independence, is going

out of fashion in certain quarters? How would we be done by? Would we like to be ruled by soldiers who call us "niggers" and ostentatiously despise us? I used frequently to go sailing in the harbor of Alexandria with a fellah boatman, a broad-shouldered, illiterate young man who could speak nothing but Arabic, and with whom I was wont to practice that tongue. I asked him one day if he did not like the English occupation. He looked at me searchingly. "You are an American, aren't you?" he inquired. "Yes." "How would you like to have the Egyptians govern America?" And this was the only answer he vouchsafed to my question, and it is an all-sufficient answer to the selfish, bigoted, ignorant, conceited policy which assumes that white men have a heaven-sent commission to exploit dusker races by gun and saber. I wonder if the lynching of a Negro under the windows of the Outlook office would shake the faith of the editor in the humane character of "benevolent assimilation."

The army idea has a peculiar fascination for the editor of the Outlook. It must be preserved on account of its inherent virtues, he thinks, and the first one of these virtues is (save the mark!) that "the army is autocratic!" Surely, this is a new virtue in America, and it lets the imperialistic cat out of the bag. We must thank the writer for his candor. The Boer war, Madagascar, and now autocracy—it is easy to diagnose the condition of his mind; but God forbid that it should become the mind of the American people, for it is the mind of absolutism, of divine right, of tyranny and oppression—that mind which we fondly thought long ago that we had cast out for good and all! If I am not mistaken, Henry Ward Beecher was once the editor of the Outlook, at a time when it bore another name. Try to imagine Henry Ward Beecher lifting up his voice on behalf of the destruction of the South African republics, of the French subjugation of Madagascar, and of military autocracy! The spirit which has directed the Outlook during these past few years in the matter of international relations with feebler and darker peoples is the pro-slavery spirit against which the first pastor of Plymouth church staked his life. Oh, for another hour of Beecher in the editor's chair or in Plymouth pulpit!

#### NO COMPROMISE WITH LYNCHING.

From an editorial in *The Farmers' Voice and National Rural*, of August 15.

The whole subject of lynching is undergoing a thorough thrashing at this time and we have right to expect that

the result will be to check the epidemic of murder that has been sweeping like a tempest over the country, setting side by side the American citizen and the cruel Slavs at Kisheneff. President Roosevelt has written a letter to Gov. Durbin, of Indiana, in which he takes occasion, while thanking the governor for his courageous stand in behalf of the law and the administration of justice, to point out the gravity of the situation and the menace contained in such incidents in our own country as have recently horrified the world. "The very existence of the republic," says the president, "depends upon that spirit of orderly liberty under the law which is as incompatible with mob violence as with any form of despotism."

The letter is a long one and a strong one, but we feel that President Roosevelt makes in the following a concession to the mob spirit which is entirely gratuitous and quite beside the questions at issue. He declares that "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 these misguided men who undertake to reap vengeance through violent methods." It is safe to say that not a single lynching during the last year where a negro has suffered at the hands of a mob has been incited or abetted by the law's delays. It is the "anti-nigger" spirit pure and simple here, just as it is the "anti-Jew" spirit of Russia that endangers the existence of the Jew in the land of the czar just because he is a Jew, no matter what gentleness of soul or generousness of heart and mind may be his. An inferior race, say these mob-murderers, has no rights which the superior race need for one moment consider.

In short, if the mob knew that the sheriff and the judge and the jury would act in the case in one hour, the mob still would murder the "nigger" and torture him just the same. The mob needs "no vestige of excuse," and never goes to the trouble of looking for one. But still more important is the error in urging haste in the matter of punishment of capital offenses. It is the glory of American jurisprudence that it moves with dignity, with full opportunity to the accused to prove his innocence. Let us never surrender an iota of that fine practice nor the finer spirit which lies behind it at the behest of anybody seeking to "reap vengeance." The thought of vengeance has no place in justice, and the courts should know no such motive. "Vengeance is Mine; I will repay!" saith

the Lord—the command of the Almighty to "keep hands off." Let us introduce no thought of compromise into this discussion.

#### THE PUZZLED FISHERMEN.

For The Public.

We had packed the 500 trout in a large box with ice and cool wet moss, and as we were eating our last supper under the big pine before breaking up camp, the painter started the trouble.

"I'll bet ten dollars that this lake will be owned in five years," said he.

"I'll take that bet," said the plumber. "Why, the public wouldn't stand it. Here's a lake of five square miles, chuck full of trout, only 20 miles out of Kamloops, and the government put in a road costing \$1,500 just to accommodate the public; and d'ye think it would be fair to let any one man own it? No sirce!"

"What did Lusk charge you for the horse's pasture?" asked the printer of Jimmey, the stable boy.

"Four dollars, sir; dollar each for two days' pasture."

"That's a blamed outrage," said the tailor. "When I was out here last year we just picketed our horses out at the foot of the lake, and they did fine."

"Yes, but you didn't have to look after them," said the carpenter. "I had to change the pickets twice a day, and I'd much rather pay my share of the four dollars for the pasture, and be free to fish. Besides, Lusk has built a lot of fencing to make that pasture."

"How much land has Lusk taken up?" asked the painter.

"One hundred and sixty acres, and half a mile fronts on the lake," answered the carpenter. "He's going to put up a hotel and six scow houses, and have no end of boats. He'll board you by the day, or rent the scow houses and boats. Then he has the pasture for hire, and can sell you ice to pack your fish in. I tell you, he's got enterprise and deserves to succeed. Besides, his charges are moderate, and the conveniences worth a lot."

"I guess Lusk charges about all it's worth, and no more," said the painter; "and so long as there is lots of free land on this side of the lake he'll have to be reasonable, or watch people tent out for themselves."

"Guess that won't be long," said the quiet man. "Lusk's father, his brother and each of his four sons have taken up land, and they will own all the lake shore except the big swamp on t'other side, within a month."

The camp was now in an uproar.

"I'll get up a petition against it," raved the plumber. "It ain't a square deal. No man should be allowed to own water. God put this lake here for us all, and no man or set of men should own it!"

"Where's the difference between the water and the land?" asked the tailor. "Didn't God make the land for us all, too?"

"Oh, yes, I suppose he did; but then, there's lots of land, and this lake is valuable 'cause it's full of trout, and it tain't right nohow."

"Guess the Socialists are right," chipped in the carpenter; "then we would all own the lake, and have five hours a day to fish, and the whole of Sunday besides."

"My opinion is that somehow the officials would manage to have the best of everything, and this lake included; for under Socialism there would be a host of them," said the painter.

"Well, I don't want to go along with no more government officials," said Jimmy. "Why, when I was out with them last year they nearly worked me to death. All they could do was to dress themselves. And it was: 'Jimmy, do this,' and 'Jimmy, get me that,' till I was plum tired out. They wants too much waiting on to suit me."

The laugh went round, but it only nettled the carpenter.

"Laugh while you can; but it's either got to come, or slavery," he said.

"Oh, I dunno!" It was the quiet man who spoke. We all turned to look at him, and I was about to interrupt him, but remembered that he had saved the boat in a squall, and kept quiet.

"What's your plan?" asked the plumber.

"You all believe this lake should belong to the public, don't you?"

"Yes," came from all.

"How would it do to rent it to some one then, and let the public get the rent?"

"Who would collect it?" asked the tailor, as he folded his legs.

"Why, the people's agent—the present tax collector—would do."

"What would we do with the money?" asked Jimmy. Jimmy had got a fall while climbing after a fish-hawk's nest a few years ago. It hurt his head, and he sometimes asks funny questions.

"The road out near the lake is in bad shape; the first year's rent would make it in fine condition."

"Yes, and then more people would come out to fish, and the lessee would reap the benefit," said the painter.

"No, he couldn't either," contradicted the plumber, as he knocked the ashes from his pipe, "'cause then his privilege would be worth more, and we could raise his rent and get it back. Besides, people don't have to come here and fish, and if his prices were exorbitant he would not get enough to make a living and pay his rent."

"Well, a plumber knows as near as any one how much the public can stand," said the carpenter; "but I'd like to know how you would determine the price of the rent."

"Oh, that's easy," said the painter; "just call for tenders, same as you did for painting your shop last summer."

"Yes, and then suppose a feller came along the next year, and offered a lot more for it; and the tenant had just put up a lot of buildings, and boat houses, boats, etc., how would he fare?"

"Why, if it was really worth more he would have a big advantage still, and would be given the first chance; if he was convinced by his experience that he could not afford to pay more, he would have a good opportunity to sell out to the greenhorn who was coming in. The supposition is not a likely one at all, and seldom ever occurs where landlords rent such a privilege to a tenant."

"Well, now; suppose Lusk rented this lake and its shores every year, from the government, where would be the great advantage to the public between that and his present ownership of it?" asked the tailor, as he unfolded his legs.

"Much every way," replied the quiet man; "in the first place, public ownership would be recognized; second, monopoly would be destroyed; and third, the natural rent value would go back to the people, while Lusk would get the legitimate reward of his labor and capital."

"I believe the scheme is all right," said the printer, "and if it would work on this lake, I can't see why 'in Sam Hill' it wouldn't do on all our land and lakes and mines."

"It would work all right," said the quiet man.

And most of us believed him.

ALISTER THOMPSON.

"Who hath not music in his soul is fit for treasons, stratagems and crimes;" but, these things being inconvenient, he usually contents himself with a mechanical piano player.—Puck.

#### THE REVIEWER.

"Caliban" in The London Speaker of October 25, 1902.

The other day Caliban was sent a book to review. This book was called "The Snail: Its Habitat, Food, Customs, Virtues, Vices, and Future." It was all about snails, and there were beautiful colored prints showing various snails occupied in eating fine great leaves. There were also a large number of process blocks showing sections, plans, elevations and portraits of snails, as well as detailed descriptions (with diagrams) of the ears, tongues, hair, eyes, and nerves of snails. In fact it was a monograph on snails.

Caliban did not like reviewing this kind of book. Indeed, he hated reviewing any book. He did not mind his ignorance of the subject, for if reviewers minded that there would be no reviewing. But he minded the kind of subject and the sort of ignorance, and so forth. It was the kind of book on which one might give oneself away.

However, he had to earn his wine and calf's head, not to mention his yachts, cabs, foreign travel, theaters, and pictures; so he took up the book on snails and proceeded to digest it. He was told to write a review of only a few words—a mere snippet—and he was to be paid 18s 2d.—that is, ten bottles of good wine, or seven good evenings at the play, or nine nice luncheons, or a week in his boat, whichever way you like to put it.

As he went out of the office carrying off this vast and ponderous book on snails, the editor said to him:

"Caliban, that book needn't have much said about it, but I don't think you need praise it too much. There are reasons."

Now, Caliban understood the middle class, being himself a member of that organization, and he knew that the middle class loves a hint even better than it loves a lord; that it is perpetually nodding and winking and passing half-phrases. So he said to himself: "I perceive. I shall do what is required of me."

On his way home he sold the book for 2s. 6d. to a bookseller, but not before having noted the name of its author and publisher, and its price, all of which he put down on a little bit of paper. This bit of paper he naturally lost immediately afterwards, but he remembered the names and on getting home he began his review.

It was very short. It ran thus:

The Snail: its Habitat, &c. Adam Charles. Pschuffer. 21s. 6d.

This is a book that will hardly add to the reputation of its author. There is evidence of detailed work and even of conscientious

research in several places, but the author has ignored or misunderstood the whole teaching of . . . and the special discoveries of . . . , and what is even more remarkable in a man of Mr. Charles' standing, he has advanced views which were already exploded in the days of . . .

Caliban then took his encyclopaedia, filled up the blanks with the names of three great men who appeared in that work to be the leaders in this branch of natural history, posted his review, and went to bed.

Next day the editor telephoned to him, and he very obediently came. The editor said:

"Caliban, I don't think we can use that review. We have just got a page advertisement from Psehuffer. Can't you put in a really good article and use the book as a kind of peg on which to hang it? You might begin on the subject of the snails, but make it something more like your 'O! my lost friend,' which has had such a success."

Caliban said he would do some such thing, and, going into a neighboring divan, he wrote a long article beginning:

*The Snail: its Habitat, &c. Adam Charles. Psehuffer. 21s. 6d.*

There are tender days just before the spring dares the adventure of the Channel, when our Kentish woods are prescient, as it were, of the South. It is calm . . .

And so forth, leading gradually up to the snails and bringing in the book here and there about every twentieth line.

When this long article was done he took it back to the office, and there found the editor as black as thunder. He was talking into the telephone, and told Caliban to wait until he had done. So Caliban took up a copy of the *Spectator*, but, as they say in the novels, "in spite of his attempts to distract his attention he could not help hearing." The reason he could not help hearing was that though the masterful irony of the *Spectator* and its hard crystalline prose would ordinarily have fixed even Caliban's attention, the editor was shouting and bellowing into the telephone the following words:

"Very well, then, tell them we will neither take any of their stuff again nor review any of their books," and he sat down fuming.

"What is it?" said Caliban.

"Psehuffer's have just said that they won't advertise after all," said the editor.

"Oh, I see," said Caliban, "I must cut it up."

"Yes, and in two lines," said the editor.

Caliban dexterously cut out what-

ever little there might be on Snails in his long article, headed the remainder "My Kentish Home," and posted it to a review which was not unfavorable to his descriptions of scenery. He then wrote on a little bit of paper:

*The Snail: its Habitat, &c. Adam Charles. Psehuffer. 21s. 6d.*

This work will perhaps appeal to specialists. This journal does not profess any capacity of dealing with it, but a glance at its pages is sufficient to show that it would be very ill-suited to ordinary readers. The illustrations are not without merit.

Next morning, just as he was going to sleep, the telephone bell rang. Caliban went out to attend to it. It was the editor who was talking. He said:

"I am very sorry, but I have just learnt a most important fact. Adam Charles is standing in our interests at Biggleton. Lord Bailey will be on the platform. You must write a long and favorable review of the book before 12 to-day, and do try and say a little about the author."

Caliban wearily took a sheet of paper and began in his dressing-gown:

*The Snail: its Habitat, &c. Adam Charles. Psehuffer. 21s. 6d.*

This book comes at a most opportune moment. It is not generally known that Prof. Charles was the first to point out the very great importance of the training of the mind in the education of children. It was in May, 1875, that he made this point in the presence of Mr. Gladstone, who was so impressed by the mingled enlightenment and novelty of the view that he wrote a long and interesting postcard upon the author to a friend of the present writer. Prof. Charles may be styled—nay, he does style himself—a "self-made man." Born in Huddersfield of parents who were weavers in that charming northern city, he was early fascinated by the study of natural science, and was admitted to the Alexandrovna university.

(And so on and so on out of "Who's Who.")

But this would not suffice for his growing genius.

(And so on and so on out of the "Series of Contemporary Agnostics.")

. . . It is sometimes remarkable to men of less wide experience how such spirits find the mere time to achieve their prodigious results. Take, for example, this book on the Snail. . . .

There followed a mass of fulsome praise such as one could give to any book without having read it.

Before 11 he had finished the article, which was worth nearly £3, and had sent it by a boy messenger to the printers.

It had hardly left the house when the telephone rang again. Once more it was the editor.

"Caliban," he said, "have you sent off that to the printers?"

"Yes," said Caliban, with some pride.

"Oh, dear, what a bother!" said the

editor. "It turns out to be another Charles, after all! Have you got the original review in which you cut it up?"

Caliban gave a deep sigh, and spoke as follows:

"No, I have not. But I will write, if you like, another short and really scathing review. Only I shall want 25s. after all the trouble I have taken, and you must let the printers know that the last one has fallen through."

The editor agreed, and Caliban sat down and wrote:

*The Snail: its Habitat, &c. Adam Charles. Psehuffer. 21s. 6d.*

We desire to have as little to do with this book as possible, and we should recommend some similar attitude to our readers. It professes to be scientific, but the harm books of this kind do is incalculable. It is certainly unfit for ordinary reading, and for our part we will confess that we have not read more than the first few words. They were quite sufficient to confirm the judgment which we have put before our readers, and they will have formed sufficient material for a lengthier treatment had we thought it our duty as Englishmen to dwell further upon the subject.

In the happy consciousness that every word of this was strictly true (for there never yet was a scientific book that did anything but harm and he certainly had not read this one beyond looking at the first page) Caliban went back to bed and slept till a little after one.

Next day he had a book to review that really suited him. It was all about his own family, and he had written it himself.

#### TAXES DEBTOR TO EFFORT— FROM THE EVOLUTIONARY POINT OF VIEW.

For The Public.

The first social act of man is lost in the impenetrable mists of antiquity, yet there is no modicum of doubt that, could we see the entire perspective of evolution, we should find social functions long antedating strictly human activities. Take away all a posteriori data and the a priori argument is, it would seem, overwhelming. No one will undertake to say just when sheep first became gregarious; when certain of the great carnivora first learned to hunt in pairs; when ants and bees laid the primal foundations of their complex societies; but anyone may easily see the *raison d'être* of it all. Is it not clear that an ant which, when it found say a worm or beetle beyond its individual strength, could call upon the other members of its own society for assistance, would stand a better chance of survival and repro-

duction of its kind than other ants less favorably situated? Could the "coming man" after his topmost vertebra began to show any considerable cranial development, fail to appreciate the advantages of similar mutuality? Even to-day the human race is not so highly specialized as the ant, and many of those not "sluggards" could "go to the ant" with great advantage to themselves.

The great struggle of primitive man was with nature first and his fellows afterward. May we not imagine that the present almost universal horror and loathing of serpents is an heirloom from ancestors long lost in the dim purple of history—ancestors perhaps often driven to the trees to escape the insidious fang of sinuous death? To fight the great carnivora with clubs was a task which must have rendered assistance most gratifying. It could not have taken primitive man long to perceive the increased safety and convenience that lay in numbers. When, however, the quarry was finally secured, there still remained the question of dividing it. There is a case on record of a lion and a lioness which having jointly killed a deer disagreed as to its division, with the result that the lion killed its mate and fell to eating both her and the deer. Such quarrels undoubtedly took place among our primitive forefathers, as they will continue to occur among our children and grandchildren with, we trust, ever lessening ascerbity—but they were insufficient to prevent the race from realizing the immense net gain that resulted from mutuality. Again, these very quarrels over division of labor and its results, sowed in the early racial intelligence the first seeds of that self-restraint and tolerance which made possible the social civilization which was to follow. If you are to prove to a low order of intellect that an act is wrong, you will have made a brilliant beginning when you have shown it to be very dangerous. It was along similar lines that primitive ethics had its upbuilding. Honesty became the safest and best policy, first, and "right" afterward. The savage learned by extended experience that there was less risk and less effort in hunting his own game than in hunting the man who had secured it and attempting to take it from him. When he had gotten so far he had begun the erection of the perpendicular of right upon the base line of policy. From this tiny ethical germ has grown and

flowered the grandest ideals of right which the race has so far conceived—a germ which was to find its richest soil in the fact that right is that which cosmically shows the widest range of consistencies and makes toward the greatest happiness of the greatest number of the human race.

The hive bee furnishes the next great social analogue. Let us consider the lesson for a moment. Something like from twelve to fifteen pounds of dry sugar are required by bees for the secretion of a single pound of wax. The amount of nectar required for wax must therefore be very great, and every constructive change resulting in greater economy of wax must inure to the benefit of the hive. And now comes the lesson. The bees place themselves equidistant upon the wax and "sweep and excavate equal spheres round the selected points. The spheres intersect, and the places of intersection are built up with thin laminae. Hexagonal cells are thus formed." In like manner, man, considered as an individual, occupies an egocentric space surrounded by a symmetrical globe of freedom. When, however, men enter the social state the sphere of absolute freedom of the one intersects the like globe of the other—of all others—with the result that the opposing spheres become flattened by convention at their interfering areas.

This is the price—the just price—individuality pays to acquire the benefits of mutuality.

Now, in order that these mutual functions may become more highly specialized, we have an ever-increasing complexity of social structure, until to-day we have a complicated coporate engine requiring a legion of engineers for its none-too-wise management. To support this system we are all expected to contribute, not in labor or the immediate product of labor, as was doubtless the rule in the most primitive civilizations, but rather in taxes, expressed in that common denominator of all desires which we term "money."

Taxes, then, under proper social conditions, would represent what individualism pays to mutualism for the benefits mutualism confers upon individualism. In short, where just, they are as much a trade between the individual and society as if they were jackknives which were swapped. The essence of just trading is an exchange of equal values, and this social barter is no exception to that

rule. Here is the crux of the whole question of taxation. Nothing could be simpler to the average mortal if he would only do a bit of de novo thinking, instead of reading textbooks and newspapers written with the express intention of befuddling his intellect and leading his judgment astray.

We hear much about taxing commodities, taxing incomes, taxing capital, taxing land, and occasionally a word or so about taxing labor. When labor is being addressed a threat to tax capital is as good as a claque. Monopoly and special privilege, however, are not so easily cajoled by empty phrases. Their greatness is the result of first measurably clearing their own vision and then sedulously clouding that of their dupes. So long as the masses can be kept in dispute as to where taxation should fall, these twin vampires, Monopoly and Special Privilege, almost "Siamesed" in their likeness, can postpone indefinitely their evil day. So long as monopoly can foment discord between labor and capital, just so long can it conceal the fact that the real "irrepressible conflict" is between itself on one side and labor and capital as allies on the other.

Is it not high time we ceased defining a prime color in terms of a secondary? Let us face the issue squarely at the start. In the last analysis labor pays, must pay, and ought to pay all taxes. Not labor in the sense of a carefully segregated class or caste in society, but labor in the sense of effort. If taxes are payable in any form of wealth, then are they payable in the products of effort. If they be not payable in any form of wealth inclusive of capital, then they must be payable, if at all, in [1]—effort per se, and this effort unless wasted, could only result in wealth, and, thereby be tantamount to a payment by labor in terms of wealth; or [2]—the payment might be made in terms of land, a proposition which reduces to a double absurdity. In the first place land, not being a readily portable commodity, would have many drawbacks; and in the second place, since society has already the only logical title to land, any attempt to pay in terms thereof would be like paying our barber for a haircut by filching a quarter from his pocket and passing it to him. In short, since society in the last analysis owns all the land, any dues paid

her must be in terms of labor or wealth; and since wealth is only the product of labor applied to society's land, we are forced to admit that all dues paid by individualism to mutualism must be in the form of labor, either direct or one remove off.

Once for all let us realize that effort pays all taxes and that it must ever continue to do so. This made clear we can take a most vital step forward and demand to see the quid pro quo. What does society give in its turn? and does it distribute the benefits it confers to the proper individuals, and in the exact ratio of the benefits it receives from the same individuals? This is the great point. If a corollary of this thought is found to be that he who enriches not society shall not be favored of society—if he work not socially neither shall he socially eat—that is not your fault or ours. Every hive should have stings for all its drones.

Society gives to its members the benefits of cooperation and its resultant specialization, and grants a certain degree of liberty of act and speech, as well as a given amount of security to person and property. For these amenities there is a quid pro quo necessarily and justly due from the individual. Like the hive bee he must make the egocentric sphere of unfettered individualism of hexagonal section, and sacrifice those sharp corners of his personality which would tear his neighbor's peace. Society gives him a hungrier and more concentrated market for his wares; it brings the products of the world to his back porch; it enables him to specialize himself into the domain of subconsciousness, and to exchange this almost frictionless product for the similarly produced results of his fellow men; it is a sort of clearing house dealing with the currency of human desires. Society properly constituted, would do all this and more, and the individual should balance the sheet by the rendition of an equivalent service to the social organism.

The nice adjustment of these reciprocal services is, or at all events should be, the goal of every system of taxation. How shall society regulate its benefits to the individual in the exact ratio of the service the individual renders society?

Or how shall society force from its beneficiaries just and proper payment to itself?

Lack of space forbids consideration of the many answers to these questions.

If, however, we admit that the land belongs to society, our course is clear; and certainly anyone with "half an eye" must see that it is society which gives to land its economic value—which makes, in short, an acre of gravel on Broadway worth thousands of acres of the most arable of Texas black land.

If, then, society makes the value, should it not in justice draw upon that same value for the perpetuation of those very functions upon which that value is dependent? Could any proposition be more self-evident?

Again, since all wealth comes out of the earth in response to labor, will not society pay what mutualism owes to individualism by permitting individual labor to create wealth by the use of its land, carrying with it the social increment of value, and checking any attempt to hold land out of use by taxing it upon the basis of its value when properly used? Under proper social conditions every increase in the production of wealth would be a benefit to society resulting from a counterbalancing benefit conferred by society. And here it is well to draw a distinction. The inherent right of a man to the free use of the earth does not predicate his right to the free use of the social value conferred upon land, only to such an exceedingly small part thereof as he himself confers, which in practice is negligible. In a society of one hundred could any individual justly claim the right to freely absorb the value conferred by the other ninety and nine? Assuredly not. He must pay into the social pool a sum to cover this value created by others, and, as a quid pro quo, he is allowed to then avail of the social increment of value. What is known as "economic rent" is the measure of this social value, and, in raising all taxes from the economic value of land the account between labor and society is balanced, and labor, while it pays, as, in the last analysis it always must, all the taxes, receives in return an equivalent value.

Under existing conditions labor receives nothing at all commensurate with the services rendered, and the fat drones of the social hive find it requisite for their own safety to conceal, by every sophistry they can command, the significant fact that labor as effort pays all taxes, lest, awakened, at last from its long vampire-induced sleep, the worker shall

sting the drones with his ballot, and demand his just quid pro quo.

M. L. SEVERY.

Arlington Heights, Mass.

The mercury's rapidly climbing  
With never a hint of a stop;  
Some fool has encouraged it, saying:  
"There's plenty of room at the top."  
—N. Y. Sun.

Mrs. Dar—I'm ashamed of you, my son. The idea of you, descendant of so many patriots—failing in your United States history examination! What question were you unable to answer?

Lincoln Jackson Washington Dar—  
"How many dimes are there in a pesos?"  
G. T. E.

The distinction between an assassination and a Coody Taw is, next to the distinction between tweedledum and tweedledee, perhaps the broadest and most marked known to statecraft. Where persons kill a king for the good of humanity, that is assassination, whether the killing is aught to the purpose or not. But where persons kill a king to get his job, and get it, that is a Coody Taw.—Life.

"But you told us that by merging your two railroad systems you could reduce expenses and thereby give us lower freight rates."

"Yes."

"Now we find that you have increased the freight rates 25 per cent."

"Yes."

"You have deceived us."

"Not so, gentlemen," replied the railroad magnate. "I did say that consolidation would enable us to reduce expenses, thereby permitting us to reduce our freight rates. But did I specifically promise that I would avail myself of the permission?"

Not being experts in the subtleties of our language the committee was forced to retire.—Will M. Maupin, in *The Commoner*.

Mr. Tom L. Johnson is one of the politicians who think it unsportsmanlike to insist on a sure thing before consenting to enter a race.—Washington Star.

## BOOKS

HOWARD PYLE'S STRANGE NEW NOVEL.

It would astonish the average modern churchmember to know how little the teachings and doings of Jesus affected contemporary life even in Palestine. Only those who have studied the history of the first century of our era know how very slight attention was paid to the episode of a country carpenter going about preaching to poor folk and

reported to be performing miracles. What did society in Jerusalem care about such doings, so long as they did not cross its path? What would we today care? Suppose we saw headlines in a morning paper such as a modern reporter might deem appropriate, would we not glance over them as dealing with some newfangled notions entirely apart from our interests? Have we, the scribes and pharisees of to-day, changed very much from our brothers of Jerusalem? Would we not, just as they did, ignore the new doctrine, and trust to the authorities to put it out of the way, when it happened to come into notice and threatened to disturb the regular order of things?

This is the theme of Mr. Pyle's new novel, "Rejected of Men" (Harper & Brothers, New York, \$1.50), in which the intermingling of the past and present is done with a boldness and vividness which only a literary artist could venture upon with any degree of success. Some will say that the book is sacrilegious, but this view is altogether superficial. It deals with sacrilegious people, some of whom thought themselves very religious because they revered obsolete words and ceremonies, and such people then and now are quick to cry blasphemy; but there is no sacrilege in showing the shallowness of formal religion, even if it be that of such a dignitary as the Bishop Calaphas of Mr. Pyle's novel. So far from being sacrilegious this book is at bottom one of deep sincerity and religious earnestness.

The author calls his book a story of to-day, and it is so in all save the life of Christ, which is kept in the background, and is yet the background of the whole story. There is not much of a story, but the book is singularly interesting and will not easily be put aside. The two leading characters are Dr. Theodore Calaphas, rector of the Church of the Advent, afterwards Bishop, and his son-in-law, Mr. Henry Herbert Gilderman, a young man with great possessions. They are both excellent men, admirable, honorable, and efficient, doing their appointed work in the world in such a way as to win the respect and applause of their fellow-men. What is their attitude toward Jesus? This is the point which the book brings out with striking force.

"The world looks very big to us," says the author, "and anyone who dares to interfere with the nice adjustment of its affairs, him we always crucify, lest he bring destruction upon us by overturning the elaborate mechanism of our social order. In this lies our exculpation. If we crucified the Truth, we did it to save the world in which we lived." So was it, and so is it—this is the author's story.

The strongest part of the book is the interlude preceding the closing chapters, in which it is shown that so many of us who think we are religious people

worship an image and not the reality, an imagined Christ, not the real Christ. "There the story stands written in the Book of Books—a Gospel so divine that every single word—yea, every jot and tittle written within it—is holy. There it stands terrible and stern for us scribes and pharisees of intelligent respectability to read. We can not accept it in its reality; for even now we would deny it as we, scribes and pharisees, priests and Levites, did of old."

What is the reality? Here is the author's answer: "Go ye down, scribes and pharisees, into the secret, hidden places of your city, where the immortal and living image of God lies with its face in the dust of humility. There alone you will find the living Christ, and if you, finding Him in His rags and poverty, can truly take Him by the hand and lift Him up, then will He also raise you up into a life that shall be everlasting."

If there is any serious criticism to be made upon the book, it would lie in the apparent fatalism of such sentences as "It could not be otherwise, for God has made us as we are." And in his proem the author says: "Such as this earthly life is, we do not make it—it is made for us. . . . If we were made virtuous we must under normal conditions be virtuous; if we were made vicious we must be vicious; and there the matter ends." It is hard to believe that the writer of this book really believes this pitiful doctrine, and it is hard to see why he sees fit to bring it in as he does. Even granted that his story "is intended by way of a vindication," he does not need this argument. It really weakens the main argument, which is the inevitableness of the conflict between Christ and the world, between a kingdom of God and a society seeking to organize itself without God.

There seems to be a misprint in the heading to chapter XIV.—it is hard to force meaning out of it as it stands.

J. H. DILLARD.

#### REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

A very interesting, even if at times verbally affected, series of papers in support of socialism, are these "Revolutionary Essays in Socialist Faith and Fancy," (New York: The Comrade Publishing Co.), by Peter E. Burrowes. Their spirit is described in the title page declaration:—"God is Human: the whole human race is God. Socialism is the way of Life."

An apotheosis of the athelism of socialism, they furnish, moreover, fine examples of its economic confusions. For instance, much is made of the idea that society is an organism, implying natural organic union and growth. Yet the reader soon finds the idea changed from "organism" to "organization"—from natural growth to artificial structure—though the chasm between natural organism and artificial organization is immeasurably wide. If society is a

natural organism, it may, indeed, be artificially cultured, but it cannot be artificially organized. What is more, if it is a natural organism, it cannot be divested of the principle of competition, upon the elimination of which all socialists agree. An organism dies when it loses its competitive impulses.

But there is much in Mr. Burrowes's essay regarding which it is easy to agree with him; his assaults, for instance, upon the specialization fad. Hedonism this as a hindrance to the discovery of truth, or as he would say, as a hindrance to truthing. "Broken up into self-centered complete departments of science" he writes of the specialist, "every apple that falls will suggest to him only a life-long study of its peculiar circumstances; the specialist mind loses intuition of a universal message. If an apple falls, he refers you to the one hundred and thirty-first volume of 'Researches on the Relative Tenacity of Apple Stalks and the Angularities of Their Falling.' He is the disintegration of science. He is the habit of local fixture and finality, of snatching in the flowing life and binding it in formula for preservation; he has unbound the chaplet and life, and broken men into parts. We are a generation of no faith, no common prophet, of no democracy, of no divinity in the passing day, of no universalism in the passing deed. The necessity and fruitfulness of the specific treatment, where a limited observer is upon a limitless field, may not be denied; but while consenting to it in physics, let us beware of admitting it into humanics. . . . Instead of an endless differentiation of truth into kingdoms, towns, villages and dollars, with an increasing probability of men getting a wholeness out of these differences, humanics calls for the opposite process. This is admirable, due allowance being made for Mr. Burrowes's rather narrow conception of what constitutes humanic wholeness. And so with the personal spirit that pervades the book. It is the work of an affectionate and rugged man.

#### PER ODICALS.

Life of August 13 has some witty verses by Tudor Jenks on figures, the last being as follows:

"Confusion seize the moral fool  
Of ages long gone by,  
Who, in his blind, besotted way,  
Taught figures not to lie!"

Which reminds us of an opposition verse by an unknown author—

"Whoever taught that figures don't lie  
Was a learned mathematician,  
Who didn't foresee with his innocent eye  
The modern statistician!"

J. H. D.

In ancient times it seems to have required at least a century to change a fashion in dress. Nowadays in this, as in other things, we move rapidly, and new fashions constantly spring out of a mysterious somewhere, spreading with the swiftness of electricity over the whole dressing world. In fashion's domain there is no application of the law of the survival of the fittest. They come and go without regard to reason or beauty, and often the worst seem to prevail longest. The present skirt, for example, which is both awkward and vulgar. Mrs. John Van Vorst tells us in the Delineator for September is to continue



THE NEW REPUBLICANISM—FROM LINCOLN TO MARK HANNA!

another season. Some sociologist should investigate the source of the mighty power that ordains these things. J. H. D.

Japan has a population of 45,000,000—160 to the square mile. Europe as a whole has a population of 106 to the square mile. Comparing the two, and remembering that the United States alone has relieved Europe of over 600,000 within the past year, we need not be surprised that Japan—though we are told she still has much available land uncultivated—should be land-hungry. The Outlook of Aug. 8 quotes as follows from a Tokyo paper: "Sixty-two years hence the population will reach 90,000,000. Just think of it! It is therefore a matter of necessity for Japan that somewhere land should be provided for her children and children's children."

Appropos of the talk about the personality of the teacher, the following words by Tolstoy, quoted from a foreign periodical by World Wide (Montreal), may well be taken to heart by teachers, parents and all of us: "Modern education is really the science of how, living badly, one might have good influence on children. Education appears a complex and difficult matter only so long as we try, while neglecting to improve our own natures, to educate and build up the natures of others. Once we realize that we can educate others only through educating ourselves, the great difficulties vanish, and the question becomes simple. Education is life. To know how to live is to know how to educate." Perhaps, too, the words may bear a larger application—to benevolent nations engaged in educating the rest of the world. J. H. D.

Speaking of the complex organizations of our educational system, the New York Independent of Aug. 6 well says, "The necessity for a complex system is economic and administrative. No one, we think, has ever shown that it is educational." The same number has a very significant editorial on Our Landed Aristocracy. "We once thought," the writer says, "that our rich men were a new species. . . . But we now find that our millionaires are not meteors, but fixed stars, already grouped in constellations. . . . In fact, many of our fashionable families have been in a position of affluence and influence longer than a majority of the English peerage, two-thirds of which have been created since 1820." Such writing brings home the question, are we doomed merely to follow the line of European civilization?

The present decade will go far in deciding the reply. J. H. D.

Mr. Ronald McNeill contributes to the August Contemporary Review what, it might be hoped, might be the last of the bad outbreak about the Carlyles. Apart from the recently divulged reason, there were other social reasons why the marriage could not be happy. The two belonged to entirely different modes of life. Carlyle had seen his dear old mother scrub floors, and perhaps did not take note that his wife considered herself above many common and lksome housewifely tasks. But the two loved each other, in spite of the clashes—hence the tragedy. Another article in this number well worth reading, especially by clergymen, is "The Liberal Movement in the Church of England," in which is discussed Dean Fremantle's paper on "Natural Christianity"—a paper which has attracted a great deal of attention, because of its original suggestion of a partially natural explanation of the Virgin Birth. J. H. D.

The Commons (Chicago) is a neatly printed little monthly edited by Graham Taylor, assisted by Raymond Robins, and devoted to "aspects of life and labor from the social settlement point of view." In the August number there is a thoughtful editorial which contains the following on the question of unionism and free contract: "Free contract is impossible between the individual laborer and the superintendent of a corporation. The superintendent makes the terms, the laborer accepts or starves. The freedom of the individual laborer resembles that of a cat in a tub on a lake. The cat does not have to stay in the tub, it is free to jump into the lake. All that the laborers have gained for a hundred years has been won by the trades unions. That workmen in many trades now enjoy a fair wage and more reasonable hours of service is due to the struggle and suffering of countless men, women and children loyal to the principle of unionism." But then the writer proceeds to fall into the mistake of slurring at the idea of "maintaining ancient individual rights which the world has outgrown." The pity of it is that such thinkers do not see that there can be no permanent method of regulating wages and hours by undoing the fundamental principles of industrial rights and individual freedom. Unionism has been an effective makeshift, and workers owe it gratitude and allegiance; but they must some day see that it is after all only a makeshift. J. H. D.

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