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"Philadelphia—Corrupt and Contented." What an appalling indictment of a civilized city!

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Lincoln Steffens and McClure's Magazine must be regarded by the political corrupters and corruptees of Philadelphia, St. Louis and Minneapolis as exceedingly pessimistic.

An ominous spectacle in civil government is presented in Chicago at the present time. "Government by Injunction" is being supplemented with "Government by Receivers."

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A Federal judge, appointed from Washington for life, and except upon impeachment answerable to no one but other Federal judges also appointed from Washington for life, has intimated his intention of coercing the city of Chicago at one of the most vital points of municipal government—the freedom of the municipal highways.

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Unpleasant accusations as to the motives of this Federal judge have been somewhat freely made. Whether these accusations are warranted or not, everyone will of course decide for himself. No one, however, ought to infer bad motives from the conclusions the judge reaches regarding the questions with which he has to deal, extraordinary as these conclusions may seem to be. But it must be admitted that there is an unfortunate appearance of gratification on the part of Judge Grosscup in finding himself able to reach those conclusions—an appearance which goes far, perhaps, to explain the suspicions that have been expressed.

Lawyers understand the meaning of "a swift witness." He is not necessarily a witness with bad motives. He is not necessarily a perjured witness. He may be a witness who thinks his testimony is true. But he is so swift in giving it that he lays bare his particular sympathies to suspicion, and the impartiality of his testimony, therefore, to discredit. If "swift" witnesses, why not "swift" judges? Possibly Judge Grosscup may fall within this category in his management of the Traction receivership. Yet it is to be remembered in his favor that it is not as a judge that he has exhibited "swiftness." If at all, it is as a conservator of certain private property rights in certain public functions. As a judge he may yet feel obliged to reverse the decision he has made as a conservator. In the latter capacity he may be pardoned for straining, even to the point of extreme partisanship, to strengthen the assets of the private interests under his management. It is, therefore, not necessarily a reflection upon his judicial impartiality that he has as conservator instructed the receivers of the traction companies in a manner tending to coerce a settlement favorable to the property he conserves.

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But motives are not the vital consideration. It is the attitude Judge Grosscup assumes, and not his motives for assuming it, that really counts. What he has done is to instruct the receivers, in a published letter of advice, that a large part and probably the whole of the street car system of Chicago is tied up until 1958 by a contract for 99 years made by the legislature of Illinois in 1865. He lays much emphasis upon the dishonesty of abrogating this so-called contract; but he turns a blind eye and a deaf ear to the charge that the so-called contract was procured by fraudulent collusion. While keenly alive to the consideration that the so-called contract has "been the accepted basis for tens of thousands of transactions by people who never heard of the legislature of 1865," he is indifferent to the familiar fact that the companies representing these people have never really relied upon that act of 1865, but have always been solicitous, as they still are, and as Judge Grosscup (as conservator) evidently is also, to secure city franchises that would be needless if the 99-year act were valid. And he reaches the conclusion that this 99-year act has contracted away to private corporations, beyond recall by either the city or the State, until 1958, not only all the street car systems in operation in 1865, but probably all that have since been established by 20-year city ordinances, regardless of State laws that have for more than a quarter of a century prohibited street franchises for more than 20 years. He accordingly warns the city to keep hands off, by instructing the receivers to report any interference by the city to him. In this there is the implication that if the city of Chicago attempts to exercise its governmental function of regulating the use of the public highways within its jurisdiction, contrary to Judge Grosscup's views of what is necessary to conserve the assets of Mr. Yerkes's insolvent corporation, the Federal government will intervene.

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Underlying this well laid plan for wresting powers of local self government from the people of Chicago (and in like manner from every municipality in the land into the laws of which some astute Federal judge may at any time read the semblance of a contract with non-residents) is

a perniciously artificial legal doctrine, the doctrine, namely, that one legislature can bind subsequent ones by laws embodying contractual characteristics. The doctrine is pernicious because it is calculated to enable moneyed interests to acquire irrevocable control of most important governmental powers. That effect was not foreseen when the Supreme Court of the United States made the vicious precedent of the Dartmouth College case. It has not been suspected in all these years since that ill-laden precedent. But judicial conservators like Judge Grosscup, as well as plutocratic street grabbing rings like that of Philadelphia, are rendering inestimable service in bringing to light the tremendous leverage which this legal doctrine offers for uprooting popular government and turning over our cities to moneyed oligarchies.

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Let it be observed that a street franchise for 999 years would be as valid a contract in Judge Grosscup's view as one for 99 years. The question of reasonableness has had no weight with him. If it had, he could hardly have concluded that four generations is a reasonable term for a highway contract. If, then, a State can reasonably barter away its public highways for four generations, there is nothing unreasonable in its doing so for forty generations, or forever. Yet the question of a reasonable period ought to be regarded as of prime importance in irrevocable legislative grants of highway rights.

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Consider the matter for a moment on the basis of legal principles that commend themselves to the common sense of mankind. No legal principle is better established or more in harmony with the theory of popular government than the principle that one legislature cannot bind the legislative functions of its successors. Laws are always subject to repeal. Popular government could not exist on any other basis. Now, the regulation of highways is a legislative function. Consequently any act purely legislative regarding highways is always subject to repeal. But with contracts it is different. They may not be in the category of pure legislation, even when made by the legislature. If a legislature contracts, though in the form of a law, for the building of a highway, it may be said with some degree of fairness, that this contract should bind future legislatures. Taking that view of the matter, we should have two kinds of laws—legislative and contractual, the one repealable and the other not.

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May it not happen, then, that some laws would have both these characteristics? A highway law, for instance, in so far as it provides for paving or the like, would be contractual; while in so far as it referred to the use, control or other regulation of highway rights, it would be legislative. As to the former it could not be repealed; as to the latter it could be.

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But suppose these two characteristics of a law are inseparable, so that the repeal of one repeals the other. Such a case occurs when the legislature contracts with a street car company, practically giving it the monopoly of highway transportation in consideration of its furnishing street car service. The highway monopoly is legislative; the street car operation is contractual. To repeal the former is to repeal the latter. Shall we say, then, that inasmuch as the legislative part of the law cannot be repealed without repealing the contractual part, therefore the whole repealing power is abrogated?

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That would not be in harmony with legal principles, which never subordinate the superior to the inferior, nor ever consider the contractual function as superior to the legislative. A fair solution of such a problem would be to put the contractual part of the law to the test of reasonableness. If it is reasonable, then let it hold the power of repeal in suspense for a reasonable period, but for a reasonable period only. Either that, or else hold that when legislative and contractual characteristics are inseparable, the contractual shall be ignored entirely and only the legislative be recognized.

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The latter is really the true principle. Neither the constitutional clause as it was written, nor the Dartmouth College case which interpreted that clause, could possibly have contemplated the tying up, by Federal judges, of State legislatures and city councils with reference to their legislative functions. That clause and that decision have to do with contracts pure and simple, and not with legislative powers incidentally embodying contracts. Because the legislative function has become entangled with subsidiary contractual relationships, that is no reason for applying the constitutional clause which protects contracts. The very first consideration, if our State and municipal governments are to preserve their popular character, is to conserve legislative freedom in governmental concerns. This is far more important than to conserve the tainted assests of Mr. Yerkes's "widows and orphans."

The causes for the court decision in Oregon holding that the Oregon direct legislation amendment to the State constitution was not constitutionally adopted (pp. 216, 217), are peculiar and bewildering. Under the constitution of that State an amendment must be proposed by one legislature, be approved by a subsequent legislature, and then be adopted by the people; and no amendment can be proposed while another is pending at any stage. Now the direct legislation amendment was proposed by the legislature of 1899. It was then supposed that the equal suffrage amendment, proposed by the legislature of 1895, had been disposed of by the legislature of 1897; but the court now holds that the legislature of 1897 did not legally organize, and consequently that the equal suffrage amendment was pending for approval or rejection before

the legislature of 1899. As this legislature did not act upon that amendment, but did propose the direct legislation amendment, the latter is held to have been illegally proposed and its adoption by the people invalid. The ingenuity of the Oregon constitution in making amendments difficult of adoption is equaled by the ingenuity of the court in fitting the amendment clause to the direct legislation case. It is interesting and somewhat significant, the fact that the pro-trust papers of Oregon unanimously and with a loud voice demanded this decision.

The Rev. Dr. Latham A. Crandall, a Baptist clergyman of Chicago, let a whiff of fresh air, religiously speaking, into the theological department of the Chicago University, when delivering a lecture to the divinity students there this week. His subject was "Success in the Ministry," and he didn't advise either the emotional feasts of so-called revivals or deferential hob-nobbing with rich pietists. On the contrary, Dr. Crandall spoke of "soul-saving" as a fad word which "is connected with so much gush, drivel and repetition that it has become offensive." He did not mean by this that the saving of souls is not a religious work; for he explained that it is the ultimate aim of the Christian church. What he meant was that the "soul-saving" which consists merely in making converts is not soul-saving in any true sense. The essence of his idea he put into this pregnant sentence: "The curse of Christianity to-day is the refusal of Christian people to be Christian." It is not the making of converts, but their vitalization that saves souls.

Whatever may have been the real significance of the action of the Iowa Democratic convention (p. 201), Mr. Bryan adopts the wise course regarding it. In The Commoner of the 10th, he regards the convention as having been controlled by the reactionary elements of the party, partly through corporation influence and partly from neglect on the part of the democratic Democrats. The platform that resulted, he regards as having been written to deceive. But he observes that the candidates are genuine Democrats; and as between "a good ticket on a cowardly platform and a Republican ticket running on as bad a platform as could well be conceived," he advises Iowa Democrats to vote for the Democratic candidates. He urges them all the same, however, to "continue to fight for Kansas City platform principles."

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In this connection Mr. Bryan truly describes one of the methods by which Democratic conventions are made to do the kind of work that gratifies the plutocrats of all political parties. "The corporation Democrats," he says, "are in politics as a matter of business; they assume that their salaries cover their political services and they can attend conventions at little expense, while the ordinary Democrat must pay his way. The cost of railroad fare sometimes affects the selection of delegates and still more often affects the number who actually attend. If, for instance, a county harmonizes by sending five corporation Democrats and ten Kansas City platform Democrats to a State convention and fails to instruct, the five who can get passes may go and six of the others may not feel able to attend. Then the county stands 5 to 4 against the Kansas City platform; if they are instructed to vote as a unit the five may by outvoting the four cast the 15 votes against reaffirmation. To this advantage the corporation Democrats add the advantage which they derive from the fact that they are unscrupulous in method. They are not only willing to betray constituents, but they consider it smart to deal unfairly with their party associates." In illustration of the latter point, Mr. Bryan gives this instance:

In the recent Iowa convention the delegates from Wapello county were chosen by a convention which indorsed the Kansas City platform, but the reorganizers, chosen by courtesy, were on hand and in the absence of some of the Kansas City platform Democrats cast a majority of the votes of the county against the platform. According to the American (of Creston), Mills county indorsed the Kansas City platform, but was misrepresented in the State convention.

A great hue and cry is being made over the vulgar rascalities that have been discovered in the postal department. These rascalities are bad, of course, and they ought to be exposed and punished. But it is somewhat anachronistic to try to hold any administration responsible for that kind of maladministration. It is of a kind that may occur under the best administration. There is a species of maladministration of the postal department, however, which is much more dangerous than vulgar fraud, and for which this administration is directly responsible.

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We refer to the growing tendency of the administration to make the postal department a censor of newspapers and individuals. Its crusade against newspaper organs of opinions to which the administration objects, by preventing as much as possible their acquisition of second-class mailing rights (p. 146), is not the only method of postal censorship. It is becoming a common thing to deny the use of the mails to individuals. This is done on pretense that the victims are engaged in fraudulent occupations. But it is done arbitrarily, without a trial, and upon the mere say-so of Mr. Roosevelt's attorney general. Scores of persons in the United States to-day, and the number is fast increasing, persons who have been convicted of no offense, are unable to get any mail matter addressed to them by their proper names.

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The latest notable instance of this kind is reported by Freedom of Seabreeze, Florida, in its issue of July 8. This paper has, for some inscrutable reason, been persecuted by the postal department for months (vol. 10, p. 786), and Mrs. Helen Wilmans

Post, the proprietor, has been deprived of mail addressed to her under the name of Helen Wilmans, her maiden name, and the name by which she is known widely as a writer. A prosecution in court on the charges on which she was denied her mail collapsed completely; but now everybody connected with her paper, including herself under her married name, has been put upon the postmaster general's index of postal outlawry. Her statement of the fact in Freedom is as follows:

Without any cause that I know of, except willful and undisguised malice, there has been another fraud order pronounced on me that covers not only my mail, but that of C. F. Burgman, C. C. Post, Mrs. C. C. Post, Helen W. Post and Freedom. This virtually cuts me off completely from all my subscribers and from every one of my private correspondents. C. C. Post is now in Essex, N. C., and can get his letters there; but I cannot get a letter from him, no matter how urgent it might be; no, not even if he were dying and desired my help. Nor can I take his letters out of the Seabreeze office, though his highest interests depended on it.

Nothing can justify or excuse that kind of persecution. Though these people were the veriest criminals, tried, proved and convicted as such, it would be an unwarrantable act of highhanded oppression for the postal authorities to outlaw their mail. Think of a wife being prohibited from receiving her husband's letters! This matter cuts deeper than into the rights of the persons in question. If their personal mail can be stopped in that autocratic fashion, without trial or accusation, upon the mere ipse dixit of a postal clerk at Washington, anybody's can be. If their paper can be meddled with in this way by refusal to deliver remittances from subscribers, anybody's can be. This is not a question of particular persons; it is a question of legal rights. The Congressman who will make it his business next winter to close up the postal censorship will earn a right to public approval. Meantime, victims of this species of persecution owe it not only to their own rights but to public rights generally, to bring the matter into court by actions for damages against local postmasters for every letter or paper withheld.

In a letter to the New York Nation of the 9th Edwin Burritt Smith, the Chicago lawyer, reads a much needed lesson in democracy to those intellectual snobs who think that only they and the classes they recognize as superior ought to vote. A Chicago correspondent in a previous issue of the Nation had complained about the debasement of the suffrage, reporting with sympathy a conversation in a drug store at South Chicago while the recent judicial election in Cook county, Ill., was in progress, the conversation being between the owner of the store, a real estate man, a railroad agent, a bookkeeper and a physician. These toploftical citizens declined to go three blocks to vote to fill 14 judicial posts because they feared their votes would be swamped by the votes of a gang of Poles, Hungarians, etc., that can't speak English and don't understand our system of government, etc. Now it happened that in the very ward in which these politically indolent, but aristocratically critical citizens lived, the "lower classes" discriminated with marked intelligence in casting their vote on that very day. Mr. Smith was able, therefore, to give local point to his communication to the Nation, which he closed in these words:

The vote of the Eighth ward is significant. In this ward is situated South Chicago. Here reside Mr. Morse's choice representatives of "the better classes," who regarded themselves above voting with the plain but intelligent men, of many nationalities, who man the steel works and other great industrial plants in that industrial section of the city. The ward is Republican on national issues. Yet Judge Tuley received 60 per cent. and Judge Haney but 40 per cent. of the vote cast. In view of this splendid response by a "lot of cattle" in South Chicago to public-spirited leadership, Mr. Morse's illustration should cause the friends of good government elsewhere no serious uneasiness about the "debasement of the suffrage" here. We shall no doubt continue to have among us those who shrink from mingling with plain people even at the polls. While others lead a successful struggle to maintain representative government, they will quietly long for a restricted suffrage which is as impossible as it is undesirable. The truth is, that we have no reserve of intelligence or of virtue upon which to fall back or rely. The cure for the ills of democratic government is not to be found in less, but in more democracy.

To the impoverished observer of this era of unparalleled prosperity for the prosperous the fact will be interesting that the net earnings of the steel trust for the six months ending June 30, 1903, were $61,568,235. This is about 4½ per cent. (at the rate of 9 per cent. per annum) on the total capitalization of the trust, water and all. That is truly a prosperous figure. But it is at the rate of about 30 per cent. per annum on that part of the capitalization which isn't water, which is prosperity indeed. The farmers who have helped to make these profits by paying high prices, and the workingmen who have done it by taking low wages, are cordially invited to rise up and cheer.

MAY LOGIC PREVAIL.

The student, whose earnest desire is to examine and judge the progress of civilization from an optimistic standpoint, is, not unfrequently, tempted by the absurdity and ignorance which he sees displayed by his fellow men, to relinquish his aspiration and become a misanthrope. Of all these discouraging examples that have so tried him nothing, at least of late years, has been more dispiriting than the rumored reply that the Russian government may send to our President should the American protest against the Kishineff massacre be delivered.

The possibility that the barbarians can be so childish, in their desperation to ward off our just renunciation of their crimes, as to attempt to draw a parallel between their fiendish work in Kishineff and our labor of uplifting and enlightenment in the Philippines, is enough to make the most hopeful man plunge into the slough of pessimism and cry from its depths that understanding has no substance.

For what, indeed, is there of semblance between these two features of history? The Russian, in a fit of fanatical rage and hatred, attacked his next door neighbors to exterminate them; the American calmly and regretfully filled a few graves with strangers. Industrious, nonresisting to law and harmless were the creatures on which the minion of the Czar wreaked his vengeance; the destined slayees of the American were too indolent to work, they refused to obey the laws of liberty, and they were so far from being harmless that it was necessary to put them out of the way to prevent their giving the water cure to unprotected visitors from the savior country. The victims of the cruel Muscovite were assaulted with knives, sticks, stones, hammers, and even brutal fists; the American used the humane bullet, the untorturing projectile, and the leisurely acting weapon that precludes all pangs of dyspepsia. The crimes of the Russian were sacrilegious, for he preyed upon the chosen people of God; the American was guiltless of such desecration for his work was done among people to whom the holy scriptures do not even allude. The Russian would be ashamed and would refuse to acknowledge the real incentive to his deplorable acts; but the American stands in the full, bright light of publicity and tells, with pardonable candor, of benevolent assimilation.

But may it be that these glaring incongruities, in spite of the unpleasant rumor, are not being foolishly considered as subjects of reconciliation by the children of the Czar? May it be that, even now, the court apologists are drafting a reply to the American protest which will admit the guilt of the Bear, and will, with true humility, acknowledge repentance and promise a reformation for the future? May these apologists be fair-minded enough to go further, and thank us for the tangible interest we have taken in the internal affairs of their country, and beg from us a continuance of our good offices? Then we can rejoice, and be thankful that a long friendly nation has not turned on us in a spirit of unwelcome and unfounded criticism.

G. T. EVANS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, June 12. —The Federal parliament opened on May 26th. The governor-general's speech promises a great deal of legislation, mostly unnecessary, but fortunately there will not be time for half of it this session, as the parliament expires in January.

The reference to Mr. Chamberlain's latest somersault, preferential trade, is very lukewarm. Practically the ministry says it believes in the policy, but has no time to introduce it. The protectionist idea of preferential trade here is to leave the duties alone as regards British goods, but to raise them against foreign products. The ministry knows it would be useless to attempt to pass such a measure, even in the house of representatives. Mr. Deakin, the federal attorney general, has cabled to England warm approval of Chamberlain's proposal, but apparently he was speaking for himself only.

The presnt Barton tariff here is in very great disfavor with all merchants, not only on account of the high duties, but because of the way it is administered by Mr. Kingston, the commissioner of customs. Kingston is the most rabid protectionist in the ministry, and he appears to try to hamper importers in every possible way. If any goods are wrongly described in an invoice, as often happens in drapery, etc., the importer is criminally prosecuted, although it may be shown that he was not trying to defraud the customs.

An attempt is now being made to organize a reform league in New South Wales, similar to the Kyabram league in Victoria.

ERNEST BRAY.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, July 16.

A further step was taken on the 10th in connection with the Chicago traction question (p. 195). Judge Grosscup formally advised the receivers as to their course. He gave this advice not in his judicial capacity after a hearing in behalf of all interests, but as the judicial conservator of the property in the hands of the receivers and after an ex parte hearing.

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Judge Grosscup declares, in his letter of advice, that it is not his purpose to announce any final judgment on the questions involved. He also declines the suggestion that he compel the city of Chicago to intervene in the receivership proceedings to test the validity of the 99-year franchise, though he intimates that this procedure might be proper and practicable. His object, as he states it, is to give such instructions to the receivers as will in his judgment "adequately conserve the property rights of the companies, while requiring them to fulfill their obligations to the public." Judge Grosscup then outlines the history of the street car system of Chicago substantially as recited more at large in these columns two weeks ago (p. 195), and concludes as to the constitutional objections to the 99-year franchise that they "do not merit space for statement, much less for discussion." Regarding the circumstances under which the franchise was granted, he says:

> The legislative grants, whatever their origin, are the existing law of the land. They constitute the contract between the people of the State and the railway companies. They measure the rights and the obligations of both. They have been the accepted basis for tens of thousands of transactions by people who never heard of the legislature of 1865. To set them aside now, either covertly or openly, or to deprive them of their full meaning and effect, would be a judicial invasion of contract and a breach of public faith as reprehensible as the repudiation of some undoubted but unpopular public debt. There is no way left, then, to approach the interpretation of these grants other than as one would approach any plainly written contract between disputing parties.

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Having thus laid the foundation for his opinion and advice, Judge Grosscup builds the superstructure as follows (what he describes as "the legislative grants" being the act of 1859 and the amendatory act of 1865, known as the 99-year franchise):

> The legislative grants, taken together, look to the installation of a railway system in the city of Chicago, and to that end grant to the railway companies for the period of ninety-nine years the right to occupy certain streets, leaving to the city, by contract with the companies, the manner and conditions of such occupancy. Thus, when the companies entered into ocupancy under these grants the underlying right of their occupancy was from the State, the manner of its exercise only being governed by the ordinances of the city. The State was the grantor, the city the supervisor. Now, while the power of the city over the exercise of the grant thus obtained from the State was made ample, it remained, and remains, a subservient power. Its function is to promote the uses of the grant; it cannot be made a means to defeat the grant, for

the rights of both the city and the companies under these legislative grants are substantial rights and the courts are bound to see that the substance of both is preserved. So much for the streets actually named in the legislative grants and entered upon by the companies at that time. This brings me to the streets subsequently occupied by the companies. There is much force in the view that the legislature had in mind in enacting the grants a street railway system adequate not only to the then present but to the future needs of the city; that the natural growth of the city was foreseen and a corresponding expansion of railway facilities forestalled; that the grants were meant to cover the branches and twigs as well as the trunks of a growing system. In this view the legislative grants were, when passed, already executed and vested as to the streets named in the grants, and, though in fieri as to streets not named, naturally falling, in course of the city's growth, under the system, are none the less effective as vested grants when the new streets are occupied. In this view, too, the ordinances of the city subsequent to the legislative grants are to be held to be not independent city grants, but ordinances in execution of the legislative grants, and as such have the effect not of giving right of occupancy, but of prescribing the manner of such ocupancy. However, I do not mean now to commit my judgment to this view of the legislative grants. I think it forceful enough to guide my action as conservator of this property—for a conservator may not give away that upon which the companies have a reasonable claim—always upon the understanding that it is open for further discussion on any joining of issues that will finally settle this controversy.

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Judge Grosscup's next step is to suggest the practicability of compromise. He says:

It is within the power of the court to compel the companies to accept any reasonable arrangemnt that does not involve confiscation of property rights. I am ready, in the interest of a just settlement of these street railway difficulties, to exercise that power. There has grown up in the public mind a good deal of confusion respecting the purpose of a waiver by the companies of the so-called ninety-nine-year act and the character such waiver should take. Undoubtedly many think that the surrender of these legislative grants should be without condition and without compensation. On the other hand, there has grown up in the minds of some parties interested in the railway companies the belief that no concessions whatever can be made; that there can be no surrender of any feature of the legislative grants without the consent of every bondholder as well as the consent of the companies; that the sole safety of their interest lies in an unflinching grasp upon the letter of the grants as they exist to-day. Both of these views are, in my judgment, too rigid and too far reaching. The city can have no real interest in seizing, either by brute force or by superior advantage as a party to a pending bargain, that which lawfully belongs to the companies, at least until the owner is fully compensated. No breaking of contract—whether he who looks forward to it be a single person or whether it be a body of persons or a whole community—can in the long run be made to pay. I am sure the mayor and a majority of the aldermen entertain no such project. On the other hand, the bondholders, though interested in the legislative grants, are so interested to the extent only that such grants are part security for their debt. Any equivalent security—any arrangemnt, for instance, whereby the cash value of the unexpired term of the grants should be substituted for the grants themselves as pledge to the debt—would meet the just claims of the bondholders. The companies, in their corporate capacity, are at liberty to make any fair bargain respecting the property.

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Following that suggestion Judge Grosscup intimates to the city the probable necessity of making the kind of compromise he suggests, if it expects to proceed with its plans for municipal ownership, saying—

The feature of the so-called waiver of the ninety-nine-year act that really interests the city lies in the fact that continuance of title to the companies under the legislative grants may interfere with the city's projects looking to municipal ownership; and, independently of municipal ownership, to the maintenance of a supervisory and warning hand over the character of service to be given. Indeed, so long as the companies have title under the legislative grants municipal ownership may be impossible. Title to the streets having come from the legislative grants and for street railway purposes, it is at least doubtful if the city could constitutionally obtain, even by act of the legislature, the right to occupy by eminent domain the streets thus covered. But aside from municipal ownership a surrender of title under the legislative grants is desirable to give the city the warning hand. Should the companies enter upon a new period, knowing that the city would not terminate the grant even at the end of twenty years, there might be a temptation to disregard such claim for good service as the city has a right to demand. But all this can be accomplished by a full surrender by the companies of title under the legislative grants, accompanied with a stipulation either to assess presently the value of the unexpired term or to make such assessment at the end of the new grant if the grant is not be renewed. No legal difficulty need entangle such an arrangement. The right of the companies to occupy, and their right to be compensated for a quitclaim of such occupancy, are distinct legal rights. The former can be surrendered in consideration, or part consideration of the latter. When so separated the right of payment becomes a claim against the city, secured possibly by a lien on the title surrendered, but it is no longer tied up with the title surrendered. The title, except for purposes of lien would become extinct, and there would be no payment adjudged until after judicial determination of the validity and scope of the legislative grants. For my own part I cannot see why this is not a simple and effective way out of present complications. It gives to the city everything that the city really needs from waiver; it meets fully the substantial reasons for a waiver; it confiscates no rights; it is just and saves the honor of the city wherein we dwell.

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Judge Grosscup's views on the justice of imposing pecuniary obligations upon unborn generations is then set forth in these terms:

Conscious of what this generation is doing for the reclamation of the streets of this city from the prairie and the marsh—trying heroically to make of it a finished and compact city—I can see no business or moral objection to leaving it to the next generation to discharge whatever money obligations these legislative grants may impose upon the city. The obligation is theirs as much as ours; we stand in need now, much more than will they, of money to put into actual improvement of street facilities, and the chances are many to few that the obligation will never mature; for, confronted with certain loss of the use of the streets, unless good service is given, it is almost certain that the companies will fulfill their obligations to the public, and thus earn a renewal of the leases.

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After this discussion of the subject, Judge Grosscup specifically instructs the receivers as follows:

1. To suffer no interference with your possession of any of the streets named in the legislative grants, or occupied by the companies named in the legislative grants, or their successors, under ordinances of the city, which in the view I have outlined are to be treated as subservient to the legislative grants. Any attempted interference you will report immediately to me.

2. To pledge to the city, if the city wishes negotiation, the cooperation of

the court to bring about a settlement on the lines indicated, or such other lines as will observe existing contract rights.

3. Since the receivership began, 85 cars have been added to the regular service. These were old cars taken from the barns, quickly repaired and repainted, and though in some instances incongruous at this season, have added something to the comfort of the public. The report of the general manager, submitted to me July 8, 1903, shows that upon an expenditure of about $480,000 100 new double-truck electric motor cars, each capable of seating comfortably more than 50 people, can be added. The general manager also reports that for something less than $100,000 he can equip electrically certain portions of the cable lines, so that cars on out-lying lines may be brought electrically much nearer the business center, and, transferred as trailers to cable trains, bring their occupants into the business district without change of cars. This would add to the convenience of the public; and to the capacity of the companies' carrying facilities. I instruct you to procure the equipment indicated.

Mayor Harrison has declined, in behalf of the city of Chicago, to adopt the plan of compromise proffered by Judge Grosscup. He did this officially on the 14th in a letter to Judge Grosscup in response to the latter's published opinion and instructions to the recievers. In this letter Mayor Harrison calls Judge Grosscup's attention to his, the mayor's, letter of June 17 to the receivers (p. 170); and that there may be no misapprehension, he restates its substance. The position of the city with reference to a compromise is thus defined by the mayor in his letter to Judge Grosscup:

The city does desire a just and prompt settlement of the street railway problem by means of unacrimonious negotiation. It assumes that a purpose of the receivership is to bring order out of chaos by such reorganization as will result in a responsible corporation controlling the entire situation in Union Traction territory, with which the city may safely deal. The city wil make a grant, on just terms, which shall be in lieu of all existing franchise rights and claims of the companies. In view of the character of the so-called "ninety-nine-year act," and particularly of the new contention that said act placed the city for a century at the mercy of the street railway companies and reduced it to a position of mere subserviency to them, it will neither now nor after litigation, whatever its results, make further grants to supplement such legislation. It has no policy of confiscation, but it insists that the companies must rely on their present rights, or accept a new grant expressing all their rights. Their choice lies between stale claims and a modern grant. They may cling to an insufficient State grant or accept an adequate municipal franchise. They may continue to merit the ill will of the people of Chicago or they may secure their hearty cooperation.

A new danger to the city, disclosed by Judge Grosscup's opinion and instructions, is made the subject of part of the mayor's letter. Of that danger he writes:

The recent argument before your honor, and your opinion thereon, have disclosed a grave danger to the city in having any further dealings with the companies save on the basis of the surrender of their claims under the "ninety-nine-year act." For many years after its passage the original companies sought and accepted numerous limited grants from the city for extensions of their lines into new territory. Said companies have operated none of their lines since about 1887. All grants since that time, covering over 50 per cent. of the Union Traction mileage, have been made to and are held by corporations organized under the general incorporation laws of Illinois, which have no relation to the original companies, except as lessees. Most of the grants since 1865, in form usually suggested by the companies, are expressly limited to expire in twenty years. Yet representatives of the companies (organized under the general laws) now openly repudiate before your honor the express limitations of grants covering all but a small percentage of their lines, contending that by the act of 1865 they acquired "vested rights when the new streets are (were) occupied." It is evident that the city must deal with extreme caution with companies making such claims in utter disregard of their own acts and the acts of the original companies, covering a period of nearly forty years. If their contention has "much force," this is a new and conclusive reason why the city can have no further dealings with them except on the basis of a surrender of their claim under the act of 1865. It will no longer exercise a "subservient power" merely to add to the possessions of the companies. Its representatives had assumed that the city has the same police powers in respect to the street railway companies that your honor holds it may exercise in respect to the "gas trust."

In concluding his letter to Judge Grosscup. Mayor Harrison explicitly emphasizes the refusal of the city to accede to Judge Grosscup's offer to negotiate, saying—

I repeat that the city desires a just settlement of the traction question by means of negotiation. No such settlement can be made without the surrender of the claims of the companies under the disputed "ninety-nine-year act." The terms of the surrender will, of course, receive due consideration in any negotiation. The representatives of the city will, on request, confer on these matters with your honor, your receivers or others representing the companies.

After Judge Grosscup's decision, but before Mayor Harrison's letter, the civic conference which has had the question of immediate municipal ownership under consideration (p. 196), held a further session at which Judge Grosscup was severely criticized by some of the speakers and defended by others. This meeting was held on the 12th. A series of resolutions relating especially to the 99-year franchise was considered and referred to the committee of twenty-five appointed at a previous meeting. Another resolution, one which Judge Grosscup's decision may make vitally important, was proposed by Thomas Rhodus and supported by Western Starr and Daniel L. Cruice. It was as follows:

Resolved, That this convention is in favor of municipal ownership of the street car lines, and until we get it we demand at once a 3-cent fare, which the city council can establish under the present powers.

This resolution was laid on the table.

One of the many conventions in session within the past few weeks went through an experience which is of no little general interest. The convention in question was that of the National Educational Association in session at Boston. This organization has been dominated, unduly as the public school teachers have felt, by the colleges and universities. One of the effects has been to subject it to masculine control, although its feminine membership is large. This control has been menaced recently by a greater assertiveness on the part of the women members; and by way of defense an effort was made on the 9th to amend the by-laws so as to place the appointment of committees on nomination of officers in the hands of the president. President Butler, of Col-

lumbia University, proposed this amendment, and was supported by President Eliot, of Harvard. The opposition was led by Margaret A. Haley, of Chicago, the president of the National Federation of Teachers, who said in a speech on the floor that—

Illinois has done her part in bringing a larger number of active members than any other State. Are you men anxious to block Illinois because you fear that women will have a part in your deliberations and help to select the officers of the organization? It looks like it, and Dr. Butler's motion, which may or may not be directed against Illinois, will certainly keep out the women, who form nine-tenths of the membership of the National Educational Association. We of Illinois propose to wake up the women teachers and to demand for them the recognition which is their due. It is unfair for you, gentlemen, to attack the women in this way and place in the hands of one man the representation of all the States. The election of a member of the nominating committee should go to the one getting the largest number of votes. Would you men dare to take away the franchise from citizens because only a few of them vote at primary elections? Then how dare you suggest to take away the franchise of those members of this association who are present at the nominating meeting? The plan you propose would create a self-perpetuating machine.

At the close of her speech, Miss Haley moved that the motion be postponed for a year; but the convention had been stirred, and she accomplished more than she had expected. President Butler's motion to change the by-laws was amended so as to empower a majority of the attending delegates from each State to select the State member of the nominating committee, which enables the association to control itself. This amendment was carried by 123 to 43. The convention elected for its next president, in place of President Eliot of Harvard, John Williston Cook, president of the Northern Illinois State Normal School.

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The convention took another important step under the spur of the public school teachers. It adopted the report of its National Council (p. 215), which recommended the appropriation of $1,500 for the expenses of a committee to inquire into the economic circumstances of teachers throughout the United States. The chairman of this committee is Carroll D. Wright, and among the other members are Edwin G. Cooley, superintendent of the public schools of Chicago, and Catherine Goggin, of the Chicago Teachers' Federation.

American politics may be affected in important respects by three political gatherings that are to assemble on the 27th at Denver. One is called by J. A. Edgerton (p. 202), secretary of the National Committee of the People's Party. Mr. Edgerton invites all except "Mark Hanna Republicans, Cleveland Democrats, and Karl Marx Socialists" to meet unofficialy and informally to discuss the possibilities and methods of providing a political home for American voters who are none of those three types. The hall and headquarters for this meeting are not yet announced. To cooperate with this gathering, the executive and central committees of the Allied People's party, commonly called the "mid-roaders," has been called by Jo A. Parker, the chairman, to meet, also on the 27th, at the St. James Hotel, Denver. The third gathering of that day and place is to be of the national committee of the People's Party. This meeting is called by J. A. Edmisten, the vice chairman; the chairman, the Hon. Marion Butler, having refused to issue the call. The circumstances are explained by the vice chairman in his call as follows:

I had hoped that Hon. Marion Butler would issue a call for the national committee to meet at the same time as this conference [the informal and unofficial conference mentioned above], and have waited to this late date, but having just received his letter stating that he preferred to take a referendum vote of the committee to ascertain whether a committee meeting should be called, and knowing that that would make it impossible to reach the committee in time to attend the conference, and being impressed with the great importance of this meeting as well as with the very urgent demands from national and State committeemen, I have concluded to issue a call for a meeting of the national committee. At the last meeting of the national committee a resolution was passed authorizing me as vice chairman of the national committee to convene the committee when in the judgment of a reasonable number of the committee it would be for the best interest of the party. It is my earnest desire that it shall be understood by the committee and all members of the party that in convening the committee I am acting upon the advice of a large number of the members of the committee as well as being governed by the resolution outlining my duties, and sincerely trust that this action will meet with the approval of all and result in great good.

Although a white man has been imprisoned for Negro peonage in Alabama (p. 215), this was upon his plea of guilty. The first trial in these peonage cases has resulted in a disagreement of the jury. The defendant in the case was Fletcher Turner. He was tried in the Federal court at Montgomery, Ala. The case for the prosecution was closed on the 8th. Its character may be inferred from some of the testimony as reported by the Associated Press. A former police officer named Dunbar testified that he had sold three Negroes to Turner for $40, they having been fined $33 for some petty offense, and that he had thus made $7 by the transaction. In the concluding testimony for the State the maltreatment of one of these Negroes was brought out, and it was further shown that this Negro's father had finally sent a man to Turner with about $48 to buy his son's liberty, which he did. When he arrived at Turner's farm, he found the peon in a sawmill, stark naked, and it was explained that he was worked this way to prevent his escape. The case went to the jury on the 10th, when the judge, Thomas G. Jones, delivered an extraordinary charge. He is reported to have denounced the attorneys for the defense for trying to play upon the feelings of the jury and to have said that if the Negroes were arrested for nothing and sold as alleged, then it was "a damnable thing." The jury soon reported a disagreement, and Judge Jones ordered them back to their consultation room with this admonition:

Under an earnest and solemn sense of duty as to the verdict you ought to render in this case, to appeal to your manhood, your sense of justice, and your oaths not to declare that a jury in the capital of Alabama would not enforce the law of the United States because it happened that a Negro was the victim of the violated law and the defendant is a white man, or because it may be a disagreeable or painful duty to you. If you do such a thing you are perjured before God and man.

But the jury were still unable to agree, and on the 13th they were discharged. They are reported to have stood 6 to 6.

NEWS NOTES.

—The widow of James G. Blaine died at Augusta, Me., on the 15th, at the age of 76.

—President Loubet, of France, returned from his visit to London (p 215) on the 9th.

—The International Christian Endeavor convention was in session last week at Denver.

—The 13th annual convention of the Baptist Young People's Union met at Atlanta on the 9th.

—It is announced that Wm. J. Bryan will sail for Europe in September and remain away during the rest of the year.

—The turbulence at Evansville, Ind., in connection with the attempted Negro lynching there (p. 214) has subsided and Gov. Durbin has consequently withdrawn the troops.

—Louis F. Post is to conduct the services at All Souls' Church (Jenkin Lloyd Jones, minister), corner of Oakwood Boulevard and Langley ave., Chicago, on the 19th at 11 a. m. Subject: "The Pessimism of the Optimist."

—A new ministry for Greece was formed on the 11th, as follows:

M. Ralli, premier and minister of foreign affairs, and ad interim minister of finance; M. Mavromichalis, minister of the interior; Col. Constantinides, minister of war and ad interim minister of the navy; M. Merlopmulo, minister of justice; and M. Pharmacmaeoulo (who is a nephew of M. De Delyannis, the distinguished Greek statesman and former premier), minister of public instruction.

—At a meeting of the municipal council of Dublin on the 13th, a motion to present an address of welcome to King Edward on his arrival in Dublin some time this month, was defeated by a vote of 40 to 37. The spirit of the opposition was expressed by Councilor Joseph Nannetti, who said: "Let him come, and, returning, tell the maligners at Westminster and elsewhere that he found courteous and genial people; but let nothing in the shape of an address be offered unless it contains a paragraph asserting the legal right of the Irish to manage their own affairs."

—Prof. Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, has completed an article on the single tax movement, for the forthcoming New International Encyclopaedia. He has in contemplation, also, the preparation of a book giving a statement of the single tax, his own views concerning it, what has been accomplished by single taxers in all countries, and generally the condition of the movement throughout the world. With this object in view he is inviting information from all sources, especially from representative single tax men and through pamphlets and periodical literature.

PRESS OPINIONS.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), July 10 (weekly).—The Chinese are such curious people! Their newspapers in China are reported to be bitterly incensed over the regulations issued by the United States government controlling the admission of Chinese visitors to the St. Louis world's fair and of those Chinese who will take part in the show. They have the temerity to resent such requirements as the $500 bond on each one who comes over to help make the fair a success, the photographic identification scheme, the police supervision and the prompt expulsion from the country of the whole delegation as soon as the exposition ends. After John Barrett's eloquent pleadings with the Chinese government to make an exhibit and encourage the people to send their best, these critics really seem to have expected that those countrymen who honored us with a visit would be hospitably received. Well, John, you have yet to learn the possibilities of a "white man's country." That's all an American can say.

OHIO POLITICS.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), July 14.—The legislatures of the past few years in the State of Ohio have denied the people of our municipalities any legislation which would enable them to protect themselves from the corrupt purposes of corporations and the mercenary weakness of city councils. These legislatures have been without exception controlled by Republican bosses who have demonstrated that they are inspired only by personal greed for power and gain. So long as this condition obtains the people can expect no relief. Matters will grow worse instead of better unless the people show their disapproval by an intelligent exercise of the sacred right of suffrage. Our party system is such that if the corporate greed and perversion of the purpose of true democratic government are to be checked, it must be done through one of the two great parties. The Republican party by its reindorsement of Boss Hanna and its failure to condemn the corruption within its own ranks offers no relief in defense of the tax-burdened people of Ohio. Therefore let the Democrats in every county throughout the State see to it that they place in nomination for the State legislature and State senate men who are beyond the corroding touch of corporate greed; men who have honor; men who have character; men who have pride enough to be unwilling to stoop to the low level of the common beggar for a railroad pass, or some other mercenary consideration. And after the Democrats of the State have selected men with high moral purpose for the legislative department of the State of Ohio, let them attend the State convention August 25, and select as the leader of all these legislative candidates the ablest, the truest, the most positive, and the most aggressive man in the State of Ohio. Let it be a man who has had the courage of his convictions; let it be a man who is as frank and as heroic as Andrew Jackson; let it be a man who is as true to the cause of the people as was Thomas Jefferson; let it be a man who is as ready to devote his time and his money and his ability to the liberty of the people of Ohio as was George Washington ready and willing to sacrifice his time and his property to the liberty of our colonial ancestors. What man in either party of the State of Ohio or in any State of the United States to-day fills this description of the man of the hour? Spontaneously and instantaneously every honest and intelligent mind will answer—"That man is Tom L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland." Let us have a campaign that means something; let it be a campaign for equal and just taxation. The nomination of Tom L. Johnson ought to be demanded by the people. Tom L. Johnson ought to be drafted to the performance of that service. He has declared his intention to devote his entire time and his entire income to the best interests of the people and the Democrats of Ohio are fortunate in this opportunity to draft such a man as Tom L. Johnson for their leader. It is indeed rare that a party has the opportunity of selecting its own candidate rather than to accept one who seeks the office merely for the honor of the office. Mr. Johnson is fighting for a principle. Let the Democrats recognize the honesty and the capacity of Tom L. Johnson and nominate him, and immediately a very considerable number of Democratic legislative candidates will be guaranteed a successful issue in their campaign, and we shall have a strong probability of a Democratic legislature to rid us of perpetual franchises, unequal taxation, "curative acts," and from frauds perpetrated by legislatures heretofore dominated by the franchise grabbing interests of the State.

MISCELLANY

LOLITA.

For The Public.

Oh, in the dusk, Lolita,
Come to the window-bars;*
The long, dull street is ghostly
Beneath the pallid stars;
But, if thou come, Lolita,
Soft treading through the gloom,
The splendor of thy violet eyes
Shall set the street abloom.
Oh, if thou come, Lolita,
With eyes of living light,
Their smile behind the window-bars,
Shall make the whole world bright!

Oh, in the dusk, Lolita,
The sun shines out for me;
For all the hours are sunless
I bear me far from thee;
The cold, gray stones are lifeless,
The living trees are dead,
Where shines no golden halo
About a girlish head.
But, in the dusk, Lolita,
Thine eyes are living stars
That light the Soul of Heaven,
Behind the window-bars.

VIRGINIA M. BUTTERFIELD.

* The "rejas"—the ornamental iron bars which guard the windows in Spanish-American countries. The custom of wooing the maiden of one's choice through these bars is well known.

A VISION OF "SELF-CONTAINED EMPIRE."

"If we chose, the empire might be self-sustaining. It is so wide; its products are so various; its climates so different, that there is absolutely nothing which is necessary to our existence, hardly anything which is desirable as a luxury, which cannot be produced within the borders of the empire itself."—Mr. Chamberlain, at the Colonial conference.

19—. Sadly he had dined on salted codfish from Newfoundland, and "a prime joint" of frozen mutton bought at one of Seddon's shops. With a groan he had pushed from him a bottle of "Australian Burgundy." The roof of his mouth was blistered by cheese not merely powerful but positively virulent. "Canadian, sir," the waiter had explained, "they do call 'em roofers'." They had put before him apples from Tasmania, fair to look upon, but for the rest—why, they might as

well have come from the Dead sea. Strongly imperialist, he yet had misgivings. "Cigar, waiter!" "Yessir, Trichinopoli or mild Hindoo, sir?" This was the last ounce that broke the back of his long-enduring patience. That the bread of the poor should be taxed in the interest of "imperial unity," that was well enough. He had read in the morning's paper of an entire family poisoned by eating Australian rabbit—some one had forgotten to wash out the strychnine, phosphorus and other deadly poisons used in its destruction. "Sad case, of course, but an accident; it doesn't happen every day!" But that a man should be asked to eat, drink and smoke these products of a self-contained empire—no, that was carrying the game a little too far. Already in the grip of a severe indigestion, he roared: "I wish the infernal stuff was crammed down their own throats!" And when he reached home, somewhat of a wreck, he wrote to the secretary of the Imperial Tariff league, resigning membership, and, besides, conveying severe reflections on the products of a self-contained empire. His recovery was slow, the work, indeed, of many weeks. He is now a wiser man, and has become an active member of the Society for Promoting the Policy of the Open Door.—New Age, of London.

SUNDAY BASEBALL.

Extract from a sermon preached in St. James' church (Episcopal), Greenville, Miss., July 5, by the Rev. Quincy Ewing.

If we suppose that the Christian Sunday took the place of the Mosaic Sabbath—the ancient laws concerning the observance of the latter being affixed to the former—we are commanded simply to abstain from work on Sunday, and from nothing else not sinful on other days. We have positive commandments against lighting a fire, against the working of our man servants or maid servants, against doing any manner of work ourselves; and none at all against such pleasure, amusement, recreation, as that afforded by a baseball game. Moses being our witness, why, then, should the man who attends a Sunday baseball game be charged with desecrating the Sabbath, with violating a law of God?

If it be argued that the play of the men who take part in the game is their work; that they, therefore, violate the Sabbath, and that all who encourage them in the act are partners in their guilt; the answer is that the baseball player—if weekly rest is what should be insisted on by and for him—rests not only one day in seven, but the greater part of every seven days. He is not in the position and condition of those who, having to work six whole days of the week, require for their welfare every hour of one particular day for rest. God gave all His commandments to men, let us remember, for their benefit, not His own. There are no baseball players in the United States suffering to-day for want of rest because they play ball on Sunday. The trouble with many of them—their very grievous temptation—is, not that they don't have rest enough, but that they have too much!

If it still be asserted that, no matter how much he may rest on other days, the baseball player commits a sin who works at all on Sunday; this assertion, it would seem, can be fairly made by very few of our most pious Christians—vestrymen, stewards, deacons, elders, pastors. For how many of them would not be convicted by it of partnership in the guilt of the man servant, or the maid servant, who, having worked for them six days of the week, cooks their breakfasts, and dinners, and perhaps suppers, on Sunday? How often are the cooks and other servants of our most prominent church members and pastors of churches permitted to enjoy an entire Sunday's rest? Is the preparing of a hot breakfast, a hot dinner, a hot supper, a "work of necessity"? It was not so regarded by the law-giver from whom we have the law concerning Sabbath observance!

Let us quit finding motes in other people's eyes, while ignoring the beams in our own! Let us quit our quibbling in the name of Christianity, and look facts full in the face with the vision of common sense! Let us put away our moth-eaten lace and frill piety, and put on the armor of a vital, reasonable, progressive and aggressive religion. Let us strive to be consistent enough to win the respect—if we miss the affection—of honest men who think; shunning as a sacred duty that glaring inconsistency in our religious profession and conduct which cannot but excite the derision of thinking men who are asked to give heed to our homilies on their alleged sins! Let us dare not cramp and weaken the great, deep, broad, high truth and glory of the Christian religion, by presuming to present it authoritatively to men in the shallow, narrow molds of our mere "orthodox" opinionativeness! There are hundreds of us who prefer not to devote any part of Sunday to attendance upon a baseball game; hundreds of us who choose to employ ourselves quite otherwise during all the hours of this day. But because such is our choice and preference, let us not arrogate to ourselves the right to exclude from the circle of good Christians those who choose to spend two hours at a baseball park on Sunday afternoon. Let us remember that if by any strained interpretation of its text the Bible can be quoted against Sunday baseball, it can be quoted in the same way against taking a Sunday afternoon walk on the levee! Resurrect some of the old Puritans, bring them here to Greenville, and they would be exceedingly horrified at the manner in which many of our strictest sabbatarians "desecrate" the Sabbath. In the middle of the seventeenth century, in England, a young man was put in the stocks for three hours for going to a neighboring village on Easter Sunday, and eating milk and cream with a party of friends, who spent on this hilarious entertainment the immense sum of two pence each. It was an offense at this date, visited with punishment, for a man to walk further than his church-door on the Sabbath day, even to attend Divine service in another church! Those old Puritans took their Moses pretty seriously, and they are most lamely and haltingly imitated by their would-be successors of the modern time.

It was the great Apostle—the greatest of them all—who wrote: "He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it." If it were not wise or well for us to speak as radically, as boldly, as unguardedly as the Apostle, yet surely we are at liberty to say after him, in his spirit: He that regardeth Sunday in a manner not sinful, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth Sunday in another manner not sinful, may regard it unto the Lord, too.

"WHAT'S IN A NAME?"

From a sermon preached by Herbert S. Bigelow in the Vine street Congregational church, Cincinnati, July 5.

Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!—Isa., 5:20.

Wendell Phillips, I believe it was, who defined hypocrisy as "the homage that vice renders to virtue."

Our text suggests a common manifestation of hypocrisy. The insincerity of an age finds expression in the names which it uses.

Let us speak plain; a lie may keep
Its throne a whole age longer, if it skulk
Behind the shield of some fair-seeming name.

The apologists for chattel slavery knew this. How labored were the euphemisms by which they sought to mask that ugly face! "Patriarchal

institution," "peculiar institution," "economic subordination;" these are some of the squirming phrases which they used. Wendell Phillips used to tell of a meeting of preachers who took one of their number to task for holding slaves and not being "courageous enough to say slaves right out in the meeting, advised him to get rid of his impediment." He used also to tell of Rufus Choate that, being obliged to refer to the institutions of the South, and unwilling that his old New England lips, which had spoken so many glorious free truths, should foul their last days with the hated word, phrased it "a different type of industry." How these timid souls quaked at the harsh true words of Garrison! To unmask that hypocrisy was an exceedingly disagreeable, but equally necessary task. As Mr. Conway has said: "It was only when soft phrases about the evil of slavery, 'which would pass away in God's good time,' made way for the abolitionists' denunciation of the Constitution as 'an agreement with hell,' that the fortress began to fall. In other words, reforms are wrought by those who are in earnest."

Every apostle of progress in the world's history has had to tear the livery of heaven from the forms of vice; he has had to brand as crime that which received the sanction of law; he has had to denounce as hypocrisy that which was paraded as virtue.

This is the meaning of our text. This is the meaning of the philippics of Jesus against the scribes and Pharisees.

Charles Kingsley said he did not believe in kicking his congregation out and locking the door before he began to preach. But neither did he believe in being indulgent to a world in which cowardice is called meekness and temporizers are called charitable and reverent.

In the eyes of the world it is rude and unrefined to call a spade a spade. In his essay on Voltaire, John Morley has drawn a faithful picture of the man of the world:

> His inexhaustible patience of the abuses, that only torment others; his apologetic word for beliefs that may perhaps not be so precisely true as one might wish, and institutions that are not altogether so useful as one might think possible; his cordiality towards progress and improvement in a general way, and his coldness or antipathy to each progressive proposal in particular; his pigmy hopes that life will become some day somewhat better, punily shivering by the side of his gigantic conviction that it might well be infinitely worse.

It would be amusing if it were not tragic to recall the efforts of men to foil the shafts of criticism by lying phrases.

When Roger Williams was left to the mercy of beast and savage by his Christian brethren, his persecutors were charged with bigotry and intolerance. "No," said the New England preachers, "it is our 'enlargement.'"

When a hapless wretch in the Philippines had been given the "water cure" until he died, an army surgeon was found to render a verdict that the man had died of "mental anguish." But we had best turn our thoughts from those unlucky islands. There are too many examples there of our hypocrisy. When we read the history of our career in the Philippines and the wretched apologies that have been made for it, and the unctuous phrases which have been borrowed from the vocabulary of tyrants to conceal the motives of greed and vainglory, it seems as though it was for us that those words of Isaiah were written: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."

Take the word "democrat." The way in which that word is used to-day shows a confusion of thought on political questions, or an amazing amount of political insincerity—probably both.

> To be a democrat, socially, means to hate all kings, and castes, and rank of birth,
> For all the sons of men are sons of God,
> Nor limps a beggar but is holy born;
> Nor wears a slave a yoke, nor czar a crown,
> That makes him less or more than just a man.

To be a democrat, politically, means to oppose every legal advantage which effects an inequitable distribution of wealth and creates artificial social distinctions. Yet how often we find men calling themselves "Democrats" who are proud not to be of the common herd, and who are beneficiaries and defenders of legal monopolies and special privileges.

Mr. Depew says that what the Democrats seem to need in the way of a candidate for next year is a man who voted for Mr. Bryan and believed the other way. The question of free silver is undoubtedly not an issue. But the fight on monopoly is always on. Yet they are "Democrats" who will tell you without any blush of shame that what they want is a man who can get the votes of the anti-monopoly people and the campaign contributions of the monopolists. Thus the politician would take upon his unclean lips that fair name Democracy, making it mean a vulgar struggle for power when it should mean a war upon privilege.

THE LYNCHING MADNESS.

Editorial in the New York Nation of July 2, 1903.

Bishop Butler once speculated on the possibility of a whole people going mad. That the general brain may suffer a lesion resulting in what looks like popular insanity, indeed, is arguable with a good deal of force. The early stages of lunacy in the form of "fads" and "crazes" often manifest themselves in whole communities; and, as we are unhappily seeing just now in the outbreak of barbarous lynchings, east and west, north and south, the thing sometimes mounts to acute mania.

An alienist might easily detect in the bearing and actions of the frenzied mobs many of the symptoms of dementia. There is the wild obsession, the insensate fury, the cries, the howls, the "fixed idea," the rage knowing no bounds. It is a point at which the psychology of the crowd most strikingly reflects the mental condition of the individual maniac. But the madness of the mob is worse than that of the single man, because it is infectious. One crazy band bent on murder incites another to bloody-mindedness. In these days of quick communication, impulses pass swiftly from one section of the land to another. It is like the inmates of adjoining padded cells in Bloomingdale stirring each other up by the example of shrieking and foaming at the mouth. A mob at the south bellows, and presently another in Belleville, Ill., takes up the hoarse cry. Thence the mania passes on to Indianapolis, only to break out later with redoubled fury and with every refinement of cruelty at Wilmington. We almost seem to be beholding the fancy of Butler come true, and an entire nation losing its reason.

This conception of the passion for lynching as a vast wave of madness, inundating people by the thousand, is one, it seems to us, which is fitted to heighten our sense of public peril as we confront the startling phenomenon. Where it will declare itself next, no man can tell. It is the instant and urgent duty of all sane men, and of every community not yet bedlamized, to gather up all the resources we possess against this threatening evil, which has already become a stinging national disgrace. For there is method in this madness. It takes its origin, as everybody can see, in the notion that there is one class of men beyond the pale of the law. Mind, we say class of men, not class of crimes. Not all

bestial outrages or ferocious murders are punished by mob law and with every circumstance of atrocity, as was the horrible crime by the more horrible lynching in Delaware. The trembling brute who was burned to death spoke the simple truth when he told his tormentors that he would not have been dealt with in that savage fashion had he not been a Negro. Not all monsters of depravity are black; yet where do we hear of the red fury of the mob turning so upon white fiends? No, the idea is abroad that "niggers" may be hunted like wild beasts. Beginning by attempting to de-citizenize them, we have passed on to considering them de-humanized. We deny them the inalienable rights of every human being under our laws. For the white criminal the orderly processes of the law, the court, the sentence, the noose; but for his fellow in crime—that is all he is—the colored man, there is nothing but the howling of the mob and the leaping flame.

This is the first and great warning which the lynching mania speaks to every man who will hear. Class prejudice is at the bottom of these ferocities. In Bessarabia it is the Jew who is the outlaw, and who may with impunity be massacred because he belongs to a hated class; in America it is the Negro for whom the most sacred guarantees of the law simply do not exist. Discrimination against a man because of his race or color shows us, in the insensate mob at Wilmington, into what wild animals it turns human beings when it does its perfect work. And we have not the slightest security that such class prejudice, erected into the controlling passion of the mob, will stop with any particular race or color. Any day it may suddenly be declared, and adopted in practice, that other classes of men, other races, other colors, are fit only for lynching. When once you depart from the principle that all men as such have fundamental and equal rights, or from the duty of doing justice even upon the vilest under the strict form of the law, you cannot tell to what fearful and bloody consequences you may be driven.

That is really the alarming aspect of this invasion of old communities by the lynching habit. It threatens to burst the social bond itself, and make us all cave-men again, every one taking justice into his own hand. "Rough justice" lynching has been called by its apologists. We perceive the roughness, but not the justice. Society exists at all only because individuals agree to put their private griefs into the hands of the ministers of the law; and every attempt by individuals or by mobs—be they "mobs of gentlemen"—to wreak vengeance on their own account, is a stab at the life of our society. How deep our shame as a nation should be at these awful barbarities, no one perhaps can fully perceive who does not read the foreign newspapers. The story of our lawless ways is telegraphed to them in all its ghastliness. Englishmen, Germans and Frenchmen have been thinking of America at their breakfast tables just as we were thinking a few weeks ago of the murderous Russians at Kishineff. The stain has come upon our country's name at the very moment when we were loudest in protesting against the atrocities of others.

HOW MISS HALEY AND MISS GOGGIN BROKE UP THE RING.

From the Woman's Journal of July 4.

Miss Margaret Haley and Miss Catherine Goggin were the two young women who discovered that the reason there was not money enough to keep the Chicago schools open the full year to pay the teachers was because the great street railroad corporations were dodging the taxes legally due from them.

Miss Haley and Miss Goggin, acting for the Chicago Teachers' Federation, pursued them from court to court and forced them to pay up, thus adding a million a year to the city's revenue.

Miss Haley is the only woman on the legislative committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and has been largely instrumental in getting the unusual amount of legislation they have secured during the past year—a child labor law, a prison labor law, a compulsory education law, and a bill opening the schoolhouses to public use free of charge.

Miss Haley has lately brought about another reform. Soon after the Chicago Teachers' Federation joined the Chicago Federation of Labor, Miss Haley found that there was much discontent in the latter organization, owing to a belief that its elections were not conducted fairly. Its officers were in the habit of carrying off the ballot box to the Sherman house, counting the votes in private, and declaring themselves all reelected. Miss Haley put the Teamters' union up to demanding, at the close of the election, that the ballots should be counted in the hall where they were cast, and that Miss Catherine Goggin and Miss Murphy should be allowed to watch the count. This was reluctantly conceded, but the tellers spun out the counting till the hour when the electric lights in the hall were about to be put out. Then they said it would be necessary to adjourn to the Sherman house or be left in the dark. "Miss Haley thought of that," said Miss Goggin, "and has left a box of candles with me." "Ah, very thoughtful of Miss Haley," said the leader of the "ring," and the candles were lit, and the count dragged along with all possible slowness. Midnight came. "Now we must adjourn to the Sherman house," said the leader; "we only rented this hall till midnight." "Miss Haley thought of that," answered Miss Goggin, "and she has re-rented the hall for us till midnight to-morrow." "Oh! very kind of Miss Haley, really," said the discomfited corruptionists. They spun out the count, which could easily have been completed in an hour, until four p. m. the next day, hoping to tire the women out, but Miss Goggin and Miss Murphy stuck to their post, and watched the count like lynxes. The election, said to be the first honestly-counted one that the Chicago Federation of Labor had had for years, resulted in an overwhelming defeat for "the ring." The Chicago teachers have sworn by Miss Haley for a long time, and now the Chicago Federation of Labor swears by her also.

WHAT TEACHERS' FEDERATIONS CAN DO.

The National Federation of Teachers held a meeting in Boston on July 6, during the convention of the National Educational Association. From The Woman's Journal of July 11 we take the following extract from an address made before the Federation by Mr. William McAndrew, principal of the Girls' Technical High School of New York:

MR. McANDREW'S SPEECH.

The average salary of men teachers in the United States is less than $322 a year, and the average salary of women teachers is less than $270 a year. For some of them the pay is less than $200 a year. One living on such wages cannot develop skill as an educator, because it cannot be done. How could you do it? By reading books? Where are you going to get books when your income is less than a dollar a day? Even if you could get them, you could not reach an adequate perfection of skill by the study of books. You must come in contact with progressive men who are studying and experimenting. You must in order to achieve skill in this remarkably complex business of training human minds, subject yourself to a long course of interesting and extensive study. You must keep up with the times by attending inspiring and refreshing summer schools in localities far distant from

your home. The average American teacher cannot do this.

The great educational associations consider themselves above this whole matter of teachers' pay. The officials and leading members of the National Educational Association have been asked to take it up, but have declined. This meeting to-night is not under the auspices of the venerable and dignified organization which brought us to Boston. That association has gone on for year after year delivering itself of programs to teach the teachers how to teach better; but I venture to propose to you that the rank and file of teachers in the United States at this moment need to be put into better physical condition, to elevate the work of teaching. A body of intellectual workers averaging $270 a year cannot carry out the theories propounded by the experts of the National Educational Association in Boston this week. We are planning time-tables for trains that haven't coal enough to make the speed. Unless the Association looks to this end of the problem, those who are intelligently sincere in their devotion to educational advancement must organize and do it themselves.

Also from the same number of The Woman's Journal we take the following portions of the address of the President of the National Federation, Miss Margaret A. Haley, of Chicago:

MISS HALEY'S ADDRESS.

Mr. McAndrew has pictured to you the condition of the grade teacher. What is the sense of blaming the American people for it? I believe there is not much blame. These conditions are the legitimate outcome of our economic and industrial conditions. We shall continue to have poor schools and poorly-paid teachers till we have entirely different economic conditions; and until we throw ourselves with our whole hearts into the work of changing them. . . .

We have a system of taxation that makes it impossible for schools to obtain the revenue they need.

I will show you the way to remedy these conditions, as we did in Chicago—as we did in the Illinois headquarters to-day. Follow this course, and then you will not need to come here and hire a hall for yourselves after paying your two dollars to the National Educational Association; you will have the use of its machinery. If you stick at that two dollars, you have no right to growl if you have to teach for $265 a year, and if the National Educational Association refuses to discuss the fact. It is your own fault. We found in Chicago that only five per cent. of the male voters turn out to the primary meetings, and then the 95 per cent. growl all the rest of the year at what the five per cent. did. . . .

I believe in action. The moment you find out what you ought to do, that is the time to go and do it. When the Chicago Teachers' Federation heard the report of their executive committee that the shortage of money for school purposes was due to the great corporations' failure to pay their taxes, it did not take these women thirty minutes to make up their minds what to do. When the Board of Education offered two of the teachers a year's vacation, and probably pay, if they would follow the matter up, the teachers said, "No, we will not let the board pay our representatives;" and they took up a collection and have paid the two women ever since. Meantime the Board has cut the teachers' salaries once, and then abolished their schedule entirely, and has done so many other things that I don't like to speak of them because it makes me angry. When, through the efforts of the teachers, $1,200,000 of delinquent taxes was turned into the public treasury, that very night the city council voted to appropriate from it back pay for the policemen and firemen, and the Board of Education the same night voted large appropriations for a gymnasium and other purposes, but not a dollar for the arrears of salary due to the teachers, who had secured the money. Why was this? Because a director of the Chicago Union Traction company was a member of the Board of Education. Our investigations had added $75,000,000 to the value on which his street car lines would have to pay taxes, and he did not wish to encourage us. The teachers had to go to the courts to get the arrears of salary which were due them; the case has been postponed 12 times at the request of the Board of Education, and we have not got our money yet. But did the teachers stop for that? No. They kept right on with the fight.

Our Chicago Board of Education represents "good business" in the ordinary industrial sense. They represent the idea that "good business" is to put the largest number of people into the smallest number of cars, with the fewest possible conductors and motormen. Why should they not regard the same thing as "good business" in the schools? Last year they took 500 teachers from the Chicago schools, closed their rooms and divided the pupils among the other teachers. We shall fight to have a Board that understands "good business" in a better way, and to get a Board of Education that is elected by the people, instead of appointed by the Mayor. Waging this fight may not be very sweet and womanly, but perhaps it is as much so as to stay in the school room from 9 a. m. to 3:30 p.m., and be continually irritated. Dr. Winship once said, "An irritator is not an educator." We are going to remove the irritations.

In every city there is an ample fund available for the schools and the public service. The people of Chicago pay ten million dollars yearly to five companies for the use of their own streets. When anyone puts in five cents as car fare, he pays two cents for the use of the cars and three cents for the use of his own streets. Do the people do this because they want to? They don't want to any more than the people who are held up on the streets in China. Those ten million dollars are more than Chicago pays for its schools and its public library put together. We are going to get the use of those ten millions for the city. The franchise of our street railroads is about to expire and unless all signs fail, they will never get another.

THE CONSULTATION.

The managing editor disappeared through the door leading to the business manager's office.

"I am ready for instructions," said the M. E.

"All right. Don't say anything about the Consolidated Oil company. We've just sold a block of our stock to its president."

"All right."

"Remain discreetly silent concerning the Union Traction company franchise steal, for we expect to be let in on the ground floor."

"All right."

"We are preparing to trade some of our treasury stock for a block of stock in the United States Iron company, so avoid any reference to its business."

"All right."

"And some of our leading stockholders are interested in the new trust that is combining our gas plants and trying to get hold of the municipal water plant. Don't say anything about it."

"All right."

Two hours later the foreman thrust his head into the managing editor's room and asked:

"What's the leader for to-morrow morning's editorial page?"

"I'll have it ready in a few minutes," replied the M. E. "It will be entitled 'The Free and Untrammeled Press.'"—Will M. Maupin, in The Commoner.

"I dreamed last night," remarked the man who always has and always will vote the Republican ticket,

"that everything in the world was dead, except one thing."

"And that was the grand old party," ventured another loyalist.

"No," said the other, regretfully, "it was the money question."

G. T. E.

The Lawyer—Oh, yes, nearly all the European monarchs are constitutional monarchs.

His Little Son—I'll bet you could prove that every one of them is unconstitutional, pa!—Puck.

The President's Secretary—Here is a letter from a man who wants to know why you don't have the criminal clause of the Sherman law enforced.

The President — The simpleton! Doesn't he know that every conviction would mean a lost vote?

G. T. E.

The dregs of Europe come to us. But our smart set go abroad to live. It's a swap.

And dregs made dregs by exterior pressure are better than dregs made dregs by interior degeneracy.—Life.

Mr. Flatfoot—Then you don't object to the language in the Kansas City platform?

Prof. Timidly—No, not at all to the language per se. It's the meaning I object to.

G. T. E.

"You don't mean to say he's bought a copy of the city directory for his parlor. What use has he for it there?"

"Why, man alive, his name's in it—in print."—San Francisco Star.

The History Teacher—Is this a constitutional government?

The Miner's Son—No, it's a government by injunction.

G. T. E.

BOOKS

THE ARROGANCE OF MEN IN POWER AND THE VIRTUE OF MODESTY.

This is the subject of a sermon recently delivered by Rev. Charles F. Dole, Jamaica Plain, Mass., and published by the Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass. If the claim of a publication be tested by bulk, this little pamphlet would call for no space in a reviewer's column; but if substance, if high thought and deep insight, if noble and enlightened exposition of a great theme be tests, then few publications of a later day deserve a fuller notice.

Mr. Dole begins by pointing out that for a correct understanding in our day we must translate "Blessed are the poor in spirit" by "Happy are the modest." At the conclusion he appeals to history and experience that the modest are always the happy ones. "The happy days," he says, "are the days when we ask least for ourselves and give and do most for others."

The opposite of modesty Mr. Dole finds in the word arrogance. "Arrogance, a Latin word, means a habit of claiming favors and privileges. It is the habit of an aristocracy. The aristocrat, or, in other words, the man who thinks himself better than his neighbors, claims to be entitled by his title, his birth, his money, or even the mere color of his skin, to special consideration. . . . I will not say that the arrogant man seeks to get more than his share. He probably really believes that he ought to have a larger share than his neighbor."

Mr. Dole gives some striking modern instances of the disease of arrogance. "Is it not," he asks, "arrogance when our high officials in Washington presume to decide how little information the American people shall be allowed, with regard to the doings of our army in the Philippine islands? Is not the arrogance of American senators as perilous as that which the Roman people witnessed 2,000 years ago?" He cites, of course, the German emperor, whose proclamations "fairly bristite with egotism and arrogance," and even our President receives a gentle reminder.

There is one incidental point of criticism which I cannot forbear making. Mr. Dole falls into the common way of classing Caesar among the shining examples of arrogance. About this there will probably always be dispute. To me it seems that Caesar, in spite of the great power to which his genius and the times bore him, was too full of kindliness, and what Cicero called clemency, to be really arrogant. The most authentic likenesses show a countenance of benevolence not of arrogance.

J. H. DILLARD.

THE ECONOMIC LABYRINTH.

In his "Clue to the Economic Labyrinth" (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Lim., Paternoster Square), Michael Flurscheim sets out to build a bridge across the chasm between productive power, which advances, and actual wealth production, which lags more and more behind. This chasm is to be bridged, according to Mr. Flurscheim, by national landlordism and a scientific currency, the latter being immediately the more hopeful of the two. The national landlordism he proposes would vest the title to all land in the community, after it had been acquired from its present owners by paying them for it; his scientific currency would be issued to a certain extent by the State in payment for public works and services, and also by banks, and would be regulated in volume in accordance with a table of prices from which land values and land rents would be excluded. These two reforms, argues the author, would abolish interest, which he regards as tribute and not as a product, and would practically do away with capitalism, thereby removing every hindrance to the full development of wealth production up to the limits of productive power.

Mr. Flurscheim's definition of capital is the best of the many yet given for the purpose of confusing differences in kind by avoiding distinctions in terms. "I define capital," he writes, "as property which can procure an income without any work on the part of its owner." By this definition, it will be observed, the slave is taken out of the category of labor, and monopolized natural opportunities out of the category of land; while artificial implements of production are bundled in with enslaved labor and monopolized land as capital. That may be good economic analysis according to the logical standards of practical business men; but if it is it furnishes another answer to the question, "Why do 95 per cent of the business men fail?" If they analyze no more clearly than that, they could hardly help but fail.

Much stress is laid by Mr. Flurscheim upon his business experience as having especially qualified him for philosophical thinking upon economic subjects. "It is as impossible," he says, at page 238 of his book, "to do justice to economic subjects without practical business experience as to bake wheaten bread without any wheat." Yet, at page 254, he rather discredits this proposition by observing that "bankers and financiers are of all men in the world least capable of pronouncing a correct judgment on the great currency problem." We are inclined to believe that the latter observation is true, and for the reason Mr. Flurscheim gives: "Of course the knowledge of such practical specialists is often worth more than that of any professor, but only as far as their routine business goes; any move outside and they lose their way entirely." Precisely so we should say with reference to business men generally in dealing with economic subjects in general. They excel so far as routine goes; but when principles confront them their thought becomes foggy.

Mr. Flurscheim has had better opportunities than most business men to equip himself for economic reasoning. Not only has he had large experience in practical business affairs, but he has done much philosophical reading and writing upon economic subjects. Still, the business man's habit of dealing minutely with detail overwhelms him when he comes to broad generalizations. Page after page of this book testifies to the service his business experience has been to him in providing him with data. His data furnish excellent mate-

rial for thought. But his generalizations are seldom logical and they are sometimes ludicrous. We make space for an example. Mr. Flurscheim is writing at page 33 of the private ownership of land. To the contention that this is wrong because land is not a product of human labor but is the creation of God who destined it for all, he objects. His objection is to what he regards as the weakness of that argument. It seems to him to be open to the unanswerable criticism that other things than land, things which are without question subjects of private ownership, are also the creation of God and destined by him for all. To use Mr. Flurscheim's own illustration: "Iron, coal, building stone—in fact all primeval matter—is created by God for all men, and yet not even the most radical land reformer objects to their appropriation by individuals under certain conditions." That is the superficial reasoning of the rule-of-thumb business man. Any analytical thinker would see at once that there is a radical economic difference between iron, coal and building stone when in their natural condition of primeval matter as part of the land, and when in their artificial condition as products of human labor after extraction from the land.

It is a curious fact that Mr. Flurscheim has secured recognition in some quarters as the representative in Germany of Henry George's economic philosophy. This book ought to remove that misconception once for all. In no important respect does it concur with George, except as to the inexpediency of private monopoly of land. George opposed this monopoly both upon principle and expediency; Flurscheim does so upon considerations of expediency alone. George regarded the land question as fundamental; Flurscheim links it with the money question, and even gives greater importance to the latter. George believed that economic interest on capital is a product of capital; Flurscheim regards it as tribute. George was a free trader; Flurscheim is a protectionist. George believed in the moral principle of the equal rights of man; Flurscheim teaches the utilitarian doctrine of the greatest good to the greatest number. George opposed compensation to beneficiaries of unjust privileges for their abolition; Flurscheim advocates it. George taught that capital and land are different things; Flurscheim teaches that they are the same. Even the Malthusian doctrine, which George demolished, appeals to Flurscheim; while in the mercantile theory of commerce, which to George was a baseless superstition, Flurscheim finds some truth, as he acknowledges, and he is evidently influenced by it to a much greater degree than he supposes.

Mr. Flurscheim's book is dedicated to the people of New Zealand, upon whom it especially urges the adoption of the plan it proposes.

PERIODICALS.

The Journal of the Knights of Labor (Washington, D. C.) is doing a good work in digging up all the suppressed reports of Gen. Miles on army doings in the Philippines.

In the North American Review for July there are four articles which will especially interest readers of The Public. One is contributed by Gov. Garvin, of Rhode Island, who makes an able argument for the constitutional initiative. The second is by J. N. Leger, the Haytian minister to the United States. He refutes, in good spirit and with judicial method, the tourists' tales about his native country to the effect that "Hayti is less civilized than it was a hundred years ago." The Colombian view of the Panama canal question is the third, and Mr. Chamberlain's protection scheme the fourth, of these very interesting and instructive articles. An article on the Servian tragedy may also be read with interest.

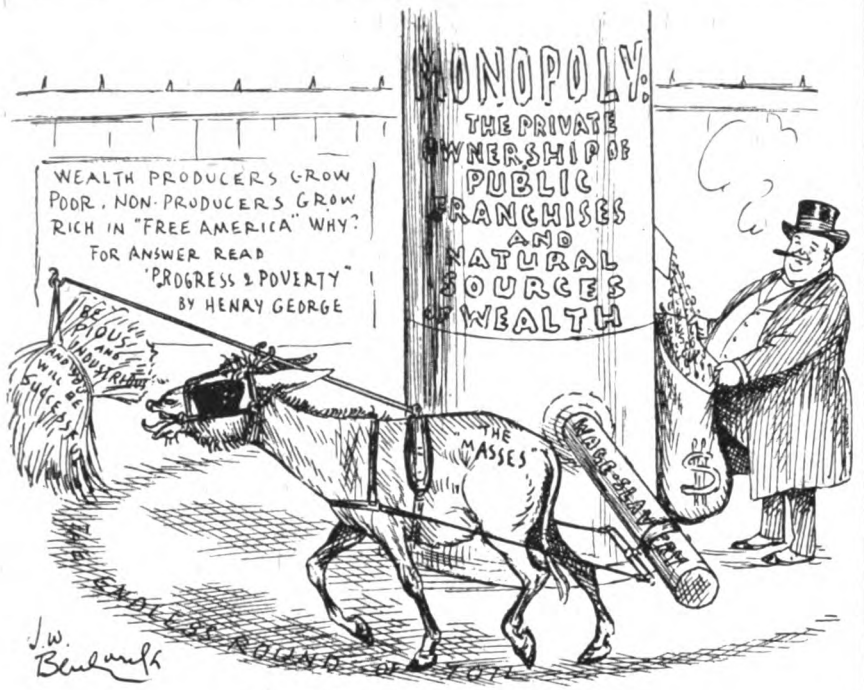
An editorial in a recent issue of the Baltimore Sun, while discussing the revelations of shameful vote-buying in Rhode Island, speaks of the moral decadence of New England as an accepted fact. The merely incidental, passing, matter-of-fact sort of way in which the writer alludes to this makes the assertion all the more striking when one comes to think of it. Is it a fact? Is there, on the whole, a lowering of the moral tone in that part of America to which many the country over looked for intellectual and moral leadership? Can it be possible that the States in which public schools have longest and to the greatest extent been spreading their influence are failing to show progress in public and private morality?

J. H. D.

In this day of much printing the American people have many wonderful doctrines and much queer composition circulated in their midst. Sometimes there are exhibitions which bring home the bad old saying that a little learning is a dangerous thing. The editor of The Flaming Sword, for example, has a remarkable production in his issue of July 3. He learnedly mixes up three Latin words that sound somewhat alike, but have absolutely no connection with one another; and besides he entirely mistakes the meaning of one of his words. For the amusement of Latin students it may be said that his words are venio, ventus, and venter. His learning is equal to that of a correspondent of another religious paper, who closed his communication with the following words, which were printed in evident innocence: "It is eleven o'clock; bonus nox."

J. H. D.

The Independence number of the Independent is a most attractive issue. There are several articles on Independence Day and the Declaration, including a poem, not however in his finest strain, by Edwin Markham. Mr. W. G. Brown, in an article on President Roosevelt, makes the following comment anent the effect of the latter's influence on American character: "It is, on the whole, a good lesson, but not perhaps the lesson which Americans of this time are most in need of. Idleness and incompetence are not the most prevalent of our faults, nor are we particularly lacking in regard for force." He is clearly correct in saying that Roosevelt will be rated as a



GRIND AND GRAFT!

representative and not as a creator of ideas. J. H. D.

The Nation of July 2 has an interesting letter from Florence on Mazzini. "Just a quarter of a century," says the writer, "after Mazzini's death his little book on the 'Duties of Man' has been introduced into the public schools of Italy. The nineteenth century produced nothing more beautiful than this appeal to the workingmen of Italy, to whom the book was dedicated. The edition for the schools omits this dedication and also the passages in support of republicanism as the ideal form of government. And yet, we are told there are on all sides violent attacks on the book's introduction into the schools. It is too religious for some, not theological enough for others, too socialistic for some, too individualistic for others. It is a great pity that we have not in this country a cheap edition of this wonderful little work. Its deep religious tone, its insistence upon duties as well as rights, its sympathy with genuine democracy and with the aspirations of workingmen for the betterment of social conditions, makes its eloquent appeal even more timely and fitting for us to-day than it was for Italians in the middle of the last century. J. H. D.

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