

The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1903.

Number 275.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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

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

Now that the earth is girdled with an electric wire, through which messages are sent around the globe in less than 10 minutes, Shakespeare's Puck, with his antiquated proposal to girdle the earth in 40 minutes, has been desperately overworked by fagged out editorial writers.

In his agitation for reduced street car fares Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, has scored a partial victory, complete as far as it goes. The street car systems have been driven in self defense to consolidate, and besides offering tickets at 6 for 25 cents, to give universal transfers. This change went into effect on the 6th. That is the first retreat the companies have made since Johnson's fight began. The probabilities are that as the fight goes on the retreat will turn into a rout.

Mayor Johnson's tax reform in Cleveland goes on apace. The latest move is the addition, by Robert W. Wright, the county auditor, of \$64,375,000 to the tax valuation of the Cleveland street car, gas and electric companies. This increase will be bitterly fought by Mr. Hanna's corporations before the State auditor whom Senator Hanna is trying to reelect, and also in the courts. But that will lend zest to the political campaign just opening in Ohio; and whether Johnson wins or loses in the fight, he will win. To fully appreciate the issue, it must be understood that even with that enormous addition of taxation, those companies will still be assessed at no greater proportion, with reference

to the true value of their property, than the farmers and home owners of Cuyahoga county are now assessed at, if as much.

To discredit Mr. Wright's action, the Cleveland corporations are pointing to the fact that if this additional tax upon them is paid, Auditor Wright will get in fees nearly \$72,000 extra. But the people of Cleveland have come to realize two things in that connection. They realize in the first place that Mr. Hanna's political machine is responsible for the fee system; and, in the second place, that it is better for them that Auditor Wright should get \$72,000 extra for collecting \$1,800,000 extra from public service corporations for the city, than that some auditor less energetic than he should get that much. (there or thereabouts) for not collecting it. Bad as is the fee system, it is much better when the fee comes out of taxes which tax dodgers are forced to pay, than when it comes out of taxes which they are permitted to dodge.

It is a sturdy fight for the tax-dodging interests which the Chicago Tribune makes in persistently demanding a settlement of the traction question on the basis of 20-year franchises at 5-cent fares and the payment into the city treasury by the traction corporation of 20 per cent. of gross receipts. If this scheme were adopted and honestly carried out, every workingman and woman who used a street car would pay for every ride 4 cents for the ride and a city tax of 1 cent in addition. Aside from the fact that such a tax would not be fairly paid over to the city, but would go in large measure into dividends on watered stock, the street car riders would be inordinate-ly taxed. Take a 6-dollar a week

shop girl, for example. She must ride at least 600 times on street cars in the course of a year, which would make a tax of one whole week's wages per year out of the earnings of her hard labor. And for what? So that the owners of the site of Chicago, which rises in value enormously, decade by decade, may still further escape taxation upon their unearned value.

A remarkable confession of ignorance of public men was made by the Chicago Inter-Ocean last Sunday. It professes to have discovered that Mr. Bryan is recommending Walter Clark for the Democratic presidential candidate, as a man "to lead the party to victory," who "will attract to his support the best thinkers of the country," whose "magnetic presence will draw the multitude," and who "is the man of the hour, the man of the minute and the man of destiny." Then the Inter-Ocean reveals its ignorance by wanting to know. "Who is this Walter Clark?" it asks, immediately confessing, "We do not know." The Inter-Ocean probably knows who Judge Parker is, for he is one of the obscure Democratic candidates which it, as a Republican paper, has helped to discover and joined in pushing forward to the Democratic front. Yet Judge Parker has no public record of importance except as chief judge of the New York court of appeals. There is but little evidence that he has ever entertained a thought of wider scope than the precedent-walled field of his profession; whereas Walter Clark, of whom the Inter-Ocean confesses ignorance, has a record both within and without that field. As a judge his record is not inferior to that of Parker, and in the broader fields of civic life his record surpasses Parker's in the ratio of at

least 16 to zero. Judge Clark has been a justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina since 1889. He went from that bench after serving four years as a judge of the Superior Court of that State. He is also a legal author of repute, his work in this line including the annotated code of procedure of his State, a work on law for business men, a collection of overruled cases, and a set of annotated reports of North Carolina. In other lines of authorship he counts to his credit a translation from the original French of Constant's Memoirs of Napoleon, a compilation of the State records of North Carolina, histories of the North Carolina regiments in the civil war, and numerous magazine articles relating to the general subject of public ownership of public utilities.

When Tammany hall was preparing to celebrate the Fourth of July it invited Mr. Cleveland, who responded with a letter in which he gave to that society a clean bill of health. "The Tammany society," he wrote, "as a political organization of vast influence, cannot escape the responsibility which its powers and its glorious traditions create." To this he added: "As in the past, it should continue to advocate the rights of the people," etc. After that certificate of good character it will hardly do for Mr. Cleveland's devotees to depreciate any endorsement by Tammany of the men outside their own sanctified cult on the ground that Tammany is desperately wicked. Peculiar importance attaches, therefore, to the fact that at the Tammany celebration for which Mr. Cleveland wrote the exculpatory letter quoted from above, Charles A. Towne was the star speaker, and the absent leader most enthusiastically cheered was William Jennings Bryan.

Mayor Jones, of Toledo, takes a sensible view of the talk of Ohio Democrats of nominating him for United States Senator to succeed Senator Hanna. In a letter from Mr. Jones to a Cincinnati friend, he

disclaims all ambition for anything "except just to be Jones." But "just to be Jones" does not mean with this man to be a hermit. He realizes that he can be "just Jones" as well in serving his fellow man in public life as in any other way. He can conceive, he says, of how he "might be willing to go to jail were it necessary or to the United States Senate were it necessary, just to be Jones."

Mayor Jones's letter, which is addressed to A. F. Otte, of Cincinnati, is both unique and sensible, and we reproduce so much of it as has been telegraphed:

I have heard more or less of the talk about Jones as a candidate for the United States Senate, and you may say for me that Jones has no ambition to go to the United States Senate. I am absolutely without ambition for anything except just to be Jones. In the mutations of Divine Providence I hope to be willing and ready to do anything that it might seem to be necessary for me to do in order to continue being Jones; so I can conceive how I might be willing to go to jail, were it necessary, or to the United States Senate, were it necessary, just to be Jones, just to be myself. I think the United States Senate is an aristocratic body, having no more business here as a part of our government than the House of Lords would have, and in due time, I do not know how long it may be, it will disappear.

In the interesting controversy over trade unionism that has sprung up between Clarence S. Darrow, the Chicago lawyer who represented the anthracite coal strikers last winter, and Sampel Gompers, the head of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Gompers writes somewhat at cross purposes with Mr. Darrow. He says, for instance, that Mr. Darrow is wrong in arguing that low wages make a large product. If Mr. Darrow did so argue then he is wrong. Both as matter of common sense observation and of statistics, the country of relatively low wages is a country of relatively low production.

But we do not understand Mr. Darrow to have taken the untenable position that Mr. Gompers criticises. The position he did take was that

higher money wages, secured by trade union methods, do not on the whole better the condition of workingmen. This point is not met by Mr. Gompers when he contends that greater production results from higher wages. Further than that, the essential thing about Darrow's argument is that trades unionism is at best only a means to an end, and that however useful it may be as a means it is useless as an end.

That argument derives its strength from the fact that trades unionism is being defended by many of its leaders as an end, as a principle, as something which in and of itself and without going further, is beneficent. On that basis, one of two results is certain to eventuate. Either trades unionism will break down, or it will culminate in a dangerously oppressive partnership of the stronger unions with the stronger trusts. The latter tendency is already noticeable.

In addressing the local transportation committee of the Chicago city council one day last week in behalf of street franchise for more than 20 years, Judge Thomas A. Moran made a startling proposition. Finding that the Municipal Voters' League had pledged councilmen to vote for no street franchise for a longer term than 20 years, he admonished the committee (as reported in the press) that as councilmen they are under no obligation to carry out their pre-election pledges. "When you aldermen took positions," Judge Moran is reported, "you swore an oath of office under the city charter, and there is no kind of sense in a city council attempting to stand pat on a limit of 20 years on all franchises; that is addressed to you as men and not with reference to any kind of platform put out by anybody for you to stand on." If Judge Moran did express that unwholesome political sentiment it must have been merely as the retained counsel of the franchise corporation he professionally repre-

resented, and not as the democratic citizen he is justly reputed to be.

While it is true that the oath of office of a councilman is his primary obligation, it is not true that it exonerates him from pre-election pledges. He ought to take no pledge that would require him to violate his oath of office; but any public pledge not in plain contravention of that oath is as sacred as the oath itself. It is an interpretation of the oath which his constituents have already demanded of him as a condition of his election, and which he has solemnly adopted in order to be elected. To thrust pre-election pledges aside in the easy way that Judge Moran appears to have advised, would be utterly destructive to popular government. Spoilsmen have indeed treated platforms as something to stand on until election and to kick over after election; but Judge Moran is not a spoilsman, and his approval of this undemocratic view of platform obligations, even as a lawyer in a case, is surprising.

The ease with which the pen of the ready writer may unintentionally misrepresent, was recently exhibited in a Wall street article by Sereno S. Pratt, an associate editor of the Wall Street Journal, the late Henry George being the victim of the misrepresentation. Mr. Pratt wrote:

I once escorted Henry George through the subtreasury, and the noted philosopher of the single tax, pointing to the piles of bags of silver stored in the great vault, remarked: "What a waste! Why take the trouble to dig that silver out of the mines, to store it here? Why not issue certificates against the silver as it lies in the mine?" There was a certain plausibility about that suggestion, but a moment's thought shows that it was without practical value. Gold and silver in the mines is of unknown quantity and quality. It must be taken out, assayed and weighed, in order to obtain market value.

The quotation from George is so nearly an expression of his views as to guarantee Mr. Pratt's good faith. Yet it so far distorts Mr. George's meaning as to show that Mr. Pratt wholly misunderstood him. He ev-

idently supposed that George favored the issuance of silver certificates based upon silver in the mines, whereas George did not believe at all in paper money redeemable in either of the precious metals. He believed in government paper deriving its purchasing power not from the value of the material of which it is made, nor from the value of any particular material in which it is by law redeemable, but upon the confidence of the seller that he can buy with it, of commodities he desires, as much in value as he has given for it.

"The fact," writes George in his "Science of Political Economy," at page 491, "is that neither the fiat of government nor the action of individuals, nor the character or intrinsic value of the material used, nor anything else, can make or mar money, raise or lessen its circulating value, except as it affects the disposition to receive it as a medium of exchange;" the essential quality of money being (as he states at page 493) "not in its form or substance, but in its use," which is "not that of being consumed," or redeemed, "but of being continually exchanged." And "this use comes," he adds, "from a common or usual consent or disposition to take it in exchange, not as representing or promising anything else, but as completing the exchange." Hence his conclusion at page 494 that "whatever in any time and place is used as the common medium of exchange is money in that time and place," whether it be gold or silver coins, greenbacks, postage stamps, or tokens. The man who held these views could never have advocated money redeemable in unmined silver any more than in mined and hoarded silver. The idea he evidently intended to convey was that the free circulation of silver certificates as money was due not to the fact that they were redeemable out of a hoard of silver, but to the confidence of those who accepted them that they could pass them again; a confidence which would be

just as perfect and general if they were guaranteed by the silver producing possibilities of the country, or by any other confidence inspiring fact, as if they were redeemable out of a hoard of silver which had been taken from a hole in Montana and dumped into a hole in New York.

Prof. Laughlin's "Principles of Money," the first volume of a proposed series of six, is not likely to be acceptable to either the bimetalist or the paper money schools of financial thought. But it should be welcome to all schools as probably the best expression of the gold standard theory. Without attempting to consider the volume as a whole, but with reference merely to the quotations from it that appear among the reviews, we are able to express hearty satisfaction with some of its leading principles. For one thing, we are gratified with the emphasis Prof. Laughlin places on the important difference between the money standard and the currency. His view of the quantity theory also seems from the review quotations to be well considered and sound. The most gratifying fact, however, about all these quotations from Prof. Laughlin's book, is their indication that Prof. Laughlin has not been drawn into the "value" maelstrom of the university cult of economists. He appears to hold to the sane old doctrine that substantial wealth is the basic idea of political economy and that value is only an unsubstantial phenomenon of exchange.

Gov. Durbin, of Indiana, is one of the few governors who has proved equal to the emergency of an outbreak of race fury against a Negro charged with crime. Not only has he protected the prisoner from lynching, but he stands like a rock against the demands of the mob for a speedy trial under circumstances that would make conviction sure regardless of guilt. Gov. Durbin's words are worthy of the most solemn consideration in these times of white lawlessness and Negro helplessness.

Writing to the judge at Evansville on the 8th Gov. Durbin said:

I decline to sanction an arrangement whereby the Negro Lee is to be immediately tried at Evansville under the military forces of the State. My information obtained from medical officers of the State reformatory is that the prisoner is suffering severe and possibly fatal gunshot wounds. However heinous the crime, or seemingly clear the guilt, he is entitled, under the most sacred tenets of our jurisprudence, to a hearing, which he cannot have in the very nature of things until he has sufficiently recovered to make a defense, if he has one to offer. No grounds should be given for the suspicion that even a guilty man has been railroaded to the gallows to satisfy public sentiment or that the civil authorities have been influenced to the determination of their course by the demonstration of the lawless. I do not wish, by consenting to the programme suggested, to confess to the world that in the second city of Indiana the law has not been enforced in an orderly manner without the presence of troops being necessary for the protection of those charged with the duty, nor do I desire to yield an inch to compromise for a moment with the mob spirit. Let this man be tried as speedily as his condition will permit, under the safeguards prescribed by law. If guilty, he will pay the penalty of murder with his life. If at any stage of the procedure it shall appear there are still those in your city who desire to oppose the State in its efforts to exercise the function conferred upon it by the people, then the State will be ready to give further demonstration of its disposition and its ability to do with rioters as they deserve.

When there is so much popular insanity and official pusillanimity in connection with race lynchings by "the better classess," such sane sentiments and determined purpose as Gov. Durbin has exhibited are refreshing.

ONE ASPECT OF MOB FURY.

The good nature of an American crowd is proverbial. It has, perhaps, its best exemplification in the great cities where inadequate transit facilities lead daily to shameful overcrowding in the cars and to the massing of thousands of individuals on platforms built for hundreds only. Often the crowding becomes in highest degree perilous, and a few riotous or panic-stricken persons could precipitate a terrible catastrophe; but almost all remain cool, officials keep

control, and though individuals often suffer the catastrophe is time after time averted.

The same national good nature is largely responsible for the shortcomings of our governments. Inefficient and corrupt public servants rely on the tolerance, the laziness and the short memory of the public, and their reliance generally proves a safe one. Disregard of promises, extravagance, favoritism are condoned again and again by an easygoing electorate which, in slavish allegiance to party, takes repeated betrayals with seeming indifference.

Similarly the great exploiters of the nation, who fence in nature's reservoirs and monopolize labor's opportunities, are regarded in the main with an amazing amiability, rising often to admiration. During the great strike of last year the coal barons traveled unprotected back and forth between the mines which they kept idle and the cities which clamored for fuel, and not a hand was raised to threaten them. Railroad officials whose economies born of greed, lead to horrible wrecks go unwhipped of justice save as the companies may be mulcted for damages in the civil courts. Anarchical assassination and violence outside the law are universally and rightly reprobated.

But to this there is a glaring exception, becoming even more ominous. One class of crimes when committed by one race have been singled out for mob vengeance. Lynching of Negroes has spread from South to North. Burnings, unheard of a few years ago save in darkest Texas and Arkansas, have taken place in Colorado, in Kansas, in Illinois, in Delaware. Shall we hear of one next in New York or Massachusetts? It is not even necessary now for the victim's crime to have the diabolical character it took in Delaware. An ordinary murder, even an attempt at murder, may suffice.

As a mob will do deeds from which the individuals who comprise it would shrink, so a community will justify public crimes that committed privately its citizens would abhor. There seems no reason to doubt that the majority of the inhabitants of

the places where these horrors have occurred excuse if they do not applaud the action of the mob. The fact, however deplorable, is established that in some circumstances Americans, despite their native good nature, can be, like other peoples, collectively ruthless in cruelty.

If any further proof of this be needed it can be found in the records of the Philippine conquest. Not all the doughty denials of Roosevelt and Root can explain away that carnival of slaughter and torture. And here there were no crimes against women and children to incite to reprisals, but only the ordinary incidents of the resistance of a feeble people to a strong one.

There is one question suggested by this lamentable fact that is seldom asked. Is the spirit of race contempt a necessary ingredient in American cruelty, or may circumstances arise in which white men will treat with equal ferocity members of their own race? Is it not conceivable that some day the mob fury that now breaks on the head of depraved Negroes may break over public robbers and forestallers and their legislative tools? It may seem utterly impossible that the scenes of the French Revolution will ever be repeated in the United States. Fifteen years ago it would have seemed equally impossible that a human being should be burned to death in the United States amid the plaudits of a community and while the officers of the law stood supinely by.

Nothing has been more thoroughly exploded than the old notion that the leaders of the French at the time of the Terror were naturally monsters of cruelty and vice. Marat was a physician of ability and standing; Danton and Desmoulins were patriotic young lawyers and devoted husbands and fathers; Robespierre once resigned a judicial office rather than pronounce the death sentence.

Nor was the mob which mastered them exceptionally ferocious or hardhearted when the revolution began. On the contrary, it was filled with sentiments of universal fraternity and benevolence. The first victims of its fury were public criminals and oppressors. Its love for

bloodshed grew with what it fed on, and the world knows the result.

Such a page, let us fervently hope, will never be written in American history. But it will be well if the great commercial magnates who seem to hold the nation in the hollow of their hands should see in the temper of an American mob once thoroughly aroused a warning to beware how they press their power too far. It will be well, too, if thoughtful citizens, who recognize that three "civilized" men out of four are, after all, but varnished savages, should be led to seek more earnestly a remedy which by establishing a just system of taxation will not only make forever impossible the widespread destitution and despair that give birth to French revolutions, but also by raising the morale of all, black and white, from lowest to highest, eventually cause to die out the atrocious individual crimes and the hideous collective retribution that now ever and anon disgrace the nation.

W.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Lincoln, Neb., July 4.—On the summit of a prairie billow, four miles out of Lincoln and commanding a fine view of the capitol and of the charming city about it, stands the commodious and handsome Fairview home of Mr. and Mrs. William Jennings Bryan. Here Mr. Bryan does his literary work and superintends his little stock farm, and to this place come his friends from all quarters and all distances. Fairview is a Mecca for the democratic-Democrat of this new century, as Monticello was for the democratic-Republican of the new century of a hundred years ago.

On the eve of the national birthday this year, Mr. and Mrs. Bryan opened their new home at Fairview to their personal friends of Lincoln and its neighborhood. The distances were long and the night was stormy, but the parlors were filled and the occasion was one which those who participated in it will remember with peculiar pleasure. Among the guests were the present governor of Nebraska, John Mickey, ex-Gov. Poynter, Prof. Ross, of the University of Nebraska, and several of his associate professors. Mr. and Mrs. Tom L. Johnson were to have assisted Mr. and Mrs. Bryan in receiving their guests, but illness prevented Mrs. Johnson from making the long journey. Mayor Johnson arrived, however, and, along with

Dr. Howard S. Taylor and Louis F. Post, of Chicago, he received with the distinguished host and hostess.

The storm of the 3d had spent itself when the sun rose on the 4th, and from dawn till twilight the Fairview celebration was waited upon by the fairest of fair weather. The day was what in Kansas is known as a "Kansas day"—one of those days of which Senator Ingalls said that they "cannot be described, but once seen can never be forgotten." A high canopy of blue sky stretching out to a horizon like that of the ocean, masses of cloud brilliantly white suspended beneath the blue, a balmy atmosphere and softened sunlight, all contributed to a weather effect of indescribable splendor.

Down in a hollow of the billowy prairie, in full sight of the Bryan home, a huge tent had been spread over one of the nearly treeless fields, and there the crowds began to assemble early in the day. The generous invitation of the Jefferson club to attend an old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration had met with a cordial response. When the hour for speaking began the long road was lined on both sides with wagons and buggies, and over 6,000 people had crowded into the tent. Mr. Bryan presided, with that simple dignity and gentle power of oratory which have become so familiar to the American people.

On the platform were assembled only those who were to participate in the proceedings. The highest State officials sat with the rest of the audience, as part of the common people whose temporary servants they are. There were no distinctions other than the necessary distinction of service for the occasion.

When Mr. Bryan had opened the meeting, and the Rev. Harry Huntington, a local clergyman, had pronounced the invocation, the audience arose and joined in singing. Then came the reading of the Declaration of Independence by W. W. Bride, of Washington, who read it not only with elocutionary skill and in good voice, but also with democratic emphasis. The next thing on the programme was a speech by Louis F. Post, of Chicago, on "The Common People," and the next a speech by Dr. Howard S. Taylor, of Chicago, on "The Keystone of the Republic." Dr. Taylor closed by reading an original poem, written for this celebration, entitled "The American Commons."* Later in the proceedings Dr. Taylor read an older poem of his, at the request of Mr. Bryan, on the hauling down of the flag.

Dr. Taylor was followed by Mayor Johnson, the principal speaker at the

* Dr. Taylor's poem will be found in this issue of The Public in the Miscellany.

celebration, whom Mr. Bryan introduced to the audience as "the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of the United States."* Mayor Johnson's subject was "Local Self Government." He touched lightly, though with no uncertainty, upon national questions; but his speech was devoted almost entirely to the political situation in Ohio, where the democratic-Democrats are striving to establish local self-government and to secure equality of rights in their municipalities. He made a national application by saying that local self-government in municipalities will generate self-government everywhere.

At the close of Mayor Johnson's speech Mr. Bryan brought the meeting to an end with a brief address upon the American flag. This was an oratorical gem. It was as simple and lucid and spontaneous in thought and language as it was brilliant in effect.

The vast audience broke up with a neighborly handshake all around, and Mr. Bryan drove the special guests of the Jefferson club to the railroad station. Trolley cars from Fairview to Lincoln loaded beyond their capacity, and crowded railroad trains out of Lincoln, marked the close of this revival of the old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration, where holiday sports gave way to the inspiration of democratic sentiment.

L. F. P.

* Mr. Bryan's introduction and Mayor Johnson's speech are printed in this issue of The Public, in the Miscellany.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, July 9.

Again the war cloud in the Far East darkens. Russia has not only failed to evacuate Manchuria (p. 58) but has allowed her troops to cross over into Korea; and England and Japan, pursuant to their treaty (vol. iv., p. 712), have made demands upon China which have the sound of an ultimatum to Russia.

The report that Russian troops had crossed over into Korea came from Yokohama on the 28th. It told of two posts on the Korean side of the Yalu river which had been seized by the Russians saying that 150 Russian soldiers had been stationed there. This report was followed by one from Tokio on the 30th, which was to the effect that Japan was then preparing a protest to Russia regarding this invasion of Korea. It was noted in the latter dispatch that

both Japan and Great Britain had sent warships to the Yalu river. Then came the report of an Anglo-Japanese ultimatum to Russia. The report went out from Odessa, Russia, on the 3d, and stated that the St. Petersburg newspaper, Sveit, had received advices from Japan to the effect that the British and the Japanese ministers at Peking had submitted the following demands to the government of China:

1. Russia's occupation of Manchuria threatens the maintenance of peace in the far East and injures the interests of England and Japan.

2. If the departure of the Russians from Manchuria is indefinitely postponed England and Japan must proceed to protect their interests.

3. China must demand from Russia the immediate evacuation of Manchuria.

4. Great Britain and Japan acknowledge no treaty between Russia and China which does not bind Russia to evacuate Manchuria.

5. If after the evacuation of Manchuria a treaty between China and Russia with respect to the civil administration of Manchuria is deemed necessary, such treaty can only be concluded with the approval of Great Britain and Japan.

6. A reply to this note is demanded within five days.

On the 5th the American navy department ordered the battleship Wisconsin and the first-class cruisers Albany, Cincinnati and Raleigh to the gulf of Pechili, China, to reinforce Rear Admiral Evans's squadron.

American relations with Russia are attracting attention in consequence of President Roosevelt's announced decision to forward to the Czar a petition of American citizens relative to the massacre (pp. 153, 171) at Kishineff. A statement was made public last week, semi-officially by the Russian embassy, which declared that the Russian government would categorically refuse to receive from any Power any petition, representations, or communication relative to its internal policy. Alluding to this intimation, the American state department promptly announced that the Kishineff petition will be forwarded by the American government; also that the government cannot consider the semi-official refusal of the Russian government, quoted from above, as the statement is not directed to the state department. The petition in question, which is being engineered by the B'nai B'rith, is being numerously signed by both Jewish and Chris-

tian Americans. It is described as a request on the part of the people of the United States to the Czar of Russia, asking that religious liberty be granted his subjects.

The Negro lynching craze (p. 202) has now broken out in Indiana. Evansville is in consequence in the hands of the militia. A Negro named Lee Brown had been charged with shooting a policeman and was under arrest. To provide for his safety he was removed to the jail at Vincennes when the mob spirit began to manifest itself. He has since been placed in the State prison to await his trial, and the Governor has refused to allow him to be returned for trial in the present disordered state of the public mind at Evansville. On the 4th the mob attacked the Evansville jail and soon after midnight had complete possession of the town. It demanded possession of the Negro prisoner, and broke into the jail. While making this attempt to lynch the Negro, the mob was fired upon in the rear by Negroes; and upon failing to secure its victim, it charged upon the Negro quarters of the town. The militia undertook to restore peace on the 6th, and a pitched battle took place between the mob and the troops, in which nine persons were killed outright and at least 35 were wounded, some of them fatally. Negroes to the number of 1,000 or more have crossed over into Kentucky for safety. Several of the mob have been indicted.

Near Vicksburg, Miss., on the 7th, a Negro who had killed a white man by stabbing him, was lynched by a mob. The Negro had been indicted for the crime and was in the custody of the sheriff when the mob, consisting of 50 masked and heavily armed men, seized the prisoner and hanged him.

At the Afro-American Council, which closed its session at Louisville, Ky., on the 3d, an address to the country was adopted, in the course of which that body declares:

We recognize with pleasure the friendly relation that has all along existed between the best people of the white race and our own, and we sincerely desire that nothing be permitted to intervene to mar this relation. Still we are confident that no one who notes carefully the signs of the times can fail to discover that there are influences at

work in nearly every part of the land to accomplish this very end. Who can fail to see that the Negro is being held up to public gaze as the most objectionable and undesirable citizen that treads American soil; the ignorant, vicious, criminal class are pointed to as the types and products of the race rather than those who are the output of the Negro's best endeavors for race development and uplift. We declare this standard of measurement to be unfair to any people.

As to mob violence, it is gratifying to note that for the last year or two the number of victims shows a decided decrease, while all these were not members of our race the vast majority was. But notwithstanding this fact, we should not feel called upon to discuss the matter at all at this time were it not that although the number of victims is decreasing the variety of provocations which lead up to this act of violence is growing more and more insignificant, and numerous. It is not an unusual thing to read these days of Negroes being lynched for impudence, refusing to obey, striking a white man, etc.

Now we submit that lynching for any cause is destructive of law, is demoralizing. But to subject persons accused of, even guilty of such trivial offenses as we have indicated, to unlawful punishment and death is to make the Negro the marked man of the nation; for him to suffer violences for such causes will eventually involve many of our best people. Even as it is in some sections of the country it means death for a Negro to attempt to protect the females of his family. We ask in all sincerity, Is this America? Is it right? Such conditions indicate clearly a tendency to anarchy, and anarchy for the Negro will terminate in anarchy for all men.

The number of those of our race who are now accused of the nameless crime against woman is so small as compared with the whole number that it is scarcely necessary to discuss this as a distinct crime. Yet we desire to say that we make no plea for any man who may be proved guilty of this crime; our plea is for law and for protection of the innocent.

It is now clearly evident that the purpose of those who first started in ostensibly to disfranchise the ignorant Negro has been broadened and strengthened. Their purpose now includes almost all Negroes. In certain of the States this result has already been achieved and thousands of qualified men are denied positively and absolutely the right to vote. In such States taxation without representation prevails as truly as ever it did when England held control over the American colonies. We make no objection to the disfranchisement of the ignorant Negro, provided the same class of the other race are similarly dealt with. Our contention is not for special but equal privileges.

T. Thomas Fortune was elected president of the Council.

In a speech at Louisville, while the Council was in session there, delivered on the 3d, Booker T. Washington is reported to have said:

In the present season of anxiety and almost of despair which possesses an element of the race there are two things which I wish to say as strongly as I may:

1. Let no man of the race become discouraged or hopeless. There are in this country, North and South, men who mean to see that justice is meted out to the race. Such a man is Judge Jones of Alabama, to whom more credit should be given for blotting out the infamous system of peonage than to any other.

2. Let us keep before us the fact that almost without exception every race or nation that has ever got upon its feet has done so through struggle and trial and persecution. No one should seek to close his eyes to the truth that the race is passing through a very serious and trying period of its development; a period that calls for the use of our ripest thought and sober judgment.

Let nothing lead us into extremes of utterance or action. In the long run it is the race or individual that exercises the most patience, forbearance and self-control in the midst of trying conditions that wins its cause. Let nothing induce us to descend to the level of the mob. In advocating this policy I am not asking that the negro act the coward; we are not cowards. The part we have played in defending the flag of our country is sufficient evidence of our courage.

The recent outbreaks of the mob emphasize two lessons, one for our race and one for the other citizens of the country, North and South; for it is to be noted that the work of the lynchers is not confined to one section of the country. The lesson for us is that we should see to it that so far as the influence of parent, school or pulpit is concerned, no effort be spared to impress upon our own people that idleness and crime should cease. We should let the world know on all proper occasions that we consider no legal punishment too severe for the wretch of any race who attempts to outrage a woman. The lesson for the other portion of the nation to learn is that both in the making and in the execution the same law should be made to apply to the Negro as to the white man. There should be meted out equal justice to the black man and the white man. Whenever the nation forgets, or is tempted to forget, this basic principle the whole fabric of government for both the white and the black man is threatened with destruction. This is true, whether it relates to conditions in Texas, Indiana or Delaware. It is with nations as with an individual; whatever we sow that shall

we also reap. If we sow crime we shall reap lawlessness.

The first sentence for Negro peonage (p. 184) to be actually executed was begun at Atlanta on the 2d. The convicts are George D. Cosby and Barancas Cosby, two white men who had pleaded guilty before the Federal court at Montgomery, Ala., of holding Negroes in involuntary servitude. The case against these men, as stated by the United States attorney, bears out the rumors and newspaper reports of peonage that have for some weeks been coming to public attention. According to the United States attorney, the prosecution was prepared to prove, in the case of George D. Cosby, that he held Lum Johnson, a Negro, in a condition of peonage; that there was a conspiracy between J. W. Pace and the Cosbys and the justice of the peace; that several other Negroes—Rina Scott, Ella Johnson and Ann Scott—were also arrested on frivolous charges and carried before Justice Kennedy, who did not fine them, but made them think he had fined them, and that the Cosbys and Pace had paid their fines. They were thus induced to sign contracts to work, and they were worked under guard, locked up at night and beaten unmercifully at times.

NEWS NOTES.

—The eighteenth annual convention of the National Editorial Association met at Omaha on the 7th.

—The widow of the late Charles A. Dana, of the New York Sun, died on the 2d at New York at the age of 79.

—The seventh annual meeting of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association opened at Buffalo on the 7th.

—An international automobile racing cup, offered by Gordon Bennett, was won on the 2d at Ballyshannon, Ireland, by M. Jenatzy in a German automobile which made the distance of 386 3/4 miles in 8 hours and 36 minutes.

—The sentence to degradation and four years' imprisonment imposed on Ensign Huessner, of the German navy (p. 121), for murdering an artillery private, was commuted on the 7th to two years' confinement in a fortress.

—At a meeting of the municipal council of Paris, France, on the 3d, it was decided to establish a municipal monopoly of gas, the city to manufacture gas on its own account, and reap the whole profits on its sale to consumers.

—President Loubet of France arrived in London, England, on the 6th. On

the 7th he paid an official visit to the city and was received by the Lord Mayor and the Prince of Wales. King Edward dined with him at the French embassy in the evening.

—The National Council of the National Educational Association was in session at Boston on the 7th; It decided to appoint a committee to report at the next national convention on the economic circumstances of grade teachers in the public schools.

—The treaty with Cuba (p. 121), covering the naval and coaling station bases and the treaty placing the Isle of Pines wholly under Cuban sovereignty were signed on the 2d at Havana. The two treaties were subscribed in duplicate at the secretary of state's office.

—Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston, who presided at the White House during the administration of her uncle, President Buchanan, and was the hostess of Edward VII. of England when he visited the President as Prince of Wales, died at Narragansett Pier on the 3d. She was 72 years old.

—The San Francisco Star, prominent as a leader in the journalism of democratic-Democracy on the Pacific slope, celebrated on the 4th of July the twentieth year of its age. For a fifth of a century it has kept at the head of its columns, as a motto which it has striven successfully to live up to, this reason for its existence:

For the cause that lacks assistance,
Gainst the wrongs that need resistance,
For the good that we can do.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department (see p. 171) for June, shows on hand June 30, 1903:

Gold reserve fund.....	\$150,000,000.00
Available cash.....	234,394,275.58
Total.....	\$384,394,275.58
On hand at close of last fiscal year, June 30, 1902.....	\$58,574,115.85

Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1903.....	\$35,820,159.73
Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1902.....	31,740,991.83
Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.....	21,127,470.14
Increase for fiscal year ending June 30, 1900.....	24,325,186.06

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 171) for the twelve months ending June 30, 1903, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff.....	\$252,891,718.97
Internal revenue.....	230,113,275.79
Miscellaneous.....	44,880,551.11
	\$527,885,545.87
Expenses:	
Civil and misc.....	\$125,018,211.74
War.....	118,549,682.55
Navy.....	82,694,302.85
Indians.....	12,337,503.29
Pensions.....	138,425,617.87
Interest.....	28,556,678.31
	\$503,179,500.31

Surplus, 1903.....	\$52,710,955.56
Surplus, 1902, (vol. v, p. 223).....	76,375,927.90
Surplus, 1901, (vol. iv, p. 218).....	75,864,908.61
Surplus, 1900, (vol. iii, p. 218).....	80,075,670.23

Accumulated surplus, July 1, 1899 to June 30, 1903.....\$236,098,466.00

—Four judges of the Oregon circuit

court held on the 2d that the initiative and referendum amendment to the State constitution (vol. v. p. 202, vi. p. 186) is invalid. This opinion was given on a demurrer to the complaint of land owners against the city of Portland in a street assessment case. The court holds the amendment unconstitutional, on the ground of irregularities on the part of the legislative assembly in dealing with the amendment.

PRESS OPINIONS.

OHIO POLITICS.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), July 3 (weekly).—It appears to be settled that Mayor Tom Johnson, of Cleveland, must take the Ohio Democratic nomination for governor if it is to be prevented from going to Zimmerman, of Springfield, or some one else not in sympathy with the Johnson platform of radicalism. There appears to be no chance whatever of victory at the polls for the Democrats under any leader, but Johnson will probably take the nomination rather than let the party fall back into the hands of the conservatives.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), June 30.—Franklin county thus places itself on record in support of Tom L. Johnson and his programme. It still further emphasizes its spirit and purpose by nominating a legislative ticket, including Frank H. Howe, one of the leading single taxers of Ohio and a prominent manufacturer of Columbus. The delegation to the State convention similarly testifies to the genuine democracy of the Franklin Democrats. At its head stands John J. Lentz and among the others composing it are Ellis O. Jones and ex-Mayor Hinkle. These are real Democrats and they will prove powerful factors in the State convention. There will be no reaction if their influence shall prevail.

REPUBLICAN ADVICE TO DEMOCRACY.

Ohio State Journal (Rep.), June 26.—The Iowa Democracy deserves a medal. The State convention's repudiation of Bryanism is cause for congratulation among intelligent men of both great parties. . . . If the Democratic party continues to steer away from the crazy course it has followed for eight years, perhaps at some indefinite future time it may be able to offer real opposition to the Republicans. That would be a good thing for the Republican party and the country and we trust the Democrats of other States will hasten to follow the example set by their brethren in Iowa.

INCITERS TO ASSASSINATION.

Liberty (anarchist), July.—If, at the time of the assassination of McKinley, justice required the arrest and imprisonment of John Most because, by the simplest of coincidences, he had republished, immediately before that event, Karl Heinzen's defense of regicide, then all the more at the present moment justice requires the arrest and imprisonment of the Delaware parson who preached a sermon distinctly advising the lynching of a Negro, which advice was acted upon shortly thereafter. But, as governments are neither just on the one hand, nor consistent in their injustice on the other, this "incendiary" Delaware parson will not be molested.

THE SERVIAN REVOLUTION.

London New Age (Rad.), June 18.—All the elements of drama that tempt the pen of a Macaulay or a Froude are present in this scene. The confused accounts of a midnight plot; of wild shrieks as the ghastly slaughter proceeded; of a royal pair linked in each other's arms; and of a hasty burial in some ancient pit—we rub our eyes

and wonder whether it happened in the twentieth or in the sixteenth century. . . . The fact is that these kingdoms in the Near East—Russia among the rest of them—have hardly emerged from the stage when nature is still "red in tooth and claw." That is what makes the Macedonian problem such a difficult one. Wild passions are provoked; fierce jealousies are smoldering under the surface; and you never know when some mad insurrection will break out and imperil the peace of Europe. Facts like these came strikingly before the attention of this country during the time of the Armenian massacres. What was the use of boasting about civilization and talking about the armed concert of Europe when a sudden massacre might set Europe aflame and find the great Powers unable to cooperate and forget their ancient feuds? Such a result is unlikely to happen in the case of Servia, for the courts of Europe have a sympathy with kings and queens, and they are likely to insist upon guarantees before Servia is again admitted within the pale of civilization. At the same time, the striking truth should be brought home to all autocratic governments that force can only go a certain length in the affairs of nations. King Alexander might give constitutions and take them away again at his own sweet will, he might marry a lady of questionable character and flaunt his marriage in the face of his people—but the wrongs mounting up in this way became at last more than the people could bear.—(Mr. Balfour says there are limits to human endurance)—and hence his death finds Belgrade almost rejoicing, and not a single soul to mourn the loss of the royal pair. As democrats, we must maintain the sacred right of the people to rise against a king who tried to enslave them, while as men we cannot but condemn the undisciplined passion which so ruthlessly and, so far as we can see, so needlessly, took away human life.

MISCELLANY

THE AMERICAN COMMONS.

A patriotic poem read at the Independence Day celebration of the Fairview Jefferson Club of Lincoln, Neb., July 4, 1903, at Fairview, Neb., the home of William Jennings Bryan. Written especially for the occasion, by Dr. Howard S. Taylor, of Chicago, and read at Fairview by the author.

I.

When Liberty, wounded, betrayed and oppressed
By the insolent, tyrannous kings of the world,
Fled over the sea to the ultimate West,
And here in her refuge her banner unfurled;
When the hopes of mankind in the balances lay,
And the unborn, wondering centuries stood
To witness America's Passover day
And the sign of her door-lintels sprinkled with blood;
Then Liberty, menaced by envy and hate
From the seats of the mighty, the thrones of the great,
With tocsin and summons
Called forward her commons,
And marshaled and made them her pillars of state!

II.

They were men from the mines, from the shops, from the farms;
They were hunters and herdsmen and fishermen, bold;
They were homespun minute men, springing to arms,

With a faith that could neither be bought nor be sold!
Ah, these were the paladins, nobles and knights,
Who conquered King George and his hireling host!
Who penned with their sabers our charter of rights,
And made our republic humanity's boast;
Who gave to posterity riches untold—
A heritage greater than mountains of gold!
It is no man's nor woman's!
It was won by the commons—
For them and their children to have and to hold!

III.

A blend of all races, in many creeds bred,
They were fused in the white-heated furnace of war.
United—they followed where Liberty led,
As the wise men once followed the Bethlehem star.
Go question the flag—it will tell in a breath
How its tri-color hues by their spirit were planned;
That the white is their honor, the blue is their faith,
And the red is their valor on ocean and land!
Go search through the myths of the ancients in quest
Of their builders of empire, their bravest and best;
But Grecians and Romans
Are dwarfed by the commons
Who founded the great commonwealth of the West!

IV.

The fathers are gone—has their faith perished, too?
Has the spirit that moved them declined and decayed?
Have their lofty ideals grown dim and untrue
In the hurrying scramble of pleasure and trade?
Have the fanes of our patriot altars and graves
Sunken downward to mix with insensible clods?
Are we parting our race into masters and slaves,
With only fierce Mammon and Moloch for gods?
Ah, no! By our bells and our jubilant guns—
By the stars and the stripes where our proud story runs—
By a score of good omens
We still have our commons;
And the hearts of our Fathers still throb in their sons!

WE HAVE MURDERS AT HOME.

Civilization is getting a good many jolts in these days, and just for the moment an observer who held that it was moving backwards could point to a good many indications that seemed to support his opinion. It was really the part of prudence, for example, for our government not to upbraid the Kishineff Jews be massacred, and not to be too exacting in demanding the punishment

of the assassins of Belgrade, for we do not succeed in keeping perfect order, or in punishing all crimes of violence at home. We have our race difficulties, as well as the czar, and there isn't so very much to choose between an American mob dealing with negroes, and a Messarabian mob dealing with Jews, except that the czar's subjects do murder by wholesale, and our lynchers as yet usually confine their attentions to individuals. As for the killing at Belgrade, it seems to be a time-honored custom in Servia to kill the king, if possible, when it is time for a political change, just as it is the custom in the mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee to shoot the sheriff and as many of his relations as can be sighted when occasion seems to invite. They certainly needed a change of kings in Servia, and certainly they need a change of habits in Breathitt.—Editorial in Life, of July 2.

THE NATURE OF MONOPOLY.

A portion of a sermon delivered at the Vine Street Congregational church, Cincinnati, June 28, by Herbert S. Bigelow.

Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his.—Hab. 2:6.

The day is passed for swaying men by the citation of Scriptural authority. That is well. Who does not know what confusion of thought and viciousness of conduct have resulted from the practice of silencing reason with Scripture texts?

Shakespeare never said a truer thing than when he declared:

The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.

If recreant preachers wish to furnish comfort to monopolists, they will find as much Scripture for their purpose as did the preachers who justified from Holy Writ that cruder form of servitude called chattel slavery.

Even some of the reported sayings of Jesus are not incapable of being pressed into such a cause.

In Matthew 20:15, we read: "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?" This is the ultimatum with which an employer rejected a petition for higher wages. I wonder that the pulpit apologists for existing wrongs have not made use of this text. Mr. Parry's sermons might all be preached from it. The men who "have nothing to arbitrate" would find comfort in it.

There is another passage which might give them some comfort, provided they did not look too closely into its meaning, and that is the parable of the unprofitable servant. Here we have the familiar picture of a shrewd and not over-scrupulous monopolist—one of those men who have no interest in any

principle save the principal which yields them interest. Let the servant describe him.

"Lord, I know thee that thou art a hard man, reaping where thou didst not sow, and gathering where thou didst not scatter."

Of course this monopolist is not commended in the parable. Neither is he condemned. If one were looking for the Scriptural authority to reap the fruits of other men's labor, he might easily persuade himself that he found it here.

Then there is the famous reminder that we have the poor always with us. We know what valiant service that text has done in the cause of economic slavery. Jesus might also have said: "The slaves ye have always with you." He would have stated a fact. And it would have been as logical to discourage all attempts to abolish chattel slavery, because, forsooth, slavery always had existed, as to reconcile ourselves to poverty in the future, because it has existed in the past.

Even the best of our preachers have not escaped the error of looking at poverty as a blessing in disguise, when they should see that it is the fruit of monopoly and the mark of slavery. For example, take these words of so great and good a man as Phillips Brooks:

I know how superficial and unfeeling, how like mere mockery, words in praise of poverty may seem . . . but I am sure that the poor man's dignity and freedom, his self-respect and energy, depend upon his cordial knowledge that his poverty is a true region and kind of life, with its own chances of character, its own springs of happiness and revelations of God. Let him resist the characterlessness which often comes with being poor. Let him insist on respecting the condition where he lives. Let him learn to love it.

Reflect for a moment on the poor man's dignity. Enthuse, if you can, over the "poor man's freedom."

It is evident that those who speak thus do not know the meaning of that dreadful word "poverty."

The wages of one of the girls who clerks in a certain dry goods store is six dollars a week. Out of that she has paid four dollars and a half for board. Imagine the "freedom" of paying for clothes, and dentists' and doctors' bills, and street car fare, and summer vacations, and insurance, and savings account, out of one dollar and a half a week! This girl is to be married. The girls in the store have contributed out of their scant wages to buy their sister-worker clothes necessary for her wedding.

Last week I received a letter from a manufacturer in Pittsburg. The day he

wrote 20 men had called at his factory seeking work. Half of these men could be hired for \$1.25 a day or less. In his factory men are working for nine dollars a week and less. That wage will buy such food and housing as the poor are accustomed to, but it cannot buy such food and housing as workingmen ought to be able to command. How can such men afford to lose three days' time and spend money for railroad fare to attend a convention of their political party? They stay at home and work. Those who have money go. Thus, wealth rules, and the poor man's freedom becomes a name only.

Suppose we substitute "slavery" for the word "poverty," and "slave" for "poor man." Then we should read:

"I am sure that the slave's dignity and freedom, his self-respect and energy, depend upon his cordial knowledge that his slavery is a true region and a kind of life, with its own chances of character, its own springs of happiness and revelations of God. Let him resist the characterlessness which often comes with being a slave. Let him insist on respecting the condition where he lives. Let him learn to love it."

We all feel the mockery of that. So would we feel the mockery of all this praise of poverty, if we understood that we have monopolies to-day which are forms of slavery, and that from this slavery comes that condition of hopeless drudgery which we call poverty.

The world has greater need of preachers to expose the nature of monopoly than to declaim on the blessings of poverty.

"Woe to him that increaseth that which is not his." We need sermons on such texts as this.

Monopoly is a law created advantage which enables some to increase that which is not theirs. It is a method of getting other people's money without getting into jail.

Thirty years ago John Stuart Mill hit upon the base of all monopoly when he said:

Land is limited in quantity, while the demand for it, in a prosperous country, is constantly increasing. The incomes of land owners are rising while they are sleeping, through the general prosperity produced by the labor and outlay of other people.

In the last 15 years the land value in the city of Boston has increased \$245,000,000. That money is the property of the city of Boston. But by land monopoly it has been diverted into private pockets.

Woe to that city, and woe to that civilization, which permits the few thus to increase that which is not theirs.

THE PERILS OF TRADES UNIONISM.

A portion of an address delivered by Hon. Clarence S. Darrow before the Henry George association of Chicago, June 25, as reported in the Chicago Record-Herald.

Trades unionism is an artificial institution, built by man to counteract some natural law. When opportunity was plenty there was no need for trades unions, but when the country became settled, and monopolies fenced in large portions of the earth, and began the traffic in men, then trades unionism began to grow here, as it did in Europe. Trades unionism is in the air, the people have caught it, and many men are joining in the movement who know nothing about its usage or what its functions are. Many men join unions who do not believe in the principle, because they think they can get on better with their fellow workmen.

Every step in trades unionism has followed the steps that organized capital has laid down before it, and it is fundamentally monopolistic. In the United States there are millions of workmen who have no other thought than how to get more wages, and they care for nothing else in trades unionism.

No thinking man will deny that the workmen are not getting anywhere near the wage they should get in comparison with the amount of their production. But wages are not measured by money, but in the necessities and comforts which are obtained.

Trades unions must find out why wages are not increased, instead of seeking arbitrary methods of raising wages in one craft, without relation to any other craft or to their fellow men. The mere question of raising wages accomplishes nothing in the end, and is burdensome. It is simply a weary traveling around in a circle. Not only that, but the raising of wages is often mischievous, and interrupts the economics of the business world, and leads to nothing. If the carpenter secures an increase in his wage, then the grocer, because he has to pay the carpenter, will demand an increase, and soon the miner will need an increase to meet the demand of the grocer. So it goes on until it gets back to the carpenter again, and no one has benefited, for no one can get more comforts and necessities for their money.

Whatever is accomplished by labor in raising wages is done with endless pain and trouble, and then they get only a fraction of what they expect, and the capitalist, with a stroke of the pen, can increase the profits twice as fast to keep up with their raise, and by a simple stroke of the pen. The burden falls

on the middle class, the large majority have no way of increasing their wages or their labor, and in this mad rush the middleman and the consumer is forgotten, and he gets the worst of it.

I view with uneasiness the friendly feeling that some of the big corporations are expressing for the trades unions. I always feel that trades unionism is safer when these gentlemen are on the other side. When I see men who are in political life like Mark Hanna, and who are also allied with the big corporations, professing love for trades unions, I am apprehensive. When I find men who all their lives have been interested in trafficking in men suddenly coming to love the workmen, I know what it means.

Of course, J. P. Morgan believes in big things. He sees that it is economy to deal with workmen as a body, rather than as individuals. He doesn't care how much he has to pay, because he understands that you can't mark up the price of labor as fast as he can mark up the price of his steel. But the public is really paying for it, and they are getting nothing in return. It is the same in every line where labor and capital are getting along peaceably.

Workmen may organize until the cows come home, but they can never worst the man they are trying to beat at his own game. I sometimes think it would be better if laboring men had tried to decrease wages, for then they would at least have increased the production, and in the general grab they might have obtained a little more. But any movement directed along toward the raising of wages will fail, because if the raise is equal, it will do no one any good, and if it is not equal, then an injustice is worked, because the man who controls the production gets the best of it.

The man who wants to make money is a fool to work. The rule in political economy is, he who does the most work gets the least wage. Any system of business organization which will increase production will benefit the workman, and anything that tends to the equitable distribution of wealth will do the rest. So far as trades unions do these things they are a benefit; so far as they do anything else, they are a detriment. They must turn their attention to the equal distribution of wealth. To do this they must work for such laws and institutions as will accomplish it. When trades unions spend their time tinkering about the question of wages in any craft, or in boycotting this man of that, they are frittering away their time and energy.

Without some movement directed to-

ward taking the natural products, as coal and ore, from the hands of trusts who limit their production, it is impossible to get an equitable distribution of wealth, or to help labor. The salvation of the workman is to take an interest in political action.

So far as laws influence the social conditions—and in this time and country they do to a large degree—the men who believe in the equal division of wealth must direct this almost wasted energy of the trades unions into political channels. But the man who will organize men into an industrial army, and then lead them to that party which makes it its business to exploit men, is worse than a traitor, and there are many of them in Chicago, the hotbed of trades unionism.

If you were to organize every man in the United States, and do nothing but declare boycotts and strikes or raise wages, they would accomplish nothing. They would be a great army going nowhere and doing nothing. For awhile they may build up the wall of wage, but they cannot keep it there. When the bubble of speculation breaks—and break it will—the organizations will melt away faster than they were built up.

There is no effort now on the part of the leaders to bring about any permanent good out of this vast wasted energy. Where can you point to any good the American Federation of Labor has ever done, except agitation, which is a rope of sand, to melt away under the first strain? They represent millions of laborers, but are they bound together to correct any real abuses? They are just an organization, as though that was an end, instead of a means to an end. Now is the time to accomplish something. There never was a time when it was so easy to educate an army of workmen until they have political convictions which they will stick to as their religion, until they accomplish them. If the leaders will do this, then trades unionism will live, but not otherwise.

TOM L. JOHNSON AT MR. BRYAN'S FOURTH OF JULY CELEBRATION.

At the Fourth of July celebration at Fairview, Mr. Bryan's home near Lincoln, Neb., under the auspices of the Fairview Jefferson Club, July 4, 1903, after the speech of Dr. Howard S. Taylor, of Chicago, Mr. Bryan introduced Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, O., as the last speaker.

WM. J. BRYAN'S INTRODUCTION.

I am going to pass over the music which you find on the programme at this place, because I want to give the last speaker on the programme ample time and not have him speak while he feels rushed to catch a train. I have

had some experience of that kind myself, and I want to spare him that experience if I can.

Before introducing him I wish to express the gratitude which the Fairview Jefferson club feels for the kindly interest in this meeting that has been manifested by so many. I also wish to express the thanks of the club to the Monroe club of St. Joe, Mo., which has kindly lent us this tent. We needed it because we have not enough shade here for such a large meeting; and then, too, I thought Tom would feel at home in a tent (laughter and applause). I should like to stand before you, the members of this Fairview Jefferson club, which has worked so diligently in the preparation of this celebration; but the large crowd—the crowd larger than we anticipated — has compelled them to devote themselves to the care of those who have come. Therefore, I cannot stand them up here and show you the ones to whom you are indebted for this programme to-day.

I am glad, my friends, on this occasion to present a man who is worthy to discuss public questions in your presence. A man who in public office has given an exhibition of those characteristics that make the ideal public servant. When by your partiality I was permitted to study public questions at the national capitol, I became acquainted with Mr. Johnson. He entered congress at the same time and served during the same period. He has since then become the chief executive of a great city, and I have found that whether he spoke for the people as their representative in the national Congress or acted for them as the mayor of a city, he was the same plain, honest man. I am glad that we have a man who furnishes a type of an official that we might well wish was more numerous in our nation. A man who has the brain to see, a man who has the courage to do, a man who has devoted himself to the betterment of government and to the securing of great reforms. My friends, I am glad that Ohio can present to the nation the example of an incorruptible and fearless public official, who can neither be driven by threats nor bought by money to turn from the path of duty. (Voice: "Amen!") That's right. The nearest church to this ground is a Methodist church, and the word "amen" is a familiar one. I take great pleasure in presenting to this audience the Hon. Tom L. Johnson, of the United States. (Continued applause.)

TOM L. JOHNSON'S SPEECH.
Mr. Bryan, my fellow-citizens, ladies and gentlemen: I am far from home,

and in a strange country in a way. From our home place by the great expanse of waters, I was suddenly transferred into your green fields; and I realized when I saw the native turf here and the rolling ground, what a great place it must have been for the Indians of old times, and how naturally they must have resented our driving them out of such a fair land as this. But all feelings of strangeness have passed away. When I came into this tent this afternoon, I felt at once so much at home that now I can almost imagine myself in an Ohio campaign, with Mr. Bryan helping us, as he always has, to win our battles.

This is Independence Day! We have listened to that great document, the Declaration of Independence. Its principles of equal rights for all and special privileges for none, are of universal application, from the smallest local government to the widest scope of national government. It has often been discussed wisely and well, but there is just one thought that I want to call your attention to. One of the many gems in that old paper is the declaration that governments are instituted among men to secure certain rights for all. Let me ask you to emphasize the word "secure." You will notice it is not a declaration that grants rights—not a declaration that gives rights from above; it is a declaration that secures rights. It recognizes the truth that every man, woman and child has these rights from the fact that they were born on this earth. They are rights which spring from within and go out; they do not come down to us from any social contract, nor from any king or potentate. My friends, that to me is the thought that is greatest in that paper, the thought that it is the duty of government to secure to men the rights that they possess by nature. Governments are instituted among men for that purpose.

Now, the inquiry is this: Has our government been administered in the interest of securing these rights to men, or is there some ingenious way, some underhand trick, some device that is not always seen, something that is hidden below the surface, by which the sacred rights that the government should secure to all have been deferred and kept away from the many, and, instead, certain privileges and advantages have been vested in the few? I make the charge that most of our laws do this.

There are laws that we make to govern our cities and States and nation, laws for making certain great improvements, laws for punishing crimes, which carry out the spirit of the Declaration of Independence; but most of

the time of your legislative bodies, whether the national assembly, the State legislatures, or your city councils, most of their time is spent, with the aid of the ingenuity of the shrewdest, most corrupt and best paid set of men on earth, in devising plans for creating law-made privileges at the expense of all of the people for the benefit of the privileged monopolists of this country. (Applause.)

I cannot imagine that it is in the interest of all the people, and that we are securing their rights, when we build great navies and organize great armies. So-called statesmen tell us these are to protect us from the outside world, but they use them to enslave people who have as much right to be free as we have. (Applause.)

I don't believe when in the quiet of a room in Washington, somewhere in the capitol, or in a hotel, a number of men who control the destinies of this country by representing—not the Republican masses, but the Republican machinery—when they concoct bills to subsidize great ship lines now owned by wealthy people who are enjoying other great privileges, I don't believe when they propose thus to take your money to subsidize ship lines, that they intend to secure to us rights. Such laws are intended to rob us of rights.

I do not believe that State legislatures, when they make tax laws under which farmers and home owners and mechanics and men owning small shops pay five times as heavy taxes as are paid by the great steam railroad corporations of the State—I cannot believe that that is in the interest of securing rights. In the state of Ohio we have a great railroad interest which is in partnership with certain leaders in the Republican party, certain men who use the Republican party and its machinery to protect the railroads from paying their fair share of taxes. My friends, the greatest privilege that the steam railroads, and the street railroads, and other monopoly interests in the State of Ohio—the greatest privilege they own, is the privilege of making other people who live in Ohio pay their taxes.

Similar evils are perpetuated by our city legislative bodies. You will find that the time of all these bodies is taken up largely in serving the interests of privileged people. They are especially guarded and protected, and not always I am sorry to say by Republican legislative bodies. Some of our so-called Democratic bodies have been guilty.

Don't imagine that I accuse Republicans alone. I am not here to plead in the interest of corrupt Democrats and

against corrupt Republicans. In Ohio we condemn them both alike. We have a plan there of fighting dishonest Democrats harder even than we fight Republicans. Not long ago, a year ago last March, a certain bill came before the Ohio legislature. The Democratic party in convention assembled had declared against the renewal of street railway franchises without first submitting the ordinance to a vote of the people. The matter came before the Republican legislature in the form of a bill to grant the streets of Cincinnati by a 44-year street car franchise to Senator Foraker and his friends. That bill was pushed through as a party measure, though there were nine Republican members of that legislature who bolted. The party whip was held over them, but they had the honesty and courage to vote against their party on this monopoly proposition. We honored those nine Republicans by mentioning them in our meetings and telling our people they could trust men of that kind no matter what party they belonged to. On the other hand, there were eight so-called Democrats who voted with Senator Foraker and his party machine for the enactment of that grant of 44 years. They did this though their own party had declared against it. We Democrats went out on the stump against those recreant Democrats; and I am glad to be able to say, both as a warning to other recreant Democrats, and as a word of cheer, that they have all been buried in their political graves never to rise again. (Applause.) There is more glory to us in the defeat of one traitor in our own midst than there is in the defeat of any number of Republicans. We are not responsible for the fidelity of Republicans; we are responsible for the fidelity of Democrats. Our motto is: "Clear our own skirts." Ohio people know now that when we make a declaration in our party platform, we intend to live up to it. By following this policy we may lose an election now and again; but when we win an election the people will have a guarantee that we will practice what we preach. And that, my friends, is everything. (Applause.)

I believe the great problem in this country—you may not be quite so much interested in it, you who are farmers may not yet think that it interests you—but the great problem in this country is how to govern cities. When you have equal rights in cities you will soon have equal rights everywhere. Cities are growing larger. They are constantly including a greater proportion of our population. And in these growing cities we find that we are to-day breeding

the Huns and Vandals who may destroy our civilization. How to conquer the Huns and Vandals, that is the great problem.

But this problem is not to be solved by restriction. It is not to be solved by mere laws to prevent men who live in cities from doing certain things. You can by restrictive statutes so hamper a city as to destroy its liberties; but you cannot by restrictive statutes make it pure and clean. The only way to solve the municipal problem, which is the great problem of modern civilization, is to give to cities full liberty to govern themselves, liberty to make their own local rules and regulations. Give them a system of home rule that will allow them to do wrong, and then by their blunders they may learn how to do right. (Applause.)

The principles of the Declaration of Independence, local self government and equal rights for all with special privileges for none, apply to city government. For the true unit of all government in modern times is the municipality. In my own city of Cleveland we are trying to apply those principles of the Declaration of Independence. Supported by a majority of the people, we are striving to secure for all the people of our municipality equal rights. This is the kind of practical work which needs most to be done at the present time. If our municipalities—our villages, towns and cities—are governed in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, all our governments will be beneficially affected, even up to the highest. The whole problem of democratic government in general is to be solved through local self-government.

This fact is coming into recognition. The true unit of government is the municipality. Let there be no special privileges there, and there will soon be no special privileges at all. This was the feeling which led me into Cleveland politics something more than two years ago. It has been an uphill fight from the beginning. It is an uphill fight still. It will be an uphill fight in the future. Whoever supposes that the plutocrats will yield without a fight, and a succession of fights, is mistaken. But we have made gains in Cleveland. The enemy has been beaten at some points and is on the defensive at all points.

The mission of the Democratic party is to solve the municipal problem. This is because the party of Lincoln has degenerated. It no longer serves the masses. It is guided and controlled by leaders who are under the influence of classes that own all the great privileges

and monopolies of the country. It has come to be like a magnet to those classes. They are attracted to it, not because they believe in Republican doctrine, for they don't; but because they believe that the Republican leaders can be trusted to protect their monopoly interests. Now, the Democratic mission is to arouse the plain people of the land of all parties against this combination of Republican leadership and monopoly greed.

Let the Democratic party be true and fair with the present questions that interest the common people, and, step by step and point by point raise new questions in the interest of all the people—let it rise to the occasion, and though its speakers may not be able to make their speeches from the end of gorgeous palace cars, though they may have to depend upon the shade of trees and the shelter of tents, they will win. Convince the plain people that their destiny can be trusted in the hands of the Democratic party, and I think we shall be able sometime to celebrate Independence day, not by pointing out the mistakes of the opposing party, but by showing that this is in fact a government instituted among men for the purpose of securing to each equal rights. You cannot bring on that time by mere declarations. You cannot do it by constitutions. You have got to do it by fostering the love of liberty in the hearts of all the people. After you have done that, liberty is secure. (Applause.)

In Cleveland we have tried to bring on the day of equal rights and no privileges by securing control of our public service accommodations and by equalizing taxation. Our water service was already within the city's management, but it was pestered with the spoils system. We have successfully established the merit system there, and business principles now govern the Cleveland water supply. The street car service cannot yet be treated like the water service, but we are far on the way toward 3-cent fares, which will give the people their car rides cheaper and let water out of corporation stock. We should have had a 3-cent fare system in operation before now if Republican leaders had not obstructed this good work even to the extent of demoralizing the municipal system of the whole State of Ohio. By that revolutionary means, also, they prevented our attempts to adjust taxation on a fair basis. At present the monopolists pay taxes on low valuations—as low as 10 per cent. of true value—while unprivileged people like mechanics, merchants and farmers, pay on 60 per cent. of true value, or more. But the obstruct-

tions thrown in the way have not defeated us. The people were behind us if the Republican leaders were not. And now we are going on in our work of getting a municipal lighting system along with our water system, of establishing a 3-cent fare street car system, and of establishing equality of taxation.

As the monopolists have resisted us so far by means of Republican legislatures, we have had to carry our local fight into the State at large. We have learned that cities cannot be governed by the principles of the Declaration of Independence so long as beneficiaries of local special privileges can frustrate local movements through legislatures and political bosses. We are trying to secure the right of local self-government.

I have no unkind feelings toward Republicans. I could not have. Without the votes of Republicans in Cleveland and in Ohio we could win no elections. They say that in Cleveland some Republicans have got the bad habit of voting our way. It is not because we call them hard names. I have every feeling of affection for men of all parties who love liberty and fair play. But I say this to you, that the Republican managers today have allied themselves with privileged monopolies in return for campaign funds. From the party of Lincoln down to the party of Mark Hanna has been an awful descent. (Applause.)

I have no ill will for Senator Hanna. Personally he is a nice man. In business he lives up to his agreements. But his public record must be condemned. In our campaign last fall Senator Hanna put it out as his key-note that Republicans should "stand pat." Now, think of that! Think of that as the political key note for an intelligent community. "Stand pat"! Do you know what that means? Why, to "stand pat" is the highest and biggest play of the professional gambler in our great American game of draw poker. He holds five cards. They may make the best or they may make the poorest hand in the deck. Holding them up close to him he says: "I stand pat," which means he doesn't need any better cards, or wants you to think he doesn't. Let the other players guess what he has. It is a game of bluff. That was Senator Hanna's game in Ohio politics. That was his key-note in a great campaign where men and women were interested in vital questions—"stand pat"! Think of the fall from the days of Abraham Lincoln. When he played the game of life they call politics, he did not "stand pat." He didn't hold five cards and bluff you to guess. He played his hand open on the

table before him where everybody could see it. Lincoln, probably, never knew what a pat hand was. Oh, my Republican friends of Nebraska, isn't it a fall from the Republicanism of Lincoln to the Republicanism of Hanna? Think of Abraham Lincoln, humanity-loving Lincoln, with his open hands, and then of Mark Hanna with his "pat hands." (Laughter and applause.)

One word in closing. This is my first visit to your beautiful country. This is the first time I have stopped in your State, though I have passed through it before. I hope it will not be my last visit. And I hope above all that our friend, Mr. Bryan, who has traveled and spoken so much all over the United States, will long be spared to continue his good work. I hope that the people of this country will continue to love and honor him as I love and honor him and you here this afternoon. My friends, I thank you for your attention. Good-by.

TO A PAIR OF LOVERS.

If you only love each other,
Never will your love be blessed.
Those who love the world together
Love each other best.
—The Whim.

Advertisement Manager of Great Newspaper (to clerk)—Jones, take down an advertisement as I dictate it, and then send it up. Ready? All right—

"Wanted—A man for a pleasant indoor position; short hours, light work, no experience necessary; place permanent; salary, £1,000 a year.—Apply, in own handwriting, to Millionaire, 'Great Daily' office."

Jones—I have it down, sir, and will send it to the printers at once.

Advertisement Manager (a week later)—Jones, how many answers were received from that advertisement?

Clerk—Eighteen thousand.

Advertisement Manager (an hour later)—Good morning, sir. What can we do for you?

Seedy Individual—What do you charge for an advertisement for a situation wanted?

Advertisement Manager—Our charges are high—half a crown a line; but you must remember the vast number of people we reach. Why, sir, from one single advertisement inserted last week there were received 18,000 answers.—Star.

Speaking of Rockefeller's gift to the University of Nebraska, there are some cranks, and possibly a few others, who are not thoroughly well assured of the propriety of a State university accepting gifts.

The old universities are mostly down on their knees at the feet of Mammon begging his favor. If they are not grinding Mammon's ax, it is simply because Mammon happens not to have an ax to grind at the moment.

The State universities, in theory at least, are free. It might be worth while to keep them free, for the Lord only knows what is coming to pass.—Life.

The dodging of the plain truth about human brotherhood furnishes the reason why it has always been so difficult to draw the line, in churches and societies and colonies and nations and races, between our precious clique and the rest of the wicked world. There is no such line. "Class-consciousness" is the nightmare of a cramped intellect and an overfed prejudice. The truth shall make you free from all such uncomfortable sensations.—The Straight Edge, of New York.

Newport was once a fairly respectable city. Look at it now! Breathitt county was settled by decent folks, and its eccentricities of conduct are due to nothing but isolation. When too much society can result in a modern Newport, and too little in a Breathitt, how easy seems the road to the bow-wows!—Life.

"Well," said the New Yorker, tauntingly, "you don't see any grass growing in our streets."

"That's so," replied the Philadelphian; "clever scheme of yours."

"What's that?"

"To keep tearing your streets up so the grass can't grow."—Philadelphia Press.

BOOKS

THE WONDERFUL RECORD OF A SINGLE SESSION.

"You nominated me for a seat in Congress notwithstanding I besought you not to do so." Thus begins the letter of confession and thanks which Gerrit Smith addressed to his constituents in the counties of Oswego and Madison, New York, on the 5th of November, 1852. He goes on to speak of his age, of his habits formed for private life, of his shrinking from public life. Then he tells them with evident sincerity that he would be glad to resign before taking his seat, but that he feels bound by their generosity, because knowing his political creed they had yet elected him by a large majority.

As if to offer the voters a final opportunity to pass judgment upon him, he proceeds in this remarkable letter

to state the leading features of his political creed. It is safe to say that in all the recorded history of politics during the nineteenth century, there is to be found nothing more remarkable than this declaration of principles. For the sake of brevity some parts may be omitted here, but the reader will confess that enough is given to enlist his homage to the courage and genius of this seer of half a century ago.

1st. In opposition to slavery.

2nd. The right to the soil is as natural, absolute, and equal, as the right to the light and the air.

3d. Political rights are not conventional, but natural—inhering in all persons, the black as well as the white, the female as well as the male.

4th. The doctrine of free trade is the necessary outgrowth of the doctrine of human brotherhood, and to impose restrictions on commerce is to build up unnatural and sinful barriers across that brotherhood.

5th. National wars are as brutal, barbarous, and unnecessary, as are the violence and bloodshed to which misguided and frenzied individuals are prompted; our country should, by her own Heaven-trusting and beautiful example, hasten the day, when the nations of the earth 'shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'

6th. Aimed against the extension of governmental functions, in conformity with the notion that the less government the better.

7th. As far as practicable, every officer, from the highest to the lowest, should be elected directly by the people.

Such was the clear, bold declaration of principles set forth by the member elect. He served but a single session, and resigned on the very day that the session ended. The principles upon which he stood appear again and again in the speeches which he made during that session. These speeches are contained in the old volume that lies before me—Speeches of Gerrit Smith in Congress, Mason Brothers, New York, 1855. How many readers of to-day have ever heard of Mason Brothers as publishers? They have passed—and how much else—since they issued this volume of speeches, copied, as they say, "without change from their original publication." Surely the house of Mason Brothers did a good turn, and proved its right to existence by publishing this handy volume; for these speeches are made of the stuff that the world will need some generations yet to come. Will not some successor to Mason Brothers publish at least selections, in order

that they may be made more accessible to a new generation? Of course some of the speeches are out of date, but there are others which in all essential principles will be modern for many a day.

I presume this volume is now rare, and that its contents are not otherwise readily accessible to many readers: I shall therefore venture to make a number of quotations. On Jan. 16, 1854, Mr. Smith introduced a series of resolutions on the Public Lands. The 4th section reads as follows:

"That it is not because land monopoly is the most efficient cause of inordinate and tyrannical riches on the one hand, and of dependent and abject poverty on the other; and that it is not because it is, therefore, the most efficient cause of that inequality of condition so well-nigh fatal to the spread of democracy and Christianity, that Government is called upon to abolish it; but it is because the right, which this mighty agent of evil violates and tramples under foot, is among those clear, certain, essential, natural rights which it is the province of Government to protect at all hazards and irrespective of all consequences." It is needless to say that the resolutions were promptly laid on the table; but their author again and again found opportunity to proclaim his doctrine.

In a speech on the Homestead Bill, Jan. 21, 1854, he said:

"The right of a man to the soil, the light, and the air, is to so much of each of them as he needs and no more, and for so long as he lives and no longer. In other words, this dear mother earth, with her never-failing nutritious bosom; and this life-preserving air, which floats around it; and this sweet light, which visits, are all owned by each present generation, and are equally owned by all the members of such generation."

Again: "Were the monopoly of the light and air practicable . . . there would be no higher duty on Government than to put an end to such wicked and death-dealing monopolies. . . . Why land monopoly has not swept the earth of all good, is not because it is unadapted and inadequate to that end, but because it has been only partially carried out."

Again: "Land monopoly has reduced no small share of the human family to abject and wretched dependence, for it has shut them out from the great source of subsistence, and frightfully increased the precariousness of life. Unhappy Ireland illustrates the great power of land monopoly for evil. The right to so much as a standing place on the earth is denied to the great mass of her people."

Again: "What a man produces

from the soil, he has an absolute right to. He may abuse the right. It nevertheless remains. But no such right can he have in the soil itself. . . . But it may be said that a man might monopolize the fruits of the soil, and thus become as injurious to his fellow-men as by monopolizing the soil itself. It is true that he might, in this wise, produce a scarcity of food. But the calamity would be for a few months only. Having the soil still in their hands the sufferers would have the remedy still in their hands."

Toward the close of this remarkable address, the speaker describes in vivid ways the increased happiness that would come to the human race by the abolition of the land monopoly. Let me quote a few sentences here and there:

"Land monopoly is the chief cause of beggary—comparatively little beggary will remain after land monopoly is abolished."

"The world will be happier, when land monopoly is abolished, because it will more abound in marriage. Marriage, when invited by a free soil, will be much more common and early, than when, as now, it must be delayed until the parties to it are able to purchase a home."

"And still another benefit to flow from the abolition of land monopoly is its happy influence upon the cause of temperance. . . . The ranks of intemperance, like those of war, are, to a great extent, recruited from the homeless and vagrant."

"I will glance at but one more of the good effects that will result from the abolition of land monopoly. Religion will rejoice, when the masses, now robbed of homes by land monopoly, shall have homes to thank God for—homes in which to cultivate the home-bred virtues and to grow in Christian vigor and beauty."

No matter what the subject of his speech, this early apostle of "the land for the people" managed to get in some word for the cause in which he had come to believe so strongly. In a speech on the Territory of Minnesota I find these words: "The bare fact that a man is without land is title enough to his needed share of the vacant land. No clearer, stronger title to it can he possibly have. Is there a spare home in the great common inheritance of the human family? Who should have it if not the homeless?"

In a speech on the Pacific Railroad, delivered May 30, 1854, he confessed:

"I am so full of it that I could well-nigh consent to say, in all my speeches, as did Cato his 'Carthago delenda est' in all his—that the vacant land belongs to the landless. The simple fact that the one is vacant and the other landless, is of itself the highest proof that they

should be allowed to come together. Alas, what a crime against nature that they should be kept apart."

The coupling of the words Pacific Railroad and land monopoly brings up another memory. One can not but wonder whether a certain boy, then but sixteen years of age, living in Philadelphia—if he had happened on this 30th of May to be taken to Washington, and could have sat in the gallery and heard these words—whether he would have felt some special thrill, and would have had some clairvoyant premonition of some twenty years ahead, when he too would be talking about a Pacific Railroad and about land monopoly. Can we imagine that he might have dreamt then that to him it would be given to see the evils with the clear vision of the speaker, and with clearer vision to point the way of relief?

Nothing could better convince one of the greatness of the work and service of Henry George than the reading of these speeches of Gerrit Smith. Great as was the mind of this preacher of freedom, keen as was his insight into the evils of monopoly, he had no other remedy to propose than the crude limitation of the quantity of land a man might hold. One can easily imagine with what enthusiasm he would have welcomed the system which George set forth a quarter of a century later. It would have fallen in precisely with Gerrit Smith's political principles; for he believed most heartily in free trade and in direct taxation. In a speech on War, from which I wish I might quote at length, he said: "No government ever was, or ever will be, either honest or frugal, whose expenses are defrayed by indirect taxation."

I find it difficult to cease quoting from this book, which seems to come to us like a fresh voice from a dead past. I have said nothing of the literary qualities of the author, with his fine, calm temper, and yet with a facility and pithiness of style that are constantly apparent. And more than style is the large, noble compass of his thought. Would that we in our day might listen again to his sincerity, his high ideals, his belief in human rights, and his devotion to principle and religion. "I trust," he said, in the very first speech which he delivered in Congress. "I trust that a better day will come, when all men shall be convinced that human rights are not to be secured by human cunning and human juggles, but solely by the unfaltering acknowledgment of the Divine Power. This crazy world is intent on saving itself by dethroning God. But, in that better day, to which I have referred, the conviction shall be universal, that the only safety of man consists in leaving God upon His throne."

J. H. DILLARD.

PERIODICALS.

The Red Book for July (Chicago), edited by Crumbull White, offers an inviting bill of fare to the Summer story reader.

While there is nothing particularly new in Mr. Carl Snyder's article in the June Harper on "The World Beyond Our Senses," he calls our attention in an interesting way to the fact that if we could only see a little better, the revelation would "seem as strange to us as would our visible world could Helen Keller's sightless eyes be touched to the light of day." Beyond all that the eye may see, that ear may hear, that hands may feel, outside of taste or smell, there lies an unseen, unheard, unfeelt universe whose fringe," he says, "we are just beginning to explore. A flash, so to speak, from this suprasensual world came with the discovery of the Roentgen rays.

But they are still called X-rays, for we still do not know what they are nor where they belong." J. H. D.

The July Arena tells of the reign of terror in Finland, in a contribution by John Jackson; and in a paper by Mr. Flower the corruption of government by corporations is circumstantially and graphically told. Government by injunction is treated by Ernest Crosby, who emphasizes some important points. Premising that injunctions must enjoin acts which are either lawful or unlawful, he contends that "if they are unlawful they are already forbidden by law, and the penal code is a standing injunction against them. Why, then, issue another injunction? If, on the other hand, the acts are lawful, why should they be forbidden? It is a dangerous legislative power to put into the hands of a single judge, and we have seen numerous examples of its abuse." Mr. Crosby adds a timely word on the proposal to allow men charged with violations of injunctions to have a jury trial. "Such a remedy," he says, "would be most inadequate. The jury could only consider the question of fact, whether or not the accused has disobeyed the in-

junction, while the main issue, namely, whether the judge had any right to enjoin the act, would be altogether beyond the scope of their functions."

In McClure's for July Mr. Henry Harland continues "My Friend Prospero," and there are good short stories; but of course the notable papers of the number are the continuation, and conclusion of the first part, of Miss Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company," and Mr. Steffens's "Philadelphia: Corrupt and Contented." Of the latter the editor remarks that it is "the most depressing of our city articles and we regard it as peculiarly appropriate reading for the glorious Fourth of July, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which was adopted one hundred and twenty-seven years ago in Philadelphia." Mr. Steffens tells, among other ras-calities, of the refusal of Wanamaker's offer of \$2,500,000 for the street-car franchises that were given away. I happened to be in Philadelphia at the time, and while driving next day with a Republican friend I asked him why the people, or somebody, did not try to do something about so open a steal. "Oh," he replied, "we have got so that we can stand anything." J. H. D.

The Century for July is a noteworthy number. It opens with a little poem of high quality by Edwin Markham entitled "At Friends with Life." Wm. Hayes Ward has a most instructive article on "Who Was Hammurabi?" taking us back to 2250 B.C. There is the first installment of some "Unpublished Letters by Sir Walter Scott," and Richard Whiteing continues "The Yellow Van." But to many the most interesting feature will be "John Wesley," by Prof. C. T. Winchester of Wesleyan University, an admirable sketch of the great reformer, bringing his life down to about 1750. It is interesting to note, apropos of recent discussion, that Wesley's mother was her father's twenty-fifth child, and that she bore to her husband nineteen children in twenty-one years. The husband was meantime rector of an obscure parish on \$750 a year. Yet they did great things, these two

Fabian Essays in Socialism

Essays by G. Bernard Shaw, Sydney Olivier, Sidney Webb, Wm. Clarke, Hubert Bland, Graham Wallas

American Edition, with Introduction and Notes by H. G. Wilshire

PRESS NOTICES

The whole book deserves reading as a thoughtful and interesting contribution to current discussions.—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

We attach great importance to this collection of essays as a fair and competent representation of the Socialist case.—*Co-operative News*.

We think every minister of religion, and every intelligent, earnest Christian ought to read and ponder this most important and fascinating volume.—*The Methodist Times*.

The writers of the "Fabian Essays in Socialism" have produced a volume which ought to be read by all who wish to understand the movements of the time.—*Daily News*.

By far the best account of the basis of Socialism yet published in England, and by their temperate and "evolutionary" spirit cannot fail to be of great service in dispelling much misunderstanding of current Socialism.—*The Academy*.

After a careful and conscientious perusal one is compelled to admit that they are written with conspicuous ability and sagacity from the Socialistic point of view, and that they must mark a departure as notable in social politics as the famous *Essays and Reviews* were in theology.—*The Scots Observer*.

Paper, 25 cents ; Cloth, 75 cents

TWENTIETH CENTURY PRESS
17 East 16th Street, NEW YORK



A PROBLEMATIC "CONQUEST."

U. S.—What! You don't love me! You actually prefer that Spanish cut-throat and you tell me this after I have superseded his "criminal aggression" with my "benevolent assimilation"!!!

[The city was gayly decorated with Spanish flags. Not a single American flag was displayed in honor of the day.]—News item from San Juan, P. R., in Chicago Inter Ocean, June 14.]

—raised the moral tone of a whole community, and, as Prof. Winchester says, "Methodism began in Susanna Wesley's nursery." What a curious insight we get into the evolution of the human mind by reading of John Wesley "endeavoring to enforce confession and penance, and refusing the sacraments and burial to dissenters"—this, too, when he was a man thirty-five years of age. J. H. D.

The North American Review for June contains an unusual number of thoughtful articles. On the literary side, readers will be especially interested in Mr. Frederic Harrison's paper on Tennyson, apropos of Sir Alfred Lyall's new estimate. Among Mr. T. W. Russell's notes on the Irish land bill, attention is called to the following peculiarity: "All previous land purchase measures conveyed the freehold of the land to the purchaser. This bill does not pretend to do so." Under the pen-name of Paterfamilias a writer deals very candidly and pithily with President Roosevelt's recent remarks about large families. "The race for existence," he says, "is going to be harder and the difficulties in the way are going to become much greater. As the great industrial and mercantile businesses of the country are constantly accumulating in the hands of a few corporations, it seems likely that less and less will a young man have a chance in life in a business of his own. . . . It is even now a difficult question for the man with a fairly good income to provide for a family of four children . . . and there is every reason to believe that the race is going to be harder in the future." Mr. Sydney Brooks closes an article on Politics in England with the

remark that "The country grows more and more dissatisfied with the government, and it is still without confidence in the opposition." The truth seems to be that European Liberalism has become inane from sheer cowardice. It refuses to face new issues. J. H. D.

Clubs of Three

To extend the circulation of The Public among new readers, and at the same time to relieve of expense such regular readers, or others, as take the trouble to procure us new subscriptions, we will supply three subscriptions for the price of two, on the following terms:

- A Club of Three Annual Subscriptions (at least two of them new) \$4.00
- A Club of Three Semi-Annual Subscriptions (at least two of them new) \$3.00
- A Club of Three Quarterly Subscriptions (at least two of them new) \$1.00

Any person soliciting new subscribers will be allowed the same terms. For every two new subscriptions for which he forwards us cash at regular rates we will honor his order for a third subscription free.

Make all Checks, Money Orders, etc., payable to
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.,
 Box 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

SOCIALIST TRIUMPH IN GERMANY

At the recent German elections the Socialists have won a victory too notable to be concealed by the capitalist papers of the United States. They therefore claim that socialism in Germany is something different from socialism in America; that it is merely a democratic reform movement. That this is false will be seen by reading THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION, by Karl Kautsky, the leading socialist writer of Germany. Translated by A. M. and May Wood Simons. Cloth, 189 pages, 50 cents, postpaid. Mention this paper and we will include without extra charge a copy of the Communist Manifesto and a late number of the International Socialist Review. 137 Adress.

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY, 56 Fifth Ave., CHICAGO.

Volume V of The Public

Complete Volumes, including Index, sent post paid at Regular Subscription price, \$2.00.

BOUND VOLUMES, PRICE, \$3.00, by Express, prepaid, \$3.50, are ready for delivery. Address,

PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO., Box 687, Chicago.

The Public

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY
 1641 UNITY BUILDING
 CHICAGO, ILL.

All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO.

Payment of subscription is acknowledged up to and including the first issue of the month printed on the wrapper. The figures following the month, refer to the year in which the subscription expires.

Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

TERMS.

Annual Subscription	\$2.00
Semi-Annual Subscription	1.00
Quarterly Subscription50
Trial Subscription (4 weeks)10
Single Copies05

Free of postage in United States, Canada and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week.

POST OFFICE ADDRESS:
THE PUBLIC, BOX 687, CHICAGO, ILL.

ATTORNEYS.

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

CONTRACTORS.

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

Speech of Louis F. Post

The speech of Louis F. Post delivered at the St. Louis Single Tax Dinner May 16, 1903, and printed in THE PUBLIC, May 23, 1903, may now be had in pamphlet form at prices as follows:

- Single copy, 5 cents.
- 10 copies, - 25 cents.
- 100 copies, - \$2.00.

This pamphlet is pocket (or envelope) size containing 32 pages, neatly and substantially covered. Address orders to

FRANK VIERTH,
 CEDAR RAPIDS,
 IOWA.
 Publisher "Why?"

MYSELF CURED I will gladly inform anyone addicted to
COCAINE, MORPHINE, OPIUM
OR LAUDANUM, of a never-failing harmless Home Cure. Address
 MRS. A. M. BALDWIN, Box 1212, CHICAGO, ILL.

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

Dyspeptics Incurable preferred.
Try the never failing Popp's
German Stomach Powders. Sampled
Free. Mailed upon receipt of \$1.00
Popp's Stomach Powder Co.
656 West Park St. Chicago, Ill.