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The question of local transportation in Chicago has entered upon a critical stage. The principal street car franchises will expire, according to their original terms, within the next few months; and the city council, under pressure from the vast financial interests concerned, is now negotiating with a view to granting extensions. At the same time, that body is forced to recognize a great and swelling tide of local sentiment in favor of municipal ownership. The problem before it, therefore, is to formulate a practical plan which, while satisfying this sentiment, will also be acceptable to the financial interests.

The necessity, real or fanciful, for meeting the demands of the financial interests, or even considering them in so far as they depend upon watered stock, grows out of certain peculiarities in the local situation. In the first place it is asserted by legal experts that neither municipal ownership nor municipal operation can be adopted by Chicago without an enabling act from the legislature. So far as ownership is concerned, this difficulty seems to appeal most strongly to those experts who are either opposed to municipal ownership or are dubious of its success. Others insist that while the policy of municipal operation is legally in doubt, municipal ownership could be adopted without an enabling act. Whatever the merits of this dispute may be, curious inquirers will be apt to ask why an enabling act is not passed and the question thereby put at rest. The leg-

islature, at any rate, and the political party that controls the legislature, cannot evade responsibility for deferring municipal ownership by tearfully pleading the absence of an enabling act.

But that is not the only question. Another arises out of the fact that all Chicago street car franchises do not expire next Summer. Some have several years—something less than 12 or 15—yet to run. It is conceded, however, that this difficulty, in and of itself, is of no moment. Were the expiring franchise rights resumed by the city, instead of extended, there would be no difficulty in negotiating a fair settlement with the other interests. But slight as this difficulty is in itself, it is magnified by another, with which it is complicated and to which we call attention next.

The traction interests claim that some of the franchises supposed to be expiring are indeterminate as to time, and therefore (note the ingenuous "therefore") are franchises in perpetuity; while others were granted in 1865 for 99 years and still have over 60 years to run. If these claims were legally meritorious it is remarkable that the traction interests should have bribed through the infamous Allen law, with its 50-year franchise limit, a few years ago, and equally so that they should now be as deeply concerned as they evidently are for their expiring interests. These claims are not made in good faith. They are raised for no other purpose than to serve as a threat of tying up the city in the courts. Even if technically good in law, their inception was so infamous in fact that few equity judges would have the temerity to validate them, and every judge ought in decency to shrink from doing so. Still they might be used as a basis for troublesome lawsuits. It is predicted

that upon the basis of these claims the traction companies could involve the city in litigation for from five to ten years, during which time street car service would be as bad or worse than now, and that the policy of municipal ownership might thus be fatally discredited at the start.

These circumstances evidently present a genuine problem to the city council. It is one which may very well justify the most sincere advocates of municipal ownership and operation in urging a compromise at the present time upon the basis of the total relinquishment by the franchise grabbers of everything in the laws that serve as pretexts for their present legal "hold-up." The sincerity of advocates of municipal ownership cannot in such circumstances be fairly determined by the fact that they are either for or against municipal ownership immediately. But it can be determined by observing their attitude toward the baffling circumstances. Whether he be a member of the city council, or otherwise influential in professional, political or business life, every man whose vote or advice upon details shows that he welcomes the circumstances—protest he never so strongly that he deplors them—should be set down as hostile. He will at any rate bear close watching. And if he is a councilman, the public interest will be best conserved by retiring him for the present from the public service.

Tried by that test, the 48 councilmen who voted on the 19th of January to substitute what is known as the "Jackson" bill in place of the "Finn" bill (p. 663) are hostile to municipal ownership not only immediately under the baffling circumstances, but altogether. The "Jackson" bill, while appearing to grant municipal ownership as soon as the people

shall demand it by referendum, is plainly designed to put off indefinitely what its authors evidently regard as "the evil day." Alderman Finn had presented a bill to be recommended by the council to the legislature. It may have been defective, but of its sincerity there isn't room for honest question. Yet no effort was made to cure its defects by amendment while preserving its desirable features, but Alderman Jackson's tricky substitute was passed by a vote of 48 to 19. He was reported at the time to have asserted that this substitute had been drawn or approved by leading Chicago lawyers, though refusing to disclose their names. Subsequently, however, some of his supporters in the chamber publicly declared that he had announced the name of Walter L. Fisher as the leading lawyer who had drafted or approved his bill. Mr. Fisher is the secretary of the Municipal Voters' League, an energetic reformer of the voters' league type, an estimable gentleman, and a lawyer of ability, though hardly ranking yet as a leading lawyer. Mr. Jackson's reference to him, therefore, as if his opinion were authoritative at the bar as an expert, was not altogether candid. Moreover we have the best of reasons for believing that Mr. Fisher neither drafted nor approved the "Jackson" bill. Personal elements wholly aside, however, the "Jackson" bill is a traction companies' bill, a bill well calculated to obstruct the adoption of municipal ownership and to nullify it if adopted; and this is true no matter who drafted or who approved it. Though it provides for referendums on municipal ownership and operation, it makes each proposition entirely dependent upon the council, thus reducing to a few councilmen the number of men necessary to be "seen" or "influenced" by the traction interests in order to head off municipal ownership. This result is neatly accomplished by excluding all possibility of a popular initiative. The council could, indeed, provide for municipal ownership, and also for operation, and the ordinances for those

purposes would become effective only after a referendum; but the people could not by petition force the council to submit a referendum on either question. Thus the whole matter could be tied up indefinitely by hostile or corrupted councils.

That this omission was not accidental is evident enough. A clause for a ten per cent. initiative appeared in the "Finn" bill for which the "Jackson" bill was substituted, and the substitute cut it out deliberately. Besides that fact, at least one alderman, who appears fairly to represent the sentiment of the majority, gives as a reason for omitting the initiative that it would enable a few people, "influenced by agitators," to force the question to a popular vote. We allude to Alderman Badenoch, who declares that there should be no popular initiative for this purpose on a petition of less than 25 per cent. of the voters—a monster petition, in other words, of over 100,000 men. The man who believes that, ought candidly to declare that he is opposed to both initiative and referendum and not very friendly at heart to municipal ownership. If further evidence of the presence in the council of this undemocratic sentiment were needed, it is afforded by the council proceedings of the 19th. The "Jackson" bill having provided that in case of municipal ownership the city should have power to lease to corporations for not more than 20 years, Mr. Finn sought to amend by subjecting leasing ordinances to a referendum, if petitioned for within 60 days by 10 per cent. of the voters. Alderman Jackson moved to table this amendment, and his motion was carried by a vote of 45—the same councilmen, with four or five exceptions, that had voted with Jackson for his bill. One of these, Alderman Bennett, afterward had the audacity to inform a public meeting in Englewood that the Finn amendment was laid on the table because it was not germane to the bill! That was an evasion, of course; for if the bill could constitutionally provide for leasing municipally owned street

railways, as it does, it could provide for an initiative and referendum on the leasing ordinances. But that is not all. As it stands, this bill requires a referendum of 60 per cent. of all who vote at the election, in order to empower the city to operate its own street car lines. Yet it authorizes the council to lease them to private corporations without any referendum. In other words, the referendum is brought in and made difficult, as a means of carrying out the popular will; but is rejected when it might obstruct the schemes of franchise grabbers. What better evidence of animus could be desired.

Although these facts plainly point to a disposition on the part of the majority of the council to override popular sentiment while seeming to bow to it, it would be unfair to suspect personal or official corruption. The probability is that in this fight, so far at least, no councilman has been bribed—consciously, vulgarly. The "gray wolf" period, thanks largely to the Municipal Voters' League, has probably come to an end in Chicago. But when financial interests running up into the millions are at stake; when some \$60,000,000 of pure water may by a deft bit of legislative work be turned into \$60,000,000 of pure gold; when in all business and respectable social circles shrewd suggestions are rife regarding the "rights of capital," the investments of "widows and orphans," the impudence of "agitators," the necessity of curbing majorities; when the better classes, and even some of their well approved aldermen not unlikely own shares of the stock that is in jeopardy, or possibly have even bought some of it "long" upon the market in the hope that good luck may favor their investment—when in these circumstances the rights of all the people need legislative protection, vulgar "boodlers" are by no means the most dangerous men in the community. The men to watch then—not suspiciously, perhaps, but vigilantly nevertheless—are not your "gray wolves,"

who take dirty bribes, but your respectable business element, both within and without the council, who are swayed by fears, etc., for the stability of financial interests and the "property" of "innocent" investors.

Senator Rawlins is trying hard to carry through the Senate a resolution calling for the records of court-martial trials in the Philippines. But Senator Lodge struggles to keep these records out of sight with the ingenuity and grim determination of a criminal's lawyer objecting to the admission of a particularly incriminating piece of evidence. The worldly wisdom of Mr. Lodge's policy is evident when it is considered that Maj. Glenn, charged with torturing natives, and pleading in his defense that he did it under orders, has been acquitted by the court-martial that tried him.

Upon President Roosevelt's recent speech at Canton, in which he lightly shifted the responsibility for barbaric war in the Philippines, from the Americans against whom it has been proved, Erving Winslow makes this suggestive comment:

The President again asserts at Canton as a matter now patent to all men that the abandonment of the Philippine Islands would have "led to a welter of bloody savagery." Does the President really believe that his high office can give any permanent value to this unjustified assertion, however often reiterated? The peaceable establishment of a government by the Filipinos, with excellent auguries for its continuance, is a well known historical fact. The "welter of bloody savagery" is, as his own words imply, a purely gratuitous invention of the President's imagination, invoked perhaps like a back-fire to divert attention from that which has been proved, alas, against the United States in the conduct of the Philippine War. Compare with the orders given and approved by General Bell, General Smith, General Chaffee and the War Department, to "kill and burn," to "obtain information at any cost," to make a "howling wilderness" of suspected provinces—one of the last proclamations of General Malvar, of which a translation follows:

Orders and general instructions issued by the commanding officer of the South of Luzon for strict compliance in this district:

The generals, chiefs and officers of the army of deliverance will prevent any ill-

treatment in word or deed, by soldiers or peasants, of any disarmed, sleeping or drunken, enemies and of all those who, throwing their guns down and raising their hands, declare thus their surrender, or of any others that may become prisoners in any way; meting out exemplary punishment to all who act against this order.

They will receive with kindness and courtesy, and accord good treatment to all soldiers, officers and chiefs of the army of invasion who may come to our camp, after leaving their guns at a predetermined place, to prevent any deception, conceding to them the best of treatment as specified in previous orders.

At the headquarters, April 28th, 1901.

The Commanding General,
MIGUEL MALVAR.

The responsible authors of what was indeed a "welter of bloody savagery" are in a painful position when they try to persuade us that such an one as Gen. Malvar would have created such conditions, had he and his compatriots been left to work out their own fate. Which is the Christian here, and which the savage?

When impartial history answers that question, as in time it will, Americans who are not shameless will blush for their ancestors who invaded the Philippines and cruelly tortured and wantonly slaughtered their inhabitants.

The usually logical Pilgrim, of which Willis J. Abbot is editor, drops into the common error of supposing that it is a logical fallacy to test theories by carrying them to their logical end. This is another form of the notion that there are exceptions to every rule. The truth is that no rule which really expresses a natural law either in morals or physics has any exceptions. It is easier, of course, when a rule is found to lack that universality of application which belongs to natural law, to acknowledge the rule and assume an exception than to investigate the exception and if need be bring the supposed rule to new tests. But it is not "scientific," as the professors say.

The particular matter the Pilgrim was considering had to do with Prof. Bascom's distinction between taking for colleges, churches, etc., money derived through immoral conduct in defiance of law and money derived through unjust institutions in accordance with law. We regard the distinction as sound, both logically and morally. There is no question involved of rule and exception. There are two rules. One holds that money acquired by individual wrong doing

carries with it the taint of its origin into the church or college treasury. The beneficiary condones the individual wrong by taking it. The other holds that money acquired through established institutions, for which society and not the individual is responsible, carries no taint. The offense in the first case consists in acquiring money wrongfully; the offense in the other does not consist at all in acquiring money, but in supporting a wrongful institution. For illustration: A vegetarian society might properly take money from a butcher to propagate vegetarianism, while a church could not properly take the proceeds of a bank robber from the burglar. Better still, a peace society might take money from a general in the army, part of his salary, though a Sunday school could not with propriety accept the gate money of a prize fight. So a free trade society may take money from a free trader who derives his money from a protected business; a socialist society might take it from a captain of industry; a single tax society might take it from a single tax beneficiary of land monopoly. It does not follow, however, logically or otherwise, that they could properly take money from a common swindler.

If James Ford Rhodes writes history with no more regard for its verities than he displays in some parts of his magazine article on "The Presidential Office" in the February Scribner, history from his pen, however interesting, needs to be read with extreme caution. His reiteration of the fiction about Jackson's having introduced the spoils system, may be passed over, perhaps, as of little or no importance; but his comment upon President Cleveland's armed invasion of the State of Illinois, in Altgeld's day as governor, cannot be so lightly ignored:

In the railroad riots of 1894 Cleveland, under the advice of his able attorney general, made a precedent in the way of interference for the supremacy of law and the maintenance of order. The governor of Illinois would not preserve order, and the

President determined that at all hazards riotous acts must be suppressed and law must resume its sway. In ordering United States troops to the scene of the disturbance without an application of the legislature or governor of Illinois he accomplished a fresh extension of executive power without an infraction of the Constitution.

The constitutional observation here is self-contradictory; and the history, besides being erroneous, is not taken from the best available sources.

On the constitutional point, Mr. Rhodes recognizes the truth of what he immediately denies, that President Cleveland did override the Constitution; for he describes Cleveland's act as an "extension of executive power." It is conceivable, of course, that, without an infraction of the Constitution, a President may exercise an executive power never used before; but how can executive power itself be extended without an infraction of the constitution which defines the limits of that power. To extend it is to go beyond the limitation; and to go beyond constitutional limitations under a constitution which confers no powers except such as are expressed or necessarily implied, is a breach of the constitution. Not only does Mr. Rhodes thus join issue with himself, but his very statement of what Cleveland did shows that Cleveland overrode the Constitution. For, according to Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Cleveland invaded the State of Illinois with Federal troops, not to protect the mails nor to enforce the mandates of Federal courts, as some of his apologists contend, but to suppress a local riot; and he did so without any application from the local authorities. Nothing could well be clearer than that this "fresh extension of executive power" was an infraction of section 4 of article iv. of the Constitution.

Mr. Rhodes's history of the event to which he refers is evidently drawn from newspaper reports, irresponsible or worse, and either in inexcusable ignorance or culpable disregard of the documentary evidence. The

proof is abundant and irrefutable that Mr. Rhodes's wanton accusation against Gov. Altgeld, that he "would not preserve order," is false. It is so abundant and so convincing that no writer who cares for his reputation as a historian can afford to allow his name to remain associated with the statement we have quoted.

Criticism is made of our comment of two weeks ago (p. 658) upon the curious action of the Cook Co., Ill., special grand jury in finding that the coal famine was not due to any conspiracy in restraint of trade, and then indicting coal dealers for a conspiracy in restraint of trade. Since the grand jury had said in effect, asks our critic, that "we do not find that the present increase in prices for coal is due to a conspiracy; but we do find that for a long space of time certain dealers have been engaged in a conspiracy intended to produce and actually producing abnormally high prices, for which they are criminally liable under Illinois law, and for this we indict them," is there anything inconsistent in it? Isolated from the circumstances under which the special grand jury sat, there is, indeed, no inconsistency. For the same reason there would have been no inconsistency had the grand jury, though finding that the coal famine was not due to a trade conspiracy, nevertheless indicted one or more persons for sheep stealing. Grand juries may find various indictments for various crimes. But the circumstances make a vast difference in the case referred to. This was a special grand jury. It was called for the special purpose of investigating the causes of the coal famine. Its indictments, therefore, are properly regarded as the result of that investigation. And so it regarded them itself, for it did not indict the Manufacturers' Association nor any other similar conspiracy which "for a long space of time" had defied the laws of Illinois. It confined its indictments to coal dealers, thereby making an im-

pression upon the public mind that it had traced the coal famine to those men. That action of this particular grand jury was inconsistent with its report, in which it found that the famine was not due to any trade conspiracy. The whole thing has the air of an attempt by somebody to divert public attention from the great railroad monopolies, which own both roads and mines, and toward which a well founded suspicion runs in connection with the famine.

A Baptist paper of Cincinnati, the *Journal and Messenger*, comments very sensibly upon the proposed method of settling the land question of Ireland by buying out the landlords at something less than the value of their holdings. "By no hocus pocus can it be made to appear," says that paper, "that when an owner is receiving \$5 per acre rent for his land a sale for an annual payment of \$4 is not confiscation of a considerable part of the property." That is perfectly true. In the forum of morals it is just as clearly an invasion of property rights to confiscate a part as the whole. The real question that inevitably recurs in either case is, Is it an invasion of property rights at all to terminate such tenures as the Irish landlords claim? If it is such an invasion as to full value, it is equally so, morally speaking, as to part of the value; and if it is not so as to part, it is not so as to the whole. Let us ask, then, whether it is so at all with reference to these Irish lands? The answer may be found in the same Baptist paper. It truly says that the fact that the landlords' claims to Irish lands rest upon conquest is of no importance, "since the value at the time they were conquered was trifling;" and then it adds, also with truth and force, that "the real value of all land has been given by the development of civilization, and by the people of the entire country," and "this is as true where land was purchased for a few shillings an acre as where it was taken by a conqueror." Does not that completely answer the

question of the right to terminate such claims? By what moral authority does any government maintain the vitality of land tenures which operate to endow a few in every generation with those values that are "given by the development of civilization and by the people of the entire country"? Is it not confiscation from the people to continue enforcing such a system, rather than confiscation from landlords to stop enforcing it?

THE GREAT ORDER OF THINGS.*

We live in a time when Deborah's allegorical allusion to the rout of Sisera is big with meaning. Even as "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," so do the eternal forces of moral righteousness, circling majestically on in their appointed orbits, fight against the sordid utilitarianism that holds the moral sense of our generation in captivity. The victory of right over seeming might is thus assured. At all times when "the stars in their courses fight against Sisera," his chariots however numerous and his hosts however mighty, are predestined to utter destruction.

There is a great order of things. As to this all doubt has vanished with reference to the material universe. Fighting with "the stars in their courses," materialistic science has upon this distinctive plane of human experience routed the Siserian hosts. The powers that came of a bigoted rejection of rational truth promoted by a priestly utilitarianism in the disguise of religious faith, those old forces generated by a union of superstitious credulity and irrational incredulity, have here yielded to an enlightened recognition of the dominance of natural law.

We know now that the material universe, from largest to least, is a universe of law—invariable law. Except in obedience thereto, no man—whether greatest of inventors or humblest of mechanics—would any longer think of pursuing his vocation. He perceives that disobedience would

but waste his labor and cripple his powers. He realizes that it is as he conforms, and only as he conforms, to the laws of matter, that his undertakings in the utilization of matter can succeed. He knows that unless he harmonizes his efforts with "the stars in their courses," all he attempts, promising though it may seem at first to be, must utterly fail. In the sphere of material things, disobedience to natural law is fully seen to be as a process self-destructive and as a result impossible.

The law of gravitation, for instance, always holds sway. It can be neither frustrated nor disturbed. Whether we work with it and build ourselves a house, or defy it and dash our bodies to pulp at the foot of a precipice, it is the same law working irresistibly in the same way. It serves the just and the unjust, the righteous and the unrighteous, those who seek its aid for construction and those who seek it for destruction. All these it serves alike, according to their several purposes. If they would build for themselves, they have but to go rightly about it and the law of gravitation helps them. If they would destroy themselves, it permits them to do so. But its constant lesson is the invariableness of its processes, the wasteful futility of opposition, the splendid possibilities of conformity. "The stars in their courses" fight against every Sisera who defies this or any other law of the material universe.

So it is, also, in the moral universe. There, too, the great order of things holds resistless sway. Its laws, analogous to the courses of planets and suns, no human power can overcome nor any antagonism disturb. More than that. Not only is the moral universe, equally with the material, a universe of invariable law, but its laws are sovereign over those of matter. This must be so, for matter is merely a medium for the expression of moral purpose. Except as it is subservient to that end, its existence is inexplicable upon the hypothesis of universal design.

As certainly as physical law dominates matter does moral law dominate the physical. Though conformity to the laws of matter alone will enable us, for illustration, to forge

a knife of keenest blade, the uses of the knife—without which it has no reason for existing and would not be made—fall within the jurisdiction of moral law. We may use it to carve things that minister to human needs or the human sense of beauty, thus serving our brethren and moulding our own characters more and more in the divine likeness, while conquering the stubbornness of external nature; or we may make it an implement for torture and murder. In the one case we advance in moral righteousness by conformity to the moral law. "The stars in their courses" fight with us. In the other case, we defy the moral law. But we cannot overcome it, for "the stars in their courses" fight against us. Though the torture be inflicted and the murder done, the unrighteous purpose they were intended to serve will in the outcome inevitably fail. The stars in their immutable courses fight always and everywhere against Sisera.

Unrighteous we may be in thought and deed, but we can no more establish anywhere in the universe the sovereign sway of moral unrighteousness, of moral lawlessness, of moral disorder, than we could establish a sway of material lawlessness upon the plane of physics. The enemies of Sisera, though captive for a time, cannot fail if their cause is allied to "the stars in their courses." Be their cause what it may, whether material or moral, that of an inventor like the unknown discoverer of fire or the forgotten maker of the first wheelbarrow, of a persecuted and disheartened explorer like Columbus, of patriots on the scaffold or of saints upon the rack, of the philosopher with his deadly potion of hemlock or the Nazarene carpenter upon the cross—whatever the cause, it always has and always must conquer, in so far as it is in harmony with the great order of things.

That this universal truth lacks recognition as such, is evident from the manifest tendency to subordinate what is morally right to what seems to be practically more expedient, to displace loyalty to moral principles with slavery to material utilities—in a comprehensive phrase, to place utilitarianism above idealism.

*By Louis F. Post, editor of The Public, in the Christmas, 1902, number of The Mirror (St. Louis). Reproduced here by special permission of William Marion Reedy, editor of The Mirror.

That this is the marked tendency of the time, no one who observes can doubt. It may be seen not alone in the counting house, where utilitarianism has a proper and useful abode, but in places where moral ideals should rule. Great statesmen care much for commercial advantages and little or nothing for moral checks and balances. School teachers inculcate love of commercial success at the expense of moral aspirations. From the chairs of political economy in our colleges, the subject of correlative rights and duties in the body politic is marked "taboo," while professor and text writer go far afield in search of plausible excuses and confusing arguments in behalf of privileged classes. Even the pulpit has come to justify Swinburne's bitter rebuke when he wrote of "a Christian church that spits on Christ."

As for "the man in the street," he makes no pretense of being anything but a sordid utilitarian in every fiber of his body and in all the recesses of his soul. He may tell you of the wisdom of honesty in business; but he extols honesty merely because it is wise, merely because it is expedient, merely because it is the best policy, merely because it pays. You never hear him commending it simply because it is right. How can we avoid the feeling that if such men should come to regard dishonesty as the better policy, they would be dangerous persons to meet alone on a dark night if you had something which they wanted and had the power to take? How is it possible to avoid the feeling that notwithstanding all their preachments about the common kind of honesty that pays, their conduct regarding the finer kinds that do not seem to pay would rarely bear inspection?

In every class of society, from top to bottom, and apparently with almost every person in each class, the old appeal to rights and duties seems to have lost its potency. We are accounted dreamers and fools if we urge the righteousness of any cause as a reason for adopting it. The uppermost question everywhere is whether the cause will pay. If it apparently will, then if it is also morally right so much the better; but if it apparently will not, then the fact

that it is morally right cuts no figure. This accounts for the popularity of statistics. So insanely sordid have we become that in dealing with statistics we not only always ignore the moral factor but frequently the mathematical one also. Statistics that show pay dirt are pretty apt to go, no matter how repugnant they may be both to common sense and the plain principles of morality.

As a rule, however, the utilitarianism of the day fully recognizes the dominance of natural law in the material universe in which it seeks to make mankind captive. It realizes the necessity of conforming to the great order of things in its physical aspects. What it ignores, is the predominance of moral law. "Ignores" is hardly the word. Its attitude toward the moral law is one of defiance.

But this is only a passing phase. It is the swing of the pendulum back from the crude conceptions of moral righteousness in the social world which prevailed during the latter part of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth—a swing which, though backward in one sense is forward in another, for it touches a higher conception of utilitarianism than that which preceded the idealism it has displaced. The return swing is sure to come. Then society will have a better appreciation of correlative rights and duties, a clearer perception of the moral law, and a wider and truer vision of its relationships than have ever come to any but the seers who have gone up into the mountain tops with God.

If utilitarianism has any sway it is not because it is sordid but because with all its sordidness it represents what to idealism is as body to soul. Idealism can express itself in this material world only through utilitarianism. If at one time the ideal seems predominant and at another the material, it is because our conceptions of both are advancing through action and reaction.

That which I have likened to a swinging pendulum is as the ebb and flow of battle. Now one side seems to have the victory and now the other. But in this battle, whatever is true and good in both sides

will conquer. For there is good and truth in both utilitarianism and idealism, and for the good and truth in each "the stars in their courses" fight against Sisera. Whatever is imperfect, inadequate, narrow, indefinite, and one sided in our conceptions of the ideal, is improved, expanded, broadened, defined and rounded out with every succeeding reaction from utilitarian epochs; while whatever is sordid in our utilitarian practice and precept is in turn sloughed off by better and better ideals.

In this great struggle which leads on toward general recognition of the dominion of the highest ideals of morality over the truest utilities of physical existence, toward the same recognition by man of the moral law that he has already given to physical law, toward the adaptation of material righteousness to moral righteousness, toward the natural adjustment of human relationships both individual and social—in this battle for freedom from defective ideals and a sordid utilitarianism, many there be that fight with Sisera. But they cannot alter the predominant law. "The stars in their courses" fight against them. They are doomed to defeat by those who, few in number though they be, attach themselves to the causes that harmonize with the great order of things.

NEWS

The Venezuelan question (p. 679) remains the subject of principal general interest. No further reports of the battle at San Carlos are published, however, the center of interest having shifted from that battle to the diplomatic negotiations (p. 679) which Mr. Bowen is conducting at Washington. After the announcement on the 28th (p. 680) that settlement proposals contemplating the administration of 30 per cent. of Venezuelan customs receipts in behalf of all the creditor nations equally, had been forwarded to Berlin, London and Rome, it leaked out on the 29th that the blockading powers were insisting upon priority of payment for themselves. On that day they sent a joint reply refusing to accept

the Venezuelan offer, because it would place all the creditor nations on an equality. This complicates the negotiations, because it brings France and other nations, including the United States, into the controversy. France has a treaty with Venezuela regarding the French claims, which would be broken if a preference were given by Venezuela to Great Britain, Italy and Germany; and her minister at Washington has informed Secretary Hay that he has explicit instructions to insist that she shall not be discriminated against.

As Mr. Bowen had gone the full length of his authority in making his peace offer, he was unable to respond to the unfavorable reply of the blockading powers without further instructions from President Castro. It was, however, given out semiofficially, on the 30th, that he had advised the blockading powers that if they insisted upon their demand for a preference in payment, he would call the representatives in Washington of the other claimant powers and explain to them that Venezuela was being forced to yield to a settlement which would seriously affect the interests of France, Belgium, Norway and Sweden, Denmark, Holland and the United States. His instructions from President Castro arrived on the 1st. "The Venezuelan government desires equal treatment," wired President Castro, "for all the creditor nations in Europe and America, keeping in mind, in addition, its diplomatic convention and anterior stipulations." After Mr. Bowen had received these instructions he met with representatives of the blockading powers, on the 2d, and delivered to them a note which amounted to an ultimatum. A modified demand had been submitted at this meeting by the British ambassador in behalf of the blockading powers, proposing that they be allowed two-thirds of the 30 per cent. of customs receipts of the ports of La Guayra and Porto Cabello, and that the other claimant nations have the other third. Replying to this, Mr. Bowen refused point blank; proposing, however, that the question of preference, being now the only one at issue, be submitted to the international arbitration tribunal at The Hague. His note has not been published, but the news reports agree in saying it declares that the blockading powers have transgressed the rules of civilized nations in sacrificing human lives merely to secure a preference in the payment of debts. Re-

plies to Mr. Bowen's ultimatum are hourly expected.

In the midst of these negotiations the blockading vessels before Caracas notified the civil authorities of that Venezuelan city on the 3d, that the presence there of Venezuelan troops was objectionable to the European powers, and that if they remained the forts guarding the city would be shelled. It is somewhat significant that the Venezuelan revolutionists had just issued a manifesto urging a revolutionary attack upon Caracas. The same manifesto declared, with an assumption of knowledge of the purposes of the blockading powers, that the blockade will not be raised until Castro vacates the presidential office. The significance of this manifesto is heightened by the fact that the revolutionists have moved upon Caracas. A victory of President Castro over them was reported from Caracas on the 3d. It was gained by Gen. Alcantara, a graduate of West Point, in a battle with Gen. Ducharme on the Camalagua river, about 50 miles south of Caracas. The fight lasted seven hours, and the revolutionists were completely routed. They left all their ammunition behind and 250 men and officers as prisoners. But this report cannot be trusted altogether, for on the same day other reports came from Caracas which described the revolutionists as almost at the gates of Caracas, and told of great defensive operations to resist an attack upon the city. It is charged by the Castro government, and these various dispatches tend to confirm it, that the revolutionists on the land side and the blockading fleets off the coast are acting in cooperation.

Farther north, in the republic of Honduras, a civil war is just reported in connection with which the United States government has been appealed to for protection to American interests that may be put in jeopardy. This war has been precipitated by a contest over the presidential election. President Sierra, who was defeated for reelection by Senor Bonilla, refuses to retire from the office, and Bonilla has effected a military organization, with headquarters on the island of Amapalpa, to oust him. In consequence, therefore, of the probability of civil war, certain unnamed American commercial interests in Honduras have appealed for protection to the American government,

which has in response ordered Rear Admiral Casey to proceed immediately with his squadron from San Francisco to Amapalpa and report to the American consul at Amapalpa and the American minister to Honduras, with a view to protecting American commercial interests.

From the other side of the world, where a revolution against the Sultan of Morocco has for some weeks been in progress (p. 663), and the reports of two weeks ago described the Sultan's army as demoralized and his abdication as imminent, the latest news indicates his complete triumph. The revolutionary army was reported several days ago as being within 25 miles of Fez, and reports of the 29th told briefly of his repulse. For a time the news was conflicting. But on the 1st dispatches from Tangier were to the effect that the battle had been fought on the 29th and that the revolutionary army had been annihilated. Dispatches of the next day from the same source attributed the sultan's decisive victory to the desertion from the revolutionary forces, at a critical point in the battle, of a body of tribesmen whom he had bribed to perpetrate the treachery. On the 4th it was reported that the revolutionary leader had been captured.

Returning to our own side of the world for current news of permanent importance and present interest, we are led to Chicago, where negotiations on the street car question (p. 663) have reached the point of a conference between the committee on local transportation of the city council and the financial and legal representatives of the traction companies. The first meeting was held on the 4th. It was devoted to an interchange of views as to conditions of compromise, the 99-year franchise being claimed as valid by the corporations, while the committee insisted that it must be waived as a prime condition of any adjustment whatever. The representatives of the companies intimated their willingness to yield all claims in consideration of an acceptable compromise, but were indefinite when questioned as to their ability to secure the assent of stockholders and bondholders. Edwin Burritt Smith and John C. Mathis appeared as special counsel for the committee, under retainer from the corporation counsel.

Bearing upon this question, the Municipal Voters' League, which is cred-

ited with having reduced the number of "boodle" councilmen to an important minority, embodied in its eighth annual report, issued on the 30th, the following explanation:

Definite action on the general traction question cannot be much longer delayed. Important franchises begin to expire on July 30 of this year. The present attitude of the companies gives some promise of an early settlement. Everything depends upon their prompt recognition of clearly defined and reasonable public demands. The general principles which should govern renewal grants have been defined in many platforms of the league, and 55 of the 70 members of the present council were elected on these platforms. The right of future municipal ownership undoubtedly will be preserved, and present indications point to the early passage of an adequate enabling act to that end by the legislature. There appears to be substantial agreement upon the policy of a provision for a referendum vote upon the renewal ordinances upon proper petition of the voters. The council, through its appropriate committee, is faithfully and intelligently working on the whole question at issue. The Municipal Voters' league wishes to reiterate its entire confidence in the integrity, intelligence and fairness of the men having this matter in charge.

But the Municipal Ownership clubs of the city are not so confident of the good faith of the majority in the city council. At a meeting of club delegates held on the 3d it was decided to take measures to secure a large attendance of the members of the central executive committee of these clubs at all the public conferences between the traction company and the local transportation committee of the council, for the purpose of watching the proceedings.

A similar distrust was manifested by the Chicago Federation of Labor, which, at its regular meeting on the 1st, adopted unanimously the following resolutions:

Whereas, The people of Chicago, by a majority vote of 115,000, declared for municipal ownership of the traction lines; and, whereas, the city council at a recent meeting of that body voted to recommend to the legislature the enactment of the so-called "Jackson enabling act," the terms of which absolutely prevent the city from ever obtaining municipal ownership; and, whereas, the policy of the Chicago Federation of Labor has been and is in favor of municipal ownership of municipal utilities; therefore be it—

Resolved by the Chicago Federation

of Labor, that we oppose the passage of the so-called Jackson bill by the legislature; and be it further resolved, that it is the sense of the Chicago Federation of Labor that there be no grant of franchise for any period of time to any street railway company or corporation whatsoever in or under the streets; and be it further resolved, that if an ordinance carrying a franchise is presented to the city council every trades unionist be requested to attend the council meeting at which said ordinance is presented to aid the city council in its deliberations upon said franchise; and be it further resolved, that every alderman voting for a franchise granting Chicago streets to any street railway corporation is a public enemy and should be punished at the ballot box; and be it further resolved, that the legislative committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor be and is hereby directed to draft a municipal ownership bill for presentation to the state legislature in opposition to the so-called Jackson bill, and that copies of these resolutions be sent to every member of the city council; and be it further resolved, that no traction or other company be allowed to construct, maintain, or acquire ownership of any subway in any public street or other thoroughfare, but that the city own, construct and maintain all subways for the public good, the same to be utilized by all public utilities and a reasonable rent to be assessed by the municipality.

Akin to the movement in Chicago for municipal ownership of street car lines is the movement there for municipal ownership of lighting systems. The subject came before the council on the 2d, when an enabling act was adopted for submission to the legislature. This act would enable the council of any city desiring municipal ownership of its gas or electric lighting plants or both, to submit the question by referendum to the people, a majority of the popular vote to be decisive. The initiative is not restricted to the council, as in the "Jackson" bill on traction ownership (p. 663), but may be taken by a petition of ten per cent. of the registered voters. Under the authority thus proposed, any city so deciding could construct, purchase, condemn, lease or operate gas or electric lighting plants. An attempt was made in the council to fix the number of registered voters necessary to submit the question to popular vote at 20 per cent instead of ten; but this was defeated, as was also an effort to require a two-thirds majority at the polls.

In the anthracite arbitration pro-

ceedings (p. 681) the employers ended their case on the 30th, and the miners began their rebuttal on the 2d. It is now understood that the closing speeches will begin on the 9th.

Two serious street car strikes are reported, one from Indiana and the other from Connecticut. The Indiana strike began on the 25th. It affects South Bend, Mishawaka, Elkhart and Osceola, and is made to enforce the following demands:

Nine-hour day schedule; adjustment of grievances by arbitration; reinstatement of ten conductors and motormen, discharged for acting as officers of the union in presenting grievances; recognition of the union; twenty cents per hour on city runs, \$2.25 per day on interurban runs and 25 cents per hour for overtime.

To meet the emergency the company imported professional "strike breakers," and this led to violence. According to newspaper reports of the 2d from South Bend, the street car company there had been forced by mobs of men and women numbering from 2,000 to 3,000 to cease operations. The Connecticut strike is at Waterbury. Here, too, professional "strike breakers" were brought in by the company, and owing to the resulting disturbances the governor ordered out the two companies of militia at Waterbury and reenforced them with 14 companies and two Gatling guns from Hartford and New Haven. This was on the 1st. When asked why he had taken such action he replied:

Because the situation demands it. I hesitated about it, but every effort has been made by the local authorities in Waterbury to avert violence, and to-day it seemed apparent that wisdom dictated prompt and energetic action if law and order and the welfare of the city and state were to be conserved.

The strikers at Waterbury number only 80 men, but they are reported to be receiving the sympathy and financial support of 8,000 union men and women of their city. On the 2d ball cartridges were distributed to the troops. It appears from Associated Press reports of the 3d, that although there have been numerous individual cases of violence on the part of the strikers or their sympathizers, the first rioting occurred on that day and consisted in a concerted attack with stones by "strike breakers" upon an omnibus containing 12 passengers, nine of them women, which was being driven by union men as a substitute for the tied-up street cars.

NEWS NOTES.

—The woman suffrage bill pending in the Kansas legislature was defeated in the Senate on the 28th.

—A bill before the New Hampshire legislature designed to prohibit physical healing by Christian Science methods was defeated in the lower House on the 29th by a vote of 70 to 194.

—An anti-trust bill, fathered by Senator Elkins, which aims to amend the interstate commerce law by making stringent provisions against rebates, was passed by the Senate by unanimous consent on the 3d.

—Over 5,000 men were thrown out of work on the 2d when the Havemeyer sugar refinery in Williamsburg, N. Y., the largest of the sugar trust plants, closed its doors indefinitely. The payroll has averaged \$40,000 a week.

—A national convention on municipal ownership and public franchises is to be held at New York on the 25th, 26th and 27th under the auspices of the Reform Club. The secretary in charge of arrangements is John Martin, 50 Pine street, New York.

—The verdict in the case of Maj. Glenn (p. 681), tried by court-martial at Manila for using the torture known as "water cure" upon Filipinos, and who defended himself by claiming that he had acted pursuant to orders, has been made public. He was acquitted.

—In answer to a request of the Massachusetts legislature the Supreme Court of that State decided on the 29th that a municipality cannot be allowed to engage in competition with private business. The business under consideration was municipal coal yards.

—The British proclamation of last year withdrawing from 13 districts in Ireland the ordinary safeguards in criminal cases of jury trial, etc. (pp. 424, 487, 502), has been revoked in part, and several prisoners arbitrarily arrested, including William Redmond, have been released.

—A bill has been introduced in the Swedish riksdag to nationalize the iron mines. The government proposes to buy them and thus head off the trust. It recognizes that if the trust is permitted to own the mines the iron industry of Sweden will be at the mercy of a foreign syndicate. If the trust should find it expedient to stifle European competition by shutting down the mines, it would bring ruin to the Swedish iron industry, although it might swell the profits of the trust.

—At a referendum election in Vermont on the 3d an act for the licensing of saloons at fees ranging from \$100 to \$1,200 was carried by a majority of about 1,600. Under the Vermont

constitution a referendum has no binding force, but in order to carry out the pledges of the Republican party to submit the saloon question to the people, the legislature enacted a law with provisions which would indirectly give effect to the popular vote. With seven towns, having an aggregate vote of 300, still to hear from, the vote for license was 30,588 and against it 28,946. Vermont has been a prohibition State for 50 years. The new act will take effect March 3, 1903.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE TRUE INWARDNESS OF PROTECTIONISM.

Chicago Chronicle (ind.), Jan. 31.—Whatever is true in theory must be true in practice, because a true theory is nothing more nor less than a generalization from practice. If a theory is not true in practice it is not true at all. . . . The scientific mathematician teaches that the sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles. The practical man might say that this was true in theory, but that in practice the sum of the three angles may be equal to three or six or any other number of right angles, according to the country where you find your triangles. The scientific moralist teaches that it is wrong to steal. Your practical protection moralist might say that this is true in theory, but that in practice it is right to steal, and especially when he himself practices grand larceny with the help of the government. In short, your protectionist will admit any truth in theory, but reserve the right to club it to death in practice if it happens to stand in the way of the gorging of his greed.

SOCIALISM AND LABOR UNIONS.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), Jan. 30 (weekly ed.).—Socialistic sentiment is plainly growing among labor unionists throughout the country, but it is still wanting a majority of the votes in large representative assemblages of organized labor. One and a principal cause is that the union leaders prefer the status quo for reasons of regard for their own interests. They have built up great fighting machines which give them power, prominence before the public and a livelihood. The whole reason for their existence depends upon the maintenance of warlike conditions in the field of industry. They do not stand necessarily for the competitive system; in fact, their aim is to establish substantial monopoly in the labor force of the country so as to be able to dictate to employers the terms upon which work can be had.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Jan. 31.—It was doubtless a mere oversight on the part of Mr. Roosevelt that in his Canton eulogy he falsified history by representing Mr. McKinley as overborne by public sentiment and compelled thereby to declare war against Spain. Yet the documents are in the archives showing that President McKinley concealed from the country the vital fact that Spain had yielded the last of our demands and in so doing had left us no possible excuse for beginning hostilities. It was a preventable war—and President McKinley deliberately refused to prevent it.

THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), Feb. 3.—Let the whole question go to The Hague court. That tribunal represents civilization and will not entertain unfair propositions. Before it the allies would occupy no

privileged position, and justice would be done to all concerned. The reluctance of the allies to submit their case to that court is certainly suspicious.

TAXING CORPORATIONS.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Feb. 2.—The taxation of the capital stock of a public service corporation, where its value by reason of the ownership of exclusive privileges exceeds that of its tangible property, is legitimate. The mercantile corporation enjoys no exclusive privileges and should not be subjected to unfair taxation.

OLNEY'S CANDIDACY.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Jan. 29.—There are too many men in the Democratic party to whom no apologies need be made to choose a candidate for president whose presence on the ticket would require the party to enter the campaign of 1904 in defense of the acts of Grover Cleveland's last administration.

THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago American (Dem.), Feb. 2.—We have built up enough private fortunes by surrendering public rights to private use. Now let us have the city for the city, the streets for the people, and natural public utilities for public use and profit.

CROOKS.

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Feb. 1.—Did it ever occur to you that the bear-eyed crook of the slums in this, our social organism, is but a fit and beautiful companion-piece to the kid-gloved crook on 'change?

IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 35 of that publication.

Washington, Jan. 26-Feb. 1, 1903.

Senate.

On the 26th some appropriations work was done (p. 1324) and the Statehood bill was discussed (p. 1324, 1334), the latter subject being under consideration also on the 27th. The Rawlins resolution calling for records of Philippine court-martials was debated on the 28th (p. 1415), giving way to the Statehood bill (p. 1422) in the afternoon, but being continued in the morning hour of the 29th (pp. 1457-59) at the close of which it again gave way to the Statehood bill (p. 1466). Memorial addresses on the late Senator McMillan were made on the 30th (p. 1517), and on the 31st orations accepting statuses of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and John Hanson (p. 1574) were delivered.

House.

Appropriations work occupied the attention of the House on the 26th, 27th and 28th, except that on the latter day the Senate amendments to the bankruptcy bill were discussed (pp. 1423, 1426) and concurred in (p. 1427). Disagreement with Senate amendments to the department of commerce and labor bill (p. 1458), together with appropriations work, marked the business of the 29th, while on the 30th private bills were considered, and on the 31st appropriations work was resumed. Sunday, the 1st of February, was devoted to memorial speeches in honor of the late Senator McMillan (p. 1511).

Record Notes.—The President's reply to the Senate's request for information regarding the island of Guam and the case of Mabini (p. 1329). Rawlins's resolution in the Senate calling upon the secretary of war for records of court-martials in the Philippines (p. 1360). Speech of Representative Sulzer on the Alaska delegate question (p. 1409). Report of secretary of state and correspondence on movement to restore and maintain a fixed relationship between the moneys of the gold standard companies and those of the silver using countries (p. 1464). Senator Lodge's speech against Statehood bills (p. 1501).

MISCELLANY

LIFE'S AWFUL BALANCE.

For The Public.

"At last!" said the proud inventor,
 "My design has won its way;
 The factory has received it—
 They are putting it in to-day.
 That plan had the great God's blessing,
 My weary waiting is done,
 And the work for a thousand tollers
 Will be saved by the brain of one."

"Thank God!" cried a sweet-faced maiden,
 "My loved one is happy at last.
 The days of defeat and sorrow
 Lie buried away in the past.
 We mind not the years of struggle,
 Nor fret at the long delay—
 This glorious message has reached us:
 'They are putting it in to-day.'"

Scarcely a mile from this triumph
 Is the home of a factory-hand,
 Where four little fatherless children
 Are huddled—a trembling band.
 "No more work for dear mother,
 Hundreds are turned away,
 One cruel machine will do it—
 'They are putting it in to-day.'"

Oh, poets! You play with the problems of
 wrong,

Amid ceaseless want and strife;
 Pray, what do you mean, in your mellow
 song,

By "the balance wheels of life"?
 Arise! and your dreamland forsaking,
 Turn rhymes into trumpet peals:
 For the world's great heart is breaking
 Under these "balance wheels."

MARY M'NABB JOHNSTON.

COAL MINING.

The coal mines are owned by widows and orphans. They are worked by slaves.

Moreover, there are the operators. When it chanced that the widows and orphans murmur, and complain that their dividends are too small, the operators exclaim:

"What! Would you take the bread from the mouths of the poor slaves in the mines?"

And if it falls out that the slaves would have more wages, the operators protest:

"What! Would you take the bread from the mouths of the widows and orphans whose slender means are invested in these mines?"

It is their cleverness in working the widows and the orphans and the slaves that has won for these persons the name of operators.—Life.

DINKELSPIEL ON THE COAL PROBLEM.

I vent among several of my friends to see hat dey any suchchestions to offer, bud I made leedle succession.

To Chay Pierpont I set: "Guten morgen! Vot is your idea aboud a substitution for der poor peoples to burn vile coal has such a scarceness?"

Chay vas silent for a brief moment, den he set: "Vy doan'd dey turn on der steam?"

To Antrew Carnegie I proposed der same qvestion und paused for a reply.

"Vell," set Antrew, "I haf nod given der idea much thought, bud I vould suchchest a library."

"Dot is because you haf libraries to burn, bud der poor peoples vas bookless," I vispered.

"If dare vas any man, woman or child in der world dot I haf nod given a library to, name dem und I assurance you der ofersight will be apologized," set Antrew.

"Do you dink books could make der poor peoples forget der scareyosity of coal?" I conjectured.

"Sure," said Antrew; "provided dey vas light literature."

Den Antrew laughed so unanimously ad his own choke dot I vas compulsioned to rush henceforth.—Geo. V. Hobart, in Chicago Examiner.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

A portion of an address made by Newton D. Baker at the Jackson day banquet of the Cleveland Buckeye club, January 8, as reported in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.

The worst possible plan of government in the hands of the best men is better than the best possible plan in the hands of the worst men. Government among men is to be had neither by instinct nor by machinery. At last our government must be human, and the excellence of any government will always be in direct ratio to the honesty and intelligence of those who administer it. We cannot have good government from bad men.

No more immoral or hurtful political maxim was ever uttered than Marcy's famous cry: "To the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished," for it directed the attention of those who desired to serve the public, more to the question of their political qualification than to their efficiency, deprived the public spirited citizen of any inducement for political activity, crippled the efficiency of the public service by making not merit, but partisanship the means of entrance, divided countless miserable thousands of our people into three pitiful and unproductive classes; first, those turned out of office and trying to get back; second, those in office and in terror of being turned out; and third, those out of office and spending their time trying to get in; and perhaps worst of all, made those who were selected to be executives depend for the retention of their places rather upon their power to select and reward

those partisan leaders most efficient in vote getting than upon the uprightness or efficiency of their performance of public duty.

An essentially Democratic policy administered in part by Republicans would likely have pretty Republican consequences and an essentially Republican policy administered in part by Democrats might well fail of good results through no fault in the policy itself. But the limit of reason in the application of this rule requires change only in those places either of a confidential character, or when the duties are affected by the views the incumbent holds of the wisdom of the policy involved. Beyond this the political belief of officeholders becomes relatively unimportant and the efficiency of the service becomes the chief consideration. Fidelity to the public interest and an honest performance of duty ought in this latter class of places to protect men from being punished for their political opinions by having their careers cut short just when they have learned to do well some one thing and when it is too late for them to learn a new business or calling.

This is not a Democratic city, nor is it probably a Republican city. If you were to draw tight party lines around the partisans of each of these parties you would probably find about an equal number in each group, but not enough in either to carry an election, while off to one side would be a company of about 10,000 voters waiting to throw their decisive influence in with that party which nominated the purest and best men for office and which most closely lived up to high ideals in the conduct of public affairs. We can win elections in Cleveland just as long as we deserve to win them; just as long as we are worthy of public confidence we can have it, for what the great public wants is a competent, intelligent and trustworthy administration of its affairs.

THE RELATION OF DEMOCRACY TO A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

A portion of an address delivered at the Jackson Day banquet of the Maine Democratic club at Portland, Me., Jan. 6, 1904, by the Hon. John De Witt Warner, of New York.

What is the people's cause? Democracy opposes government restriction, for it believes in giving the people all freedom possible. But it favors extension of public service—this to give each more freedom. To illustrate: Democracy abhors a protective tariff, because it interferes

with men's business. But it favors our postal service, because that makes it easier for every man to do business.

No government can serve monopoly and the people; "for either it will hate the one and love the other, or it will hold to the one and despise the other." It cannot "serve God and Mammon."

To take our government out of bondage to Mammon, to make it better serve our people, such is, to-day, the people's cause—such the progress of Democracy.

What items does this involve?

First, getting it out of the service of plutocracy—making it stop taxing our people for private monopoly.

Our forefathers denounced George III. "for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world." That is just what our own government is doing. Free trade is what we want. Is it not high time to say so? If I remember correctly, the declaration of independence was the glad end of a long series of loyal protests to the British crown, in which the Tories had joined.

One of the truths we must accept as axiomatic is that "protection" is usurpation—blackmail—to which no man has any excuse for submitting, except that for the moment he cannot resist or escape; to which no one does submit except because he must.

I am not so sure, however, but that we may have among us those who wish to be classed as "tariff reformers." What does "tariff reform" mean? As I understand it, a mere tariff reformer is ready to acquiesce in a tariff "for revenue." But, in fixing a tariff for revenue, the interests affected lie, bully and bribe—just as in the case of a tariff for protection. The antics of ten monkeys to which have been thrown three oranges are dignity and generosity compared with the performance of American manufacturers when tariff schedules are fixing.

Moreover, experience has shown how little we can hope for such adjustment of any tariff as to leave it one for revenue alone. The Wilson tariff was less oppressive in its extortions than any other we have had of late years; but there never was one less defensible on logical grounds than was this when it left the House; or one more bestuck with corruption than this, when it came back from the Senate to become a law.

Senators and Congressmen were not all angels then. There are men of honor and courage among them now. But no one, on reading the roll, can claim that Congress is now better worthy of trust, or that we have a

right to expect future ones will be so.

Even if practicable, a tariff for revenue could not be defended. For it is a tax, not on ability to pay, but on necessity to use. From its very nature, to produce even a large or a stable return, it must be mainly levied, not upon luxuries, but upon the necessities of life.

It is a tax which stands by the cradle, and, as each babe enters the household, vigilantly and pitilessly increases its father's share of public burdens; but which sleeps unmoved while bond is piled upon bond in the strong box, and broad acres are added to broad acres outside. Is it fair thus to tax the necessities of the poor and leave untouched the accumulations of the rich? Is it fair thus to burden the unfortunate in proportion to his wants, and thus to let the miser go free in proportion to his stinginess? Is it fair to discourage the rearing of children, and thus to encourage the breeding of dollars?

But we have timorous friends, who shiver whenever there is danger that something will be done. And they ask: Would you have business disaster? Certainly—disaster to every man the continuance of whose prosperity depends on the continuation of his power to tax us for his benefit. When answered thus, they generally say that they agree, but—that "some tariffs are not as bad as others;" and that "we don't want to do anything that would unsettle business."

Well, which are good tariffs? Which are those the repeal of which would unsettle any business? Now I have asked that question scores of times, and I have never yet received an answer.

In the year 1901 we collected through the customs house \$233,500,000.

Of that, 27 per cent. was the duty on sugar.

Could not the business of this country stand free sugar?

Of the remainder, a little less than ten per cent. was on manufactured cottons; and about the same amount on woolen and manufactures of wool.

Could not the business interests of this country survive giving our whole people better and cheaper clothes?

Next come flax and other fibers—five and one-half per cent.; iron and steel goods, three per cent.; tea, three and one-half per cent.; chemicals, medicines, etc., two and four-tenths per cent.; pottery and china, two and three-tenths per cent.; hides and leather goods, three per cent.—in each of which free trade would help our

people. The duty on tea is already repealed.

Whom would it ruin if the sugar trust, the cotton trust, the woolen trust, the linen trust, the iron and steel trust, the leather trust and the glass trust were left without protection?

Of our total tariff receipts the only considerable items collected on luxuries are: Seven per cent. thereof on tobacco; six per cent. on manufactured silk, and four per cent. on liquors.

Liquor and tobacco duties may be needed to counterbalance internal revenue taxes. But from beginning to end of the tariff schedules, there is not an item the repeal of which would not help business rather than hurt it. A pauper dollar that don't earn its living without outdoor aid is just as much a drag on business as is a human wreck whom the poormaster has to help.

In short, my fearful friends, when you plead for tariff reform instead of free trade, in order that business may not be hurt, you are letting yourselves be used by protection monkeys as cat's paws, to pull their chestnuts out of the fire. The only good tariffs are dead tariffs.

"LOBSTERS" I HAVE MET.

A MILITARY GAZABO ON THE ROAD.
For The Public.

I arrived in Waco, Tex., one hot night last June very tired. I went to a hotel, found a chair on the sidewalk and settled down for a quiet smoke.

There were three traveling men seated in front of me, in such position as to describe a semicircle. They were talking about soldiers. One guy thought there were two or three brands of soldiers, and was giving the others the benefit of his "pipe." I resolved that no matter what was said I wouldn't butt in. For once I was going to sit by and listen to a line of fierce talk.

"There is one thing about West Pointers; when a man graduates from there he is a gentleman," said one.

"Yes, I guess that's right," drawled another.

"Now look at Sampson," said the first one; "you could tell him from an ordinary citizen anywhere."

"I never saw him," said the other.

"I never did, either," replied the first lunatic; "but I know he's a graduate of West Point, and that's enough for me!"

"Has England got any such institution as West Point?"

"I'm not sure, but I think she must

have; her generals are noted for their refinement."

"I have an idea they must have some such institution; Sir Redvers Buller had two months' meals put up in individual pails when he started out from England, and every pail was marked for the day and meal it was intended for. He must have been brought up in very superior fashion."

"After he had been out two months he was eating hard tack off the mantel," broke in the third; and I was glad to find at least one man in the party had sense enough to appreciate a joke. I was satisfied the other chumps didn't have brains enough to get a headache.

"Well, you must remember he had a pretty tough time crossing the Tugela," said number one.

"Yes, I remember," replied the third; "if he had it to do over again I guess he'd charter a boat."

"Well, we are having as hard a time in the Philippines," yawned number two.

"I don't know about that," said number one. "I read where an expert reported the war over, but the government is afraid to withdraw our troops on account of the treachery of the Filipinos."

That was more than I could stand. They had all been looking at me in an inviting sort of way for some time; to keep still longer was to appear unsociable, I thought, so I took a hand.

"Did the expert explain how the treachery of the Filipinos manifested itself?" I asked, carelessly.

"Why, yes," said number one. "He said they pretend to be your friend during the day, but when it gets dark they line up with their bolos and get busy."

"And is that what he called treachery?"

"What would you call it?" he asked, in amazement.

"Why, that's heroism," I replied. "That expert is full of prunes. I understand the Filipino government rewards every man who runs a bolo into an American soldier after dark with a brigadier generalship, provided he has succeeded in getting into the good graces of the soldier to such extent as to be invited to share his rations."

"Why is that?"

"You see, after Funston had captured Aguinaldo, with the assistance of a few Filipino traitors he had bribed for the purpose, the Filipinos learned the facts. Two native soldiers had been sent to Aguinaldo with a forged letter, in which it was stated

that a company of Filipinos had captured a number of American soldiers, and in order to keep from starving to death they must have more grub. Aguinaldo sent the grub. If he hadn't Funston couldn't have captured him. When the Filipinos discovered this, they were disgusted. But when afterwards they learned that Funston was rewarded by being made a brigadier general, and that in America he was regarded as a great hero, they revised their code of ethics to meet competition."

While I was making this observation my auditors listened with marked attention. It was some time before either of them recovered sufficiently to speak. Finally the man I have referred to as number one, said: "Well, you don't blame Funston, do you?"

"Why, no; I think he's out of sight. What I can't get through my nut is why experts should say the Filipinos are treacherous when they try to imitate Funston."

"Are you sure Funston sent to Aguinaldo for food enough to last till he could get to him?"

"Why, I only know what Funston said. You read his account, didn't you?"

"No, I don't believe I did," my easy mark reluctantly confessed; "but even so, I'm glad he captured Aguinaldo."

"Why?"

"Well, it ended the war, didn't it?"

"You must think Aguinaldo was the whole thing?"

"I certainly do. I'll bet he didn't have a thousand followers in the islands."

"It strikes me that's not very complimentary to our army. You might as well say it took 50,000 to 60,000 Americans to throw the hooks into 1,000 Filipinos. Besides our men had guns while the Filipinos had bolos and clubs."

"I guess some of them had rifles."

"Well, suppose they all had; does it take 60,000 Americans three years to do up 1,000 Filipinos?"

"Possibly not."

"Another thing: the islands have a population of something like 10,000,000. If the great mass of Filipinos were in favor of American rule, wouldn't they have assisted our troops?"

"Possibly. But it's over now, anyway."

"Well, suppose it is. What have we gained?"

"I should say we have gained a lot of fine islands."

"But what are we going to get in return for the blood and money they have cost?"

"How about the rich mineral and farming lands, ain't they worth considering?"

"They might be, if we didn't have more than we can use already."

"All that's any good is owned by a few rich men, ain't it?"

"Oh, I see. The Philippine lands will be owned by poor men?"

"Poor men can have them if they get there first, can't they?"

"Oh, certainly. If they get there first. They're about as likely to get there first as to be struck by lightning."

"Well, it's a chance, anyway."

"Well, now, suppose the unexpected should happen, and a poor man did get there first. Suppose he fenced in 160 acres of land. What would he do with it?"

"Why, cultivate it, of course."

"Alone?"

"Oh, no, not alone; he wouldn't have to. He'd probably hire some niggers to help him."

"No fear. They have an easier graft."

"Well, he'd send over here and get some white men."

"That would cost a lot of money. A poor man would certainly be up against it on that proposition."

"Oh, he could borrow the money all right, if he had the land."

"Granting he could, don't you think he'd have a hard struggle getting men to go from here while we're having so much prosperity?"

"Well, if it came to a show-down, he could work it himself."

"And what would he get out of it?"

"Whatever he produced, of course."

"And was it necessary to go 7,000 miles from home, and spend \$300,000,000, have 5,000 men killed, and slaughter 100,000 Filipinos, in order that an American workingman could get the product of his labor?"

"Possibly not. But that ain't all. We'll sell them goods, won't we?"

"That's what a lot of sausages in this country think. They think—Say, have you ever been among natives in such a country as the Philippines? No? Well, I have. I was in Samoa, which has about such a climate and population. The natives live in the open air; nothing doing in brie-a-brac. They don't wear anything but a neck-tie and a pleasant look; and they live on fruit, rice, coconuts, fish and game. Now, what are we going to sell them?"

"I don't believe it's as bad as that;

I know a man who went over there a year ago and put in an ice plant. He wouldn't do that if there was no business."

"Where did he put in an ice plant?"

"In Honolulu."

"Honolulu! Why, man, that's nearly as far from Samoa as Waco is from London. Honolulu! Why, that's only 2,200 miles from 'Frisco. The climate is about what it is in southern California, and a white man can live there and enjoy it. In fact, there are thousands of white people there now. The line-up in the Philippines is different. The climate is a pocket edition of h'l; few white people can stand it, and it's so far from civilization that they didn't know what a con game was till just lately."

That was the limit. A couple of fellows took hold of me, and led me inside; quite a crowd had gathered during the discussion, they followed, and we had refreshments—all except the lobster. I guess he's sitting there yet.

M. J. FOYER.

THE HISTORY AND STATUS OF THE BATTLE FOR THREE-CENT STREET RAILWAY FARES IN CLEVELAND.

The Hon. Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland, in the Cleveland Press of Jan. 28.

You have asked me this question to be answered through your paper:

"How have you kept your promise to give the people of Cleveland three-cent street railway fares, and do you still believe three-cent fares possible?"

In reply, let me say that even my bitterest opponents concede that I made every effort that lay in my power to bring about three-cent fares. Since last August my hands have been tied, but I am ready to renew the fight as soon as the knots tied by the corporation attorneys have been loosed. They can be loosed at the spring election.

Here, in brief, is the record of this administration on the street railway question and, incidentally, the record of its adversaries:

No sooner had I taken office than the preliminary work of securing three-cent fare was begun. The enemy was active, but on December 9, 1901, an ordinance was introduced in the city council to establish routes for three-cent fare roads. Move one by the city.

Two days later, Republican Attorney General Sheets brought suit to oust the city government. This was

the first public move of our opponents. Move one by the railroads.

In the usual course of council procedure, the ordinance was passed on March 24. Move two by the city.

An election was pending and our opponents did not make their second move until that had passed. The people of Cleveland sealed with their approval the work that had been done, but, despite this, on May 11, the building of the three-cent fare road was enjoined by the circuit court. Move two by the railroads.

The court, in setting aside the work done, pointed out certain defects in the first ordinance and legislation was started in the council a second time, in which these defects were cured. Move three by the city.

Five days later, on July 19, the council was enjoined from granting any franchise under the new ordinance, and a suit was brought to oust the city council elected by the people of Cleveland. Move three by the railroads.

The city law department attacked this injunction and had it dissolved by the circuit court. Move four by the city.

Our opponents, beaten by the courts at home, appealed to the supreme court by taking up the old ouster suit, which had been allowed to sleep, and ten days before the new three-cent fare franchises were to have been bid for, the supreme court ousted the city council, thus completing the destruction of the government of Cleveland. Move four by the railroads.

Tied hand and foot, the city administration has been powerless ever since, but it only awaits the command of the voters of Cleveland to renew the contest. This time the track is clear, for our opponents have exhausted all the power of courts, and the whole question has at last come back to the people of this city.

One of the influences that resulted in my election was the belief that no street railroad franchise would be renewed that did not provide for three-cent fare, universal transfers, and ultimate municipal ownership.

Up to that time, the question of renewing franchises was constantly before the council, and the people were fearful that in spite of their protests renewal grants would be made in the interest of the railroads, in entire disregard of the rights of the street car riders. No such fear has existed during this administration and no effort of any kind has been made to secure extension of present grants.

The citizens of Cleveland have nothing to lose and everything to gain in the building of new street railroads. Men and money are waiting to invest in three-cent fares. The congestion of cars on the main streets and the crowded condition of the cars themselves witness the fact that the city has far outgrown its present street railroad facilities. The city is growing at the rate of 25,000 people each year. Will the citizens force better and cheaper service or trust to the generosity of the men who now monopolize the streets?

Street railroad building has been at a standstill for a number of years, notwithstanding our phenomenal growth. The building of new lines will serve the double purpose of filling this want and inviting free and open competition as to the rate of fare on the new lines. One road in operation at three-cent fare is worth more than any number of reports on the cost of carrying passengers and will strengthen the position of the city in this important contest. Competition between bidders for new franchises is the best evidence as to what passengers can be carried for.

Never have the voters of an American city been permitted to meet such a clear-cut issue as the one that is now presented to the people of Cleveland.

On the one side is the movement for more, better and cheaper street railway service; on the other is a party organization utterly dominated by a United States senator who in himself is the incarnation of street monopoly. He will strive to choose the councilmanic nominees for his party.

The election of a mayor is of small importance except as to his veto power in franchise matters. The selection of the new administration officers under the new code is of minor importance, for their deeds will perish with them, but the work of the new council will bind future generations to extortion and inconvenience, or grant them the proper use of the streets which they own.

Let no voter cast a ballot for a councilman, Republican or Democrat, who is not fully and specifically pledged to guard the public interest.

Let no vote be cast for a councilman who is not untainted by monopoly influence and capable of the highest trust.

Even if competing franchises are not granted, the present grants of the old roads are about to expire, and the question of their extension must be met by the new council. The voters must realize, then, that the new

councilmen must be the representatives of the people who ride on Senator Hanna's railroad rather than the representatives of Senator Hanna himself.

Unless the senator dominates the council, competing three-cent lines will be within reach. There are men ready to construct such lines. It is the knowledge of such fact that spurs him on in his effort to control the next council and city administration so as to secure the renewal of his grants before the people of Cleveland are actually being carried for three cents.

But for Senator Hanna's opposition and his power to use a great political party for his own business ends, the people of Cleveland would be enjoying three-cent fare to-day.

This is not the time for compromise. The street railway monopoly is yielding. It first offered to sell six tickets for a quarter. Now, rumor has it, it is willing to sell seven tickets for a quarter. Eight tickets for a quarter is only a short step, and if the people of Cleveland exercise the power that is in them, three-cent fare will soon be an accomplished fact.

BY AND BY WILL BE TOO LATE.

For The Public.

Oh, scorn to you (and pity, too),
Ye who have felt the lash—
The stinging lash of helpless need,
Dependent for your daily bread
On scanty dole of wages paid
From out the pittance slipping through
The grasping palms of greed.
Ye who have seen the shadows creep
O'er loving eyes so dear to you;
Who know that want and hunger lay
Their icy fingers day by day
On loving hearts so near to you;
And dare not brave the tyrant's power
For fear of coming evil hour,
For fear that worse may come to you;
Oh, stop and think what future need,
What future store of good or ill,
What future hopes, depend on you.
How can you with your voice sustain
The power with whom you plead in vain,
The tyrant who oppresses you,
Who hears your plea with cold disdain,
And e'en to answer will not deign,
But thinks 'tis weak to treat with you.
Oh, know ye not his ruling power,
Growing with every passing hour,
With stronger bonds is binding you?
Why should you call a man your master?
Why should you bow your heads to knaves
Who only make by your disaster,
Who hold you only fit for slaves;
Whose greed will give you just enough
To keep the fires of life alight,
And hold above your head the sword
Of want, your nobler soul to fright?
Oh, courage ere it be too late;
Nor cringe and cower before the foe;
Your children's lives and future fate
Depend upon your action now.
Oh, rouse your manhood, ye who toil,
And side by side as brothers stand;
And wrest your birthright of the soil
From out the greedy spoller's hand!

E. R.

STATECRAFT.

"Justice according to law."—Secretary Shaw.

Justice is of God; law is either state or federal.

But a mere matter of getting the cart before the horse is nothing, in the higher realm of statecraft. Law according to justice might disturb the confidence on which our unexampled prosperity rests.—Life.

"Emerson," said the uncle of the Boston boy, beaming benevolently upon the studious youth, "I think, as a reward for the diligence with which you have pursued your studies, I shall give you a quarter."

"Uncle," said the boy, "if I may make a suggestion, I wish you would attach a string to your kind donation."

"A string?"

"Yes. Promise me a quarter on condition that you give me another quarter and my coughs—er—contributes 50 cents. You will then have the satisfaction of feeling that you are an up-to-date philanthropist, and it's a good gamble I can raise the money."—Puck.

There is at least one lighthouse in the world that is not placed on any mariner's chart. It is away out on the Arizona desert and marks the spot where a well supplies pure, fresh water to travelers. It is the only place where water may be had for 45 miles to the eastward and for at least 30 miles in any other direction. The "house" consists of a tall cottonwood pole, to the top of which a lantern is hoisted every night. The light can be seen for miles across the plain in every direction.—Chicago Chronicle.

"Banks are the natural servants of commerce," said the president in his message. Will some one please tell the banks?—The Commoner.

Many a Markle makes a Mitchell.—The Whim, of Newark, N. J.

If taxing whisky makes whisky harder to get, is not the effect of taxing houses and goods the same?—City and State, of Philadelphia.

BOOKS

TWO GREAT NOVELS.

As the most trifling literary work of modern times is to be found in novels, so is it perhaps equally true that the greatest literary work of modern times is to be found in novels. There is no man in England to-day who has seen life and expressed life

with greater power than Thomas Hardy, the novelist; there is no American who has put modern civilization into literature with such truth as William D. Howells, the novelist. The historian of the twenty-fifth century may learn more of the United States in the nineteenth century from "A Hazard of New Fortunes" than from any formal history that has yet been written. There are, then, novels which are to be taken seriously, just as we take seriously the dramas of Sophocles and the plays of Shakespeare.

The trouble is to find out which these are. Who is it that sees truth up to date and can tell it to us—even a fraction thereof? It matters not very much what form his telling may take, provided he do justice to the form chosen. He may write parables like Bolton Hall, or Whitman—verse like Ernest Crosby, or poems like Markham, or novels like Howells; only let him take care that he spoil not the truth by over-statement, or make it ugly by false art.

In our day, it must be confessed, the most popular and effective form of literature is the novel. We might as well acknowledge the fact, and try to find out as soon as possible who are the novelists that are really seers and artists. Of course, only time can tell conclusively, and critics at best speak under correction.

With this long preamble, we venture to recommend two novels by Rev. P. A. Sheehan, a Roman Catholic priest of Doneraile, Ireland: "My New Curate" (Marlier & Co., Boston) and "Luke Delmege" (Longmans, Green & Co., New York): No one can read these books, especially the last named, without seeing that Father Sheehan has a true literary art, which captures the interest of the reader and holds it throughout the story. This is all the more striking when it is said that plots and courtships have hardly a part in the interest. "My New Curate" tells of the troubles of an active young curate in a benighted parish of Ireland, and "Luke Delmege" is the life history of an Irish priest.

We have not space to go into details, to tell of the delicious humor of Father Dan and Father Pat, or of such episodes as the vivid scene of eviction in "Luke Delmege." It would be difficult to choose where to begin or where to stop. There is a dash of Irish humor and of information on Ireland's problems. In fact, the author may be called the historian and interpreter of modern Ireland. "Luke Delmege" shows how fully he appreciates the importance of the land question, especially in the chapters telling how the landlord's agent raised rents according to the efforts of the parish towards improvements, and how the well-meaning old canon

collapsed at the futility of progress and innovations, so long as rents went to the absentee landlord.

But, like all great books, these novels have a theme that is more than local and temporal. They deal with a life-interest that is universal and permanent. Now let it be understood that the value of such books does not depend upon whether we agree with the method and conclusion of the author. The question is, does he deal with a great problem greatly? If so, he is worth reading and studying. We think Father Sheehan does deal honestly and earnestly with a great problem, and that he has a message for Protestants as well as for those of his own church.

The theme which seems to us to form the basis of his books is the reality and transcendent importance of what may be called the spiritual life. Through the passing phases of modern progress, through all the perplexing problems of materialism, he emphasizes the persistence of man's spiritual needs, and illustrates the divine paradox of losing one's life to gain it. The reader may not, as we have intimated, agree with the author's methods of keeping fresh in the soul the knowledge of this truth; but no one can fail to feel that he makes a strong appeal for any aids that may serve to keep alive the realization of the things that are not seen.

Because they deal with this high theme with the power and charm of true literary art, both these novels are well worth reading; and certainly few readers will close the larger and more important of the two, "Luke Delmege," without acknowledging that it belongs in the class of great novels.

J. H. DILLARD.

MEMORIES OF A HUNDRED YEARS.

Under this title Rev. Edward Everett Hale publishes (Macmillan company) his farrago of traditions and impressions, his recollections of things heard and seen during his long and active life. That there are many very interesting passages in such a book goes without saying; but there is little else that a reviewer can honestly say in praise of Dr. Hale's two volumes.

It has rarely been our fortune to make the acquaintance of a quasi-historical production so entirely "provincial" as this. It would be hard to cite a name or event that is treated with breadth of view or with just historic perspective. As shining examples in support of this criticism we need only call the reader's attention to the treatment of Webster, whom Dr. Hale inordinately admires, and of Jefferson, whom he painfully despises. As to Jefferson, the sum-total of Dr. Hale's estimate might be expressed in the words of the colored brother, who was describing the orthodoxy of another

brother, and wound up by saying: "He ain't nothin'." Surely not the most anti-Jeffersonian historian will give even half-support to Dr. Hale's estimate, which is that of a contemporary Federalist in the heat of controversy, not of a fair and open mind looking back a century. If one can imagine the Rev. John Calhoun Smith, pastor of the Southern Presbyterian church at Okolona, Miss., since about the year 1862, writing his filtered impressions of Charles Sumner, this might not be an inappropriate parallel to Dr. Hale's Jefferson. And Dr. Smith's memories of Jefferson Davis would about match Dr. Hale's memories of Daniel Webster. Provincialism is provincialism whether it comes from Okolona or Boston.

We had occasion while Dr. Hale was contributing his "Memories" to the Outlook to point out an instance of his looseness of style. Similar looseness characterizes the construction of his book as a whole. He skips backward and forward in a most unaccountable and apparently needless fashion. A good-natured review in the Nation well says: "The backward movement of 'Tristram Shandy' did not begin to be so comical as these fittings back and forth and in every possible and unlooked-for direction."

How a man of Dr. Hale's reputation could venture, or allow himself to be persuaded to publish these "Memories" in their present form is one of the "curiosities of literature." It is a pity that one who has lived such a life of long usefulness has not been careful to have his records and memories put into a book that would be a worthy and permanent addition to American literature, and also a valuable contribution to American history. One feels, in spite of Dr. Hale's prejudices, that it might have been.

J. H. DILLARD.

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BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "What Shall We Do with Our Dependences." By Moorfield Story, of Boston. An address delivered before the Bar association of South Carolina, January 15, 1903.
- Eighth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of Colorado, 1901-1902. David A. Mills, Secretary of State, commissioner ex-officio; James T. Smith, deputy commissioner.
- Loyal Traitors. A Story of Friendship for the Filipinos. By Raymond L. Bridgeman, author of Ten Years of Massachusetts, Biennial Elections, The Master Idea, etc. Boston: James H. West Company. Price, \$1.00, net. To be reviewed.

LITERARY NOTES.

Readers of the Nation cannot afford to miss the "Observations in a Big Uni-

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by Judson Grenell: deals in popular yet practical way with industrial problems. Cloth, postpaid, \$1.

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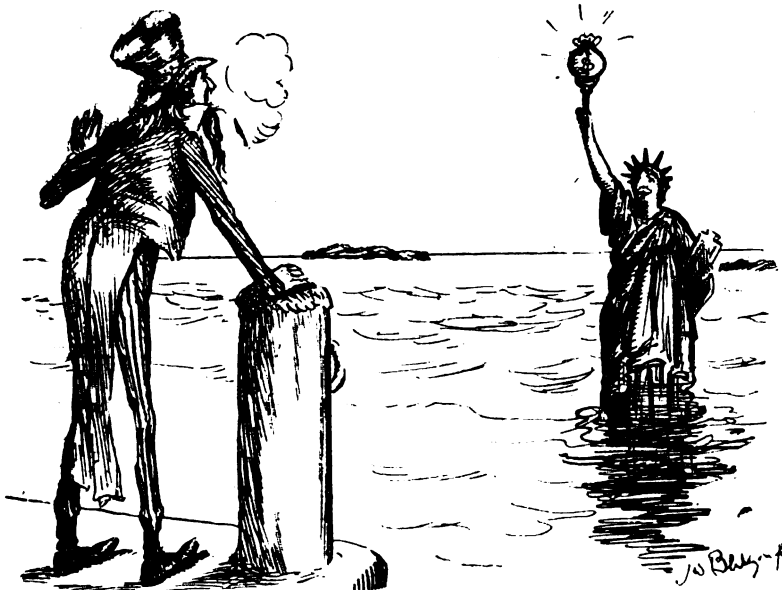
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OFF HER BASE.

Liberty Enlightening, Etc.—"Well, good bye, Sam, o'd man; I'm off to take a position at Manila."

versity" in the issue of January 22. It is inevitable that we shall see more and more of the possibility of education without true culture, and such articles as this will aid in bringing the truth home to some "educators." The writer seems to us "off" on one point, a very essential one. The trouble is not with "the era of equality," but with the era of inequality. Superficially it may seem that the quotation from Amiel applies; but many could testify that the most flagrant offenders, of the types criticised, are to be found among the young of those who represent the freshest froth of inequality. J. H. D.

Harper's for February is another good number. The publishers of this old friend of half a century seem to be sparing no pains to make it worthy of old friends and new. One improvement is to be hoped for—that it may be so bound that less muscle will be needed to keep it wide enough open to permit of reading the inside columns with comfort. The story this month on "The Rights of Man" is a delicate satire on a young woman's efforts to uplift her neighbors to what one of her rebellious subjects calls her "idols." The contribution on art by the famous painter, Gerome, is perhaps the most notable article. The veteran urges young artists to take pains to be true. J. H. D.

The January-March Forum continues its quarterly review of contemporary activity in politics, finance, applied science, literature, painting, and education. The first article, "American Politics," while containing nothing of a striking nature, gives a fairly complete view of the field. The author thinks that the increase of the Socialist vote points to the rise of another "Populist" party, which is likely to attract a following of considerable importance. "There is now," he says, "and has been for many years, a growing tendency toward paternalism." In connection with this thought one might expect that he would, while speaking of the future of the Democratic party, give some consideration to the theoretical opposition of the party to the idea of paternalism, but he contents himself with the stale discussion of the possibility of discovering a leader who can unite the Cleveland and Bryan wings. Dr. J. M. Rice, the editor, has an article on the Causes of Success and Failure in Arithmetic, which will be of interest to teachers, as it involves a larger problem than the teaching of any one branch. Begging the editor's pardon, we might state the problem thus: Can you make the average boy have a jolly good time in working him up to a hard examination? In the good old times we cared nothing about the good time of the boy, and

all the pedagogue had to do was to get the work or use the birch. But now-a-days we must have the children happy in school, and get the work done too—if we can. This is the happy problem of the twentieth-century pedagogue. J. H. D.

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