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The difference between the Chicago City Railway company and private employers should be kept constantly in view in connection with the Chicago street car strike. Nor should it be ignored when the strike ends.

Private employees have a right to resist strikes by any means they please except lawless means. Their business is their own. The public have given them no privileges, and they owe the public no duty. Not so with this street car company. The public have given it traction privileges in the streets. They have done so with the understanding that the company shall furnish the public with traction accommodations. Its business, therefore, is not a private business. It is not altogether the company's own business, but is charged with a public use. The company does owe a duty to the public. Its duty is to furnish traction accommodation uninterrupted. Nothing excuses it from the performance of this duty but obstacles which cannot reasonably be overcome.

No such obstacles have existed. The company could have ended the strike at any minute by agreeing to arbitrate its dispute with its employes. It could have prevented the strike before it began by consenting to submit that dispute to arbitration. There is therefore no reasonable excuse for its gross breach of duty to the public. No matter what any dispute between such a company and its employes may be about, arbi-

tration is a reasonable method for settling it.

The point that some things cannot reasonably be arbitrated is the barest pretense. That point itself is as reasonable an issue for arbitration as any other. If the arbitrators were shown that any issue was not a reasonable issue for arbitration, they could so decide, and the strikers would be bound as securely as by their decision on any other point. The sum and substance of the matter is this, that the street car company has set in to break up a labor union and has violated its duty to the public in order to accomplish that purpose.

Have the public no redress in such cases. They would have if their representatives were representing the interests of the public, their newspapers were serving the interests of their readers, and their civic leaders were sensitive to public rights. But in Chicago that is not so. They represent and serve the interests of a few powerful capitalists of Chicago. This is what has given currency to so many frivolous excuses for allowing the street car company to ignore the rights of the public. Judges never tire of telling us that the law secretes a remedy for every grievance. But when your newspapers are under the dictation of large advertisers, as are the newspapers of Chicago; when your aldermen are ruled by large "business" interests, as are the stronger members of the Chicago council; when your public and professional men are "jollied" or intimidated by a local capitalism that ramifies business and social life and can make or mar careers, as are most of those of Chicago—in these circumstances the secretory glands of the law are much more likely to become inactive

than when it is labor interests that conflict with public rights. Let the leaders in Chicago civic life courageously throw off the anaesthesia of mind and morals in which this deadening local capitalism has enveloped them, and the Chicago traction question would be settled speedily and settled right. There would then be no more street car strikes.

Greeks bearing gifts always invite suspicion, and the Chicago Journal's awakened solicitude for municipal ownership is no exception. That journalistic handmaiden of Chicago plutocracy is notoriously hostile to municipal ownership of the Chicago street car system,—not only immediately, but yesterday, to-day and forever. "Public service is a private snap," expresses its highest civic ideal. Yet it had the insolence on the 24th to object most strenuously to the movement for municipal ownership immediately, because, in its opinion, that movement is inimical to municipal ownership! It is safe to say that if the Chicago Journal were really of the opinion that the movement for municipal ownership immediately is inimical to municipal ownership, it would support that movement with all the editorial power at its command. But the gratuitous advice of this extremely disinterested newspaper is more than suspicious. It consists of a loose collection of arguments for the Chicago City Railway company, transmuted into the form of advice to municipal ownership advocates.

"The committee on local transportation is endeavoring to bring about opportunity for municipal ownership in the quickest and surest way," says the Journal. But in fact this committee of the

Chicago city council is known to consist for the most part of aldermen who represent the Chicago City Railway company and its coterie of Chicago capitalists, much more faithfully than they represent their constituents. They proclaim their opposition to municipal ownership. Shall they be trusted to promote municipal ownership?

"The committee is pledged to no traction settlement which does not provide for modern service, liberal compensation, a waiver of the 99-year act, and a municipal ownership option," continues the Journal. To whom is the committee so pledged? And what of it? "Compensation" is only another name for secretly taxing street car passengers in the interest of the very capitalistic interests that control the Chicago Street Railway company. "Waiver of the 99-year act"! What would that waiver be worth if the company chose to fight it in the courts at the end of the contract, twenty years hence, and were met with an opposition as timid or complacent as the official opposition that confronts it now? Under threats of litigation the people of twenty years hence could be bilked as easily as the Journal would have them bilked to-day. Is it replied that the company would not be so dishonorable? Any man or company dishonorable enough to claim rights under so corrupt a law as the 99-year act would be dishonorable enough to do anything else that the courts would allow.

"Municipal ownership option"! What kind of municipal ownership option? Look at the "tentative franchise" which the local transportation committee recommends. It does give such an option. But there is a proviso. In order to make the option effective the city council in office 19 years hence must serve notice of acceptance during a specified twelve months. Otherwise the option fails. And thereupon the company would acquire some indeterminate contract rights, stuffed full

of litigious possibilities with which it might pry out another 20-year franchise. Though the people were insistent upon accepting the option, they would be balked if a majority of that particular council in that particular twelvemonth were either honestly or corruptly of opinion then, as the local transportation committee is of opinion now, that "we are not yet ready for municipal ownership."

"An attempt to secure municipal ownership at once would drive the traction companies into falling back on the 99-year act," pursues the ingenuous Journal. But they have fallen back upon that already. Were the 99-year act out of the way, the traction problem in Chicago would cease to be a problem even to that timid official contingent who are fighting it with a feather.

But the Journal goes on: "You would have to pay the traction companies for the value of their unexpired franchises; the Mueller bill so provides." Yes, the Mueller bill so provides. But the Mueller bill also provides for condemnation proceedings, under which these franchises would be valued by juries, whose verdicts would be final. When they were so valued, it would be found that their value is small indeed. The 99-year franchise would be dear at a dollar, and the unexpired odds-and-ends of shorter franchises wouldn't be worth much when the freed streets were taken over.

In connection with the question of labor unionism an analogy is often drawn between "organized labor" and "organized capital," and the labor union is consequently described as a trust. This is either thoughtless or unfair. Whatever else may be said against labor organization it does not monopolize labor, and cannot so long as its admissions to membership are as free as they are now. Herein there is a great difference between labor organizations and employers' organiza-

tions. Mr. Edward A. Moffett, editor of the "Bricklayer and Mason," brought out the point before the Civic Federation last Fall. Referring to the general refusal of trades unions to accept the overtures of employers' associations to work only for associated employers, he said: "Until membership in employers' associations can be attained with the same ease that membership can in the trades union, this amounts to asking the trade unions to help create a monopoly." He proceeded to explain further the difference between employers' associations and labor unions, in this forceful manner:

An exclusive organization of employers aims at monopolizing the entire local business, and an employer from an outside locality finds it very difficult, and sometimes impossible, to be admitted to membership. Even in the case of the trade union that has no "open shops" whatever, a member of the national or international organization is admitted to the local union by merely depositing his traveling card, and a non-member, whose ability has been vouched for, may become a member and go to work upon the payment of a small initiation fee. I submit that there is no practical resemblance between the exclusive employers' association and the union shop.

Dun's Review is pleased to report that "labor organizations are accepting reductions in wages without controversy." They are like the deceased wife of the old German who, when asked if she was "reconciled to die," replied: "Mein Gott, she het to be!"

With the accumulating signs of business collapse is it any wonder that people are beginning to ask, with increasing emphasis, whether Bryan may not after all have been right about that money question?

JOHN Z. WHITE.

To most of our readers we are sure that the portrait of John Z. White, which accompanies this issue as a supplement, will be welcome. He is a man whose name is more familiar than his features to thousands of people whom The



**JOHN Z. WHITE**



Public reaches in the United States and Canada, and as far as Europe and Australia. For twenty years Mr. White has been a prominent leader in Chicago of the movement which Henry George originated, and echoes of his local reputation have gone abroad.

Until recently he made the propagation of his cause his play rather than his work. He even held aloof from the occupation that would have best enabled him to serve his cause and for which his intellectual qualities and acquirements gave him exceptional fitness. This was not lightly done. At one time he studied law with the intention of practicing. Its theories were in accord with his intellectual bent, and its principles and problems were attractive to his logical and philosophical cast of mind. But his first glimpse of the arena of actual practice repelled him.

It was not from the conflicts of practice that he shrank, for he is a born fighter, but from the pettifoggery and chicanery which, with varying shades of difference as to politeness of method, seemed to him to characterize the whole profession, from crude and vulgar police-court practitioners all the way up to oleaginous leaders in the first rank at the bar. So Mr. White abandoned the law while yet a student, and withdrew to a printing office, where he has ever since made his living as a journeyman compositor.

But he did not let his mind run down in the monotony of his mechanical vocation. His theoretical studies were continued, and the single tax agitation, into which he was willingly drawn, has afforded him ample opportunity for that clash of mind with mind, over practical affairs, which is necessary to prevent such studies from degenerating into idle and impracticable dreams. The qualities so developed in White have been the occasion of no little astonishment to men who know nothing of him except that he is a journeyman printer and a single tax agitator. One of these was Lyman J. Gage, late secretary of the treasury. Upon hearing White in an impromptu debate which called for ready application of the principles of philosophy to practical

problems in economics and politics, Mr. Gage remarked: "While journeymen printers can think as clearly and reason as logically on public questions as that, we need have no fear for the future of our country."

While Mr. White earned his living as a mechanic he spent his leisure in promoting the cause to which he is devoted, both by study and in public exposition and discussion. The resulting prominence to himself, and the political trend of the single tax movement, brought him into practical politics, and he was twice a candidate for Congress. In 1894 he polled 8,484 votes as the People's party candidate in a triangular contest; and in 1896, in the same Congressional district he polled 28,309 as the fusion candidate. Among the speakers in his support in 1894 were Father McGlynn and Henry George.

Mr. White has now abandoned his mechanical work to devote himself exclusively to the promotion of the Henry George movement, not in Chicago alone but throughout the country. He has done so at the instance of the Henry George Association of Chicago. This association is organized upon a peculiar plan. It combines the principle of democratic control with that of administrative responsibility. The president is elected by the members, and the laws are controlled by them. That is the democracy of it. But the president uses his own discretion in the selection and removal of subordinate executive officers and the prosecution of the work—which is the administrative responsibility of it. Frederick H. Monroe has been president since 1900, having been elected four times. He has organized an executive committee in which are leading men of Chicago of both political parties. He has built up a membership which includes nearly all the active single taxers of the city. He has organized and successfully promoted a variety of methods of association and agitation. He has brought the single tax movement into friendly relations with other political and economic movements of radical purposes or tendencies. Included among these are the socialists, with whom he has arranged occasional friendly debates. He has

also put it upon a friendly footing with more conservative movements. But in none of his really effective work has Mr. Monroe's success been more marked than in his utilization of John Z. White's abilities.

Mr. White is a persuasive as well as convincing speaker. He can swing oratorical clubs, when occasion demands it, and logical argument mathematically adjusted is his delight; but he can lead as well as drive, and when his suspicions of bad faith are not aroused he inclines to that course. He is not an orator as Ingersoll was nor as Cockran is. Among single tax orators he is in a different class from Crosby and Bigelow. His is the oratory of colloquial speech, much the same on his feet as in a chair. Yet he is distinctly one of the leading orators of the single tax movement. In this respect he is in a class by himself. If he lacks in the picturesque elements of the orator's art, he more than makes up for it in accuracy and strength. In the art of leading (driving when necessary) his hearers from what they know and believe in to what they do not know or do not believe in, he has few equals. Taking him altogether, his ideals and his powers, Mr. White is the kind of man that one could wish to see on the floor of Congress when minions of plutocracy are pulling at the pillars that support the democracy of our republic.

#### THE PANAMA FILIBUSTER.

Circumstances are strongly against President Roosevelt when he protests that he had nothing to do with bringing on the Panama revolution. Every fact thus far disclosed points to his complicity.

Why were American war ships ordered to the Isthmus before the revolt occurred?

Why did the American naval commander forbid the use by the Colombian authorities of the railroad for the purpose of putting down the revolt and asserting the acknowledged sovereignty of Colombia?

Why did the American naval commander advise the military representative of the Colombian government to withdraw from Panama?

Why did President Roosevelt forbid the landing of Colombian troops for the purpose of suppressing the revolt?

Why did President Roosevelt recognize Panama as a new nation before Colombia had had any opportunity to act, when President McKinley had declared with reference to Cuba, in his message of April 11, 1898, that "recognition of independent statehood is not due to a revolted dependency until the danger of its being subjugated by the parent state has entirely passed away"?

Above all, why did President Roosevelt threaten the Colombian government with some mysterious and dire disaster as early as July? Here is his instruction (made public September 4) to the American minister at Bogota, cabled late in July (p. 502):

If Colombia neglects to ratify the treaty unamended, the United States will be forced to take measures that will be a source of regret to all friends of Colombia.

If that threat meant that the United States would encourage Panama to secede and would support its secession, then the circumstances are consistent. If the threat meant anything else, it needs explanation.

No attempt to explain it has been made.

President Roosevelt is said to have had in contemplation a message to Congress recommending that Congress proceed with the construction of the Panama canal by force if Colombia would not accept the Hay-Herran treaty. But that is a poor explanation.

It is unthinkable that even Roosevelt would have had the hardihood to press this high handed policy deliberately upon a Congress which had instructed him to construct the canal across Nicaragua if he could not secure peaceable permission to construct it across Panama.

The fact that such an explanation of Roosevelt's threat to Colombia can be made, is significant of an attitude toward the Isthmian canal question which reflects little honor upon the Administration, no matter in what way it is looked at.

Why is President Roosevelt so

determined that—Colombia or no Colombia, Congress or no Congress, law or no law—the Isthmian canal shall be constructed across Panama?

Is it because Nicaragua would be the poorer route? That is not for him to decide. The responsibility for choice of route is upon Congress, not upon the President. It is the President's duty to execute the law as he finds it, quite as much as it is the citizen's duty to obey the law as it is.

Is it because \$40,000,000 is to be given to the influential gentlemen in Wall street who own most of the stock of the French company, provided the canal goes through Panama, and that there is no such "watermelon" to be cut in connection with the Nicaragua route? That is hardly probable. Roosevelt's weaknesses do not lead him toward mere plunder.

Is it, then, because the continental railroad ring prefers the Panama route as the best way of killing off the canal project? It is incredible that railroad passes should be so effective.

Perhaps President Roosevelt, eager as a schoolboy in circus time for nomination and election to the office he now holds only by accident, is influenced by these considerations without knowing it. He may not trace to their sordid source the influences that are guiding him. However that may be, the truth is that large stakes in that \$40,000,000 have played no inconspicuous part in strengthening the Panama forces. And this influence has been reinforced by the railroad interests. They do not want any canal to compete with them; but since the demand for some canal is irresistible they advocate the Panama route as least likely to be successful enough to disturb their interests.

Whatever the President's motives may be he has plainly violated the act of Congress which required him, when the Colombians rejected the American ultimatum as to the Panama route, to proceed with the Nicaragua route. More than that, he has placed the United States in a position of extremely humiliating dishonor.

It is a dishonor of deeper hue than that of the British, which we connived at in South Africa, or that which we took upon ourselves

in the Philippines. Dishonorable as was our policy with reference to those black episodes in Anglo-Saxon history, it was only morally so. Or, at least, the legal dishonor was not pronounced enough to remove it from the field of debate. And as for mere moral dishonor, what of it? What man could get rich, what nation could become a world-power, if mere moral considerations were allowed to interfere? The day of moral philosophy, has it not passed? Aren't we living now in the day when everything from forgery to benevolent assimilation is tested not by motive but by results? Moral dishonor, therefore, such as we incurred in connection with the British conquest of South Africa and the Yankee conquest of the Philippines, may be forgotten in the glorious outcome of those buccaneering enterprises. But our dishonor in connection with the recognition of Panama is not only revolting to the moral sense; it is a consequence also of international bad faith on our part, and of our deliberate violation of the generally accepted law of nations in a manner so unambiguous as to admit of no defense.

In behalf of the Administration it is argued, indeed, that the old treaty of 1846 with New Granada (now Colombia) required the United States to protect the Isthmian railroad and therefore necessitated a course which, without that requirement, would have been indefensible.

This flimsy excuse has been torn to shreds by the Springfield Republican. We quote liberally from its article, because the Republican is neutral on the question of Nicaragua or Panama for the canal, and because it presents in condensed form an irrefutable answer to the only defense the Administration has offered in support of its Panama filibuster:

Much is heard of our rights at the Isthmus of Panama under the treaty of 1846. In that treaty, if anywhere, an adequate defense may be found of the government's course in denying to Colombia the right or the opportunity to suppress an insurrection within its own sovereign jurisdiction, even before the insurgents had been recognized either as belligerents or as a de facto government. It will be recalled that on the first day of the rebellion at Panama city Com-

mander Hubbard, of the United States cruiser Nashville, sent to the Colombian prefect of Colon a letter declaring that the United States would not permit the transportation of Colombian troops across the Isthmus for the purpose of putting down the uprising against the Colombian government. At that time, the insurgents had no international standing whatever, even as belligerents. In the eyes of international law, they were then mere disturbers of the peace, or "bandits," as such people are sometimes called. Had they sent a cruiser to sea, it would have been technically a pirate. The authority under which Commander Hubbard acted, in behalf of his government—notwithstanding that the Panama Railroad company is obliged by its charter, or contracts, to transport the troops of the Colombian government—is drawn entirely from article 35 of the treaty, which merits a somewhat closer analysis than has yet been given to it.

A clause of article 35 which is seldom quoted, comes first, in these words:—

The government of New Granada [Colombia] guarantees to the government of the United States that the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Panama upon any modes of communication that now exist, or that may hereafter be constructed, shall be open and free to the government and citizens of the United States.

This clause cannot be ignored, especially as it must be assumed that Colombia may properly claim the right and the opportunity to make good the guarantee she offered in the treaty. When the Isthmus, therefore, is threatened with disorder, menacing free and uninterrupted commercial traffic between the oceans, Colombia, under the clause quoted, must at least be granted a chance to fulfil her own obligations. This treaty right was positively and absolutely denied to her when Commander Hubbard sent his note to the prefect of Colon. Colombia was forbidden to suppress the disorder which was reported from Panama city, and at a time when the rebels had no conceivable standing even as belligerents. Legally, our government might as well have prevented Colombia from arresting a band of robbers in the canal zone. Yet Colombia was the sovereign, and anxious to fulfil her treaty obligations in this respect.

The natural working of the clause above quoted having been paralyzed by the action of the United States navy, we are bound to consider immediately the bearing of the fifth section of article 35, which declares:—

If, unfortunately, any of the articles contained in this treaty should be violated or infringed in any way whatever, it is expressly stipulated that neither of the two contracting parties shall ordain or authorize any acts of reprisal, nor shall declare war against the other, on complaints of injuries or damages, until the said party considering itself offended shall have laid before the other a statement of such injuries or damages, verified by competent

proofs, demanding justice and satisfaction, and the same shall have been denied, in violation of the laws and of international right.

Surely this section has been utterly ignored, in spirit at least, by our government. It first infringed upon Colombia's obvious treaty right to maintain, or seek to maintain, order on the Isthmus, as the sovereign power; and then it recognized the initial disturbers of the peace and traffic as a republic, thus dismembering a friendly nation, without so much as deferring its eminently hostile action until news of the uprising could reach the capital of the Colombian government. . . . The first guarantee, which was obviously to be enforced by Colombia, if possible, was followed by a compensating guarantee from the United States—"as an especial compensation for the said advantages and for the favors they (the United States) have acquired by the fourth, fifth and sixth articles of this treaty," so runs the clause. Clearly, if the United States were offering a guarantee of "the perfect neutrality" of the Isthmus, in return for "favors" from Colombia, it would be absurd to urge that the American guarantee was designed to empower the United States ever, under any conceivable conditions, to prevent Colombia from maintaining her sovereignty on the Isthmus against either foreign foe or domestic brigands, or even revolutionists. Yet that is exactly the power which our government now claims and asserts against the much weaker nation with which it covenanted.

It is now argued that there is no vitality, as against domestic revolutionists, in the third guarantee, which reads: "The United States also guarantee, in the same manner, the rights of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory." Our government's interpretation is that this guarantee applies only to an invasion of the Isthmus by a foreign power. Very well. We may accept that view. Yet let us also be consistent. If this third guarantee applies only to foreign powers, why does not the second guarantee of "the perfect neutrality" of the Isthmus apply only to foreign powers? How can we shuffle off our obligation to maintain Colombia's sovereignty against rebels, in the one case, and at the same time, in the other case, stretch our power so far as to deny to Colombia the bare opportunity to maintain order or put down rebellion in the Isthmus? Are we promoting, by such legerdemain, the true national interests of the United States? Is it something to be proud of that the results we contemplate are justified by such amazing distortions of a treaty as these?

The truth is that this interpretation is entirely new, and an outgrowth of recent policy. Secretary Seward wrote to the United States minister at Bogota, in 1866: "The United States have al-

ways abstained from any connection with questions of international revolution in the state of Panama, . . . and will continue to maintain a perfect neutrality in such domestic controversies." Perfect neutrality has not been maintained; nor even an imperfect neutrality. Our government's acts have been warlike acts, which would never have been committed against a second-rate power. The alleged necessity of preventing the transportation of the troops of the sovereign government across the Isthmus is in itself a humbug, for in times past traffic on the railroad has been easily guarded, in a period of civil war, by merely stationing marines, if needed, along the line. In other cases of insurrection, the Colombian government has used the railroad freely for its troops without the slightest protest by our government. In the quick growth of the new interpretation, our naval officers, a year or two ago, decided to allow Colombian troops to be transported without arms, and now they have denied them all transportation whatever.

So we find the United States in the disgraceful position of having done' with reference to Panama in 1903, what we successfully protested against with reference to South Carolina in 1861; of having violated a treaty in doing so; and of excusing their turpitude by placing upon that treaty an interpretation at variance with all our previous interpretations of it. Nor is that the worst. By executing with Panama, so hurriedly that the new nation was obliged to borrow a seal from our secretary of state in default of one of her own, a treaty which is stuffed with present plunder and future benevolent assimilation, we have given the whole affair an aroma of interestedness which it is not easy to distinguish from a stench.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

New York, Nov. 23.—The political situation here, as I view it, is this:

Grout is slated for the gubernatorial nomination. This was talked of when the comptrollership nomination was offered him. The Republicans may have heard of it, and that may be part of the reason why they ordered Grout to get off one ticket or the other. At any rate, Grout is now grooming for the race. He believes he will have a good chance, as the feud between Odell and Platt is strengthening. Odell wants to succeed himself, but the belief is that Platt will oppose his nomination. I don't know who Platt has in mind for a substitute. With this friction between Republican leaders, Grout hopes



to slip in. Roosevelt, I need hardly say, is behind Odell.

Grout, meanwhile, is in a difficult position. It is the general expectation that the Murphy-McClellan combination will provide a respectable administration. There will be no smell of the barroom and none of the manners of ward-heelerism. Some people who think they speak with authority say that even "Tim" Sullivan will be ordered to the rear, or at least will be ignored. But that, I believe, is impossible. Sullivan is a power in the organization, perhaps the power, but he does not show himself unnecessarily—whether from tact or another reason I cannot tell. As I said, however, the common belief is that there will not be a repetition of the Van Wyck recklessness. There will be an attempt to make a "respectable" administration.

The purpose of this policy will not be so much to promote respectability in municipal affairs, as to kill off the opposition of the anti-"red" light-ers and other respectables, and to keep New York Democratic, at least during the next year, for the gubernatorial and presidential elections.

But the real difficulty that this programme has to "go up against" is that a lot of franchise problems are rapidly rising here. Popular thought is radicalizing. If the city hall crowd under McClellan stand for the monopolies, then they are in danger of losing power with the people; if they stand against the monopolies, they will win with the people, but lose with the monopolists. Yet they cannot afford to lose support anywhere if they are to carry this State next year. Grout has to decide which crowd he will go with, the radicals or the conservatives.

Whitney is close behind the new Democratic dispensation here. He has been the active man in the franchise amalgamations, which are now divided into three classes: (1) the Consolidated Gas, including all the gas companies and the Edison monopoly; (2) the Interurban Street Railroad company, including practically all the suburban lines in Manhattan and the Bronx; and (3) the Interborough company, including the Manhattan elevated and the underground, now building. William Rockefeller, Baldwin, of the Pennsylvania, Belmont, and Whitney are the four foremost men in these combinations, which are dove-tailed together and, as against the public, have a common policy and do their work together. Of course they are in politics and of course they are in it with their barrels.

Both Whitney and Belmont took the trouble to occupy boxes at one of the most important Democratic meetings during the recent municipal fight, thus publicly identifying themselves with that side. Whitney has not publicly

figured in politics before in years. Rumor says that Whitney has been hit in the "street" of late. I fancy that that may be true, as many besides him have been hit and hit badly. Rumor also says that the Rockefellers have been after Whitney. That may be so, but I do not think it. Whitney has been doing their work and is one of the directors in the Consolidated Gas company.

Immediately after the election decision the Herald and the World announced that indications pointed to Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for president. But Gorman seems to have the best chance at present, and Hearst comes next—at least in the estimation of Hearst's friends.

Tammany is in the hollow of a few men's hands and those few men would, I think, prefer Cleveland. Next, perhaps, Gorman. Parker is too close to Hill to suit the Tammany people. They want Hill down and out, like McLaughlin. I cannot see any indications that the Tammany "leaders" or those who direct them are at all excited over Hearst.

Meanwhile the black cloud of hard times is rising. There are many evidences of it here, in the "street," in the wholesale districts, in the retail districts where luxuries are sold, and particularly in the theatrical world. I am informed that a large proportion of the road companies are coming back, and that theatrical business as a whole has not been so bad for 20 years.

If this pall comes up in strength soon enough, the Democratic party will get a great lift; but if it lingers in the coming, then the Republicans will be able to use Mark Hanna's argument: "Behold signs of public fear of Democratic success at the polls!" and the Republicans will sweep in again. Then it will be "up to them" to "make good."  
ASTERISK.

Washington, D. C., Nov. 23.—That the Republicans are prepared to prove to the trusts their complete subservency to those monopolistic organizations, is shown in the action of Congressman Watson, of Indiana, a new member of the ways and means committee, who declared just before the vote on the Cuban reciprocity bill, that the Democrats were responsible for the four days' debate, and this in the face of the offer made prior to the commencement of the debate on Monday, by Congressman Williams, of Mississippi, the minority leader, that if the Republicans would permit the Democrats to offer one amendment—that removing the differential on sugar—and allow twenty minutes for debate, they would be willing to vote on the bill then. Watson's unblushing effrontery in charging the Democrats

with delaying the vote on the bill, will doubtless be emulated by the monopolistic press for the purpose of befogging the public mind and distracting attention from the fact that the Cuban bill gives the sugar trust practically the whole amount of the 20 per cent. reduction on refined sugar.

However some may differ with the political wisdom of Mr. Williams in calling a caucus for the purpose of lining up the minority in favor of the bill, all real Democrats must applaud his forceful attack on the protectionist superstition. He punctured many of the pet theories of the protectionists, insisting that while industries could thus be hot-housed into life, it was a wasteful process and simply resulted in withdrawing labor and capital from forms of production that are naturally profitable to induce them to engage in those naturally unprofitable, and that the cost of such waste is borne by the consumer.

At the other end of Pennsylvania avenue the American exponent of strenuousness has been giving points to the effete monarchs of Europe in the great game of gobbling small and weak states. For three long years the Boers pleaded in vain for recognition of their republic. It takes barely three minutes for him to recognize a made-to-order republic. Such little matters as the pledged faith of the nation are swept aside when an opportunity is afforded to serve the transcontinental railroads and the Wall street syndicate controlling a large block of Panama stock. Although the Spooner amendment directed him to adopt the Nicaragua route in case of failure to come to terms with Colombia, yet, responding to the demands of the Pacific roads for a route, which, if ever completed, will offer the least possibility of opposition to their monopoly, he hardly awaits the receipt of what was without doubt an anxiously awaited cablegram announcing the establishment of a one-hour old de facto government, to instantly recognize it.

We may expect the same kind of press campaign in the interest of the poor widow and orphan stockholders of Panama stock, that the sugar trust has carried on for the benefit of the "suffering sugar planter of Cuba—" 25 per cent. to 35 per cent. of whom is this same colossal infant, the Sugar Trust.

It is gratifying to know that Chamberlain's attempt to ensnare the British people with the protection fetich is to be combated, in the only way it can be successfully opposed, by an active and influential element of the Liberal party. There is now visiting this country the President of the New Reform Club, of London, Dr. Henry S. Lunn. This organization has largely taken the place of the Reform Club,



which up to recent years occupied the same relation to the Liberal party that the Carlton Club occupies to the Tory party, those two clubs being recognized as the official home of all who are prominent in their respective parties throughout Great Britain.

No club or organization in this country has ever had the relation to party government here, that those two clubs have had there for a long period of years. The Reform Club, New York City, for several years prior to the Bryan campaign of 1896, carried on an extensive propaganda for tariff reform in some of the debatable States; but it was never recognized, officially or unofficially, as the mouthpiece, organ or agent of the Democratic party. The American Tariff League has collected immense funds from trusts and protected interests for years, but it has never been the oracle of the Republican party; and in spite of its lurid appeals issued daily for weeks to Republicans to oppose what it is pleased to term the "free trade" reciprocity measure, but six Republican members, all from beet-sugar States, opposed the Cuban bill.

But whenever the Carlton or the Reform Club (in the past) at any meeting put forth a declaration of policy, that declaration was recognized all over the United Kingdom as a party pronouncement.

The New Reform Club having largely superseded the old Reform Club, it is interesting to know that its president is a real free-trader, that he is an outright tariff abolitionist, that he stands for free production as well as free commerce. At a meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York a few days ago he made his position clear on this subject. But it is more interesting to know that in the citadel of "protection," Philadelphia, before an audience composed almost entirely of the chief beneficiaries of that robbing system, and at which were also present the street-railway monarchs of the U. S., he asserted that the cause of the wonderful prosperity and growth of this country was not protection, but its almost boundless natural resources and its system of untrammelled commerce over a greater area than free trade has existed in in any other place in the world.

In addition to setting before the American people the fact that the Chamberlain policy is being combatted in England by real free traders, Dr. Lunn, who is accompanied by Lord Lyveden, comes to this country to arrange for a parliamentary mission to attend the World's Fair at St. Louis. After calling upon President Roosevelt and seeing influential leaders of the Republican party, he will return to Brooklyn to speak in Plymouth Church Thanksgiving eve, and go thence to Chicago and other Western cities. I recommend our friends to secure a

public address from him in every city he visits.

ROBERT BAKER.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Nov. 26.

Nothing was accomplished in the way of settling the Chicago street car strike, by the Mayor's committee (pp. 519-20) which was appointed last week. To the efforts of this committee, as to those of the State board of arbitration, the street car company opposed a stubborn negative. But on the 20th the lawyers for both sides came together, and at once a settlement seemed assured. It was even announced on the 23d that one had been made. But that announcement was premature. The strike was still on late on the 24th and the lines of the company were rendering only a limited and perfunctory service. Early in the morning of the 25th, however, terms of settlement were agreed upon, subject to approval by the strikers, who were to take a referendum vote thereon during the day.

A mutiny on the 23d in two gangs of "strike breakers" employed at \$3 a day, with board, lodging and tobacco in addition, crippled the company to some extent, and there were some instances of violence; but the principal difficulty in the way of full operation of the lines appeared to be the inability of the company to procure an adequate supply of competent men.

On the 22d an immense mass meeting in sympathy with the strike was held at Tattersalls. Speeches were made by Darrow, Prentiss, Cruice and other leaders. The audience is estimated by the local press at 15,000 and the parade preceding it at 5,000. Resolutions were adopted calling upon the city council "to at once cease all negotiations looking to the further granting of franchises" to the Chicago City Railway company, and "to institute proceedings at once to take over the lines operated by this company, and place them immediately under municipal ownership and operation." These resolutions were presented to the city council

along with others of like tenor from labor organizations at its meeting on the 23d.

At the same meeting of the city council a resolution was offered declaring that there should be no traction franchise legislation until after the vote on the Mueller bill next Spring. The defeat of this resolution by 53 to 15 has excited suspicions among the advocates of municipal ownership of a design to rush a franchise through the council at some favorable opportunity before the April election. An ordinance extending the franchises of the Chicago City Railway company to February 29, 1904, offered on the 23d by Chairman Bennett, of the traction committee, has not weakened this suspicion. It is regarded as designed to allay public feeling against franchises and thus to afford a better opportunity for traction legislation.

Application by the receivers was made on the 20th to the Federal Court, under the 99-year act, for an order of that court compelling the city to grant the permits for reconstruction which the commissioner of public works had refused (p. 520); and on the 21st Judge Grosscup set December 3 for a hearing on the legal questions involved, at the same time intimating his desire that the city council meanwhile act favorably. He also extended until January 16th the treaty between his court and the city (p. 248) which expires November 30.

The city council has not fallen in with Judge Grosscup's suggestion. On the 21st, the very day it was made, the traction committee decided to recommend to the council that the permits be refused; and at the council meeting on the 23d they were refused in effect by the placing of the application of Judge Grosscup's receivers "on file."

The first five articles of the treaty between the United States and Panama, an outline of which was given last week (p. 521), are now published in full. Following is a fair condensation:

Article I. The United States guarantees and agrees to maintain the independence of the Republic of Panama.

Article II. The Republic of Panama cedes to the United States five miles on each side of the canal and three marine leagues at each terminal and also any other lands necessary to the construction or maintenance of the canal and its auxiliaries.

Article III. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States the right to exercise the same power and authority over such lands "as if it were sovereign," and to the exclusion of such power by Panama.

Article IV. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States the use of all the rivers, streams, and waters for navigation or so far as is necessary to the construction of the canal and its auxiliaries, including purposes of sanitation.

Article V. The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity a monopoly of any system of communication across its territory by canal or by railroad.

It was decided at a cabinet meeting on the 20th that the treaty must be ratified by Panama before the President sends it to the United States Senate.

Following his protest to the United States Senate (p. 521) the president of the Republic of Colombia has addressed an appeal to the people of the United States relative to the Panama secession. It is as follows:

The Colombian nation has just been the victim of unexpected aggression, and is in danger of losing the best part of its territory. A military movement, not popular sentiment, was the origin of the proclamation of the independence of Panama. The American government, which always had been held by Colombia to be its best friend and ally, prevented with marines loyal militia from subjugating the traitors and checking the origin of the insubordination. The solemn treaty between Colombia and the United States, alluded to until the last moment by the American government, binds the United States not only to respect the sovereignty and ownership of the Panama Isthmus by Colombia, but to help the latter maintain them. The proceedings of the United States marines on the Isthmus and of the American minister here are in open violation of that treaty. The Isthmus of Panama, the most coveted part of the globe, and the most precious part of our fatherland, always has been respected by the nations as a sacred trust confided by Colombia to the honor and power of the American people. The traditions of that great nation, the United States, as a mighty defender of rights and bearer of the standard of civilization before the world, always have been opposed to the secession of territories and the dismem-

bering of nations. Non-recognition of the Confederate States during the civil war confirms emphatically the application of this doctrine decisively at critical moments. The American people will not permit, I am sure, a violation of public treaties, thus denying their glorious traditions, in order to obtain by force what Colombia is ready to concede through pacific and equitable laws. Colombia heartily wishes to strengthen the ties of friendship and commerce with the United States and give vigorous impulse to the common interests and to the greater power and glory of her oldest sister republic. But the proceedings of the Washington government interfere, unhappily, with good feeling in both countries, being a barrier in the way of a higher enterprise advantageous not only to them but to humanity in general. The Colombian people, tranquil in the strength of right, and being sure of the sentiments of justice and equity of the American people, appeal to the national conscience of the United States, which conscience constitutes a force superior by far to that of an army and navy, in order to save the honor and integrity of our territory. The stars and stripes, always dear to and respected by the republicans of both Americas, never shall be outraged or blemished in Colombia. No matter what the procedure of the government at Washington may be, the persons and the property of citizens of the United States here remain confided to the traditional honor of the government and people of Colombia.

Determined to leave nothing undone in this emergency, Colombia has sent Gen. Reyes as a peace commissioner to Panama and thence to the United States. He arrived at Colon on the 19th, and immediately asked for a conference with the Panama government, but was refused it. In a newspaper interview at Colon on the 20th Gen. Reyes said:

I would rather die for the honor of my country than see her lose the Isthmus without a blow. We can reach Panama overland. I can raise 100,000 men, build roads, and, if it were not for the United States, subdue the country in a fortnight. However, we will first do all we can to effect a diplomatic settlement at Washington.

On the same day Gen. Reyes said to Admiral Coghlan, of the United States navy:

If my efforts at Washington, whither I am going from here, fail to bring about some arrangement concerning the present situation on the Isthmus satisfactory to Colombia, the United States will have to fight the entire Colombian people, and it will be a second Boer war.

This was said in the course of a conference at which Admiral Coghlan had informed Gen. Reyes that Colombian troops would not be allowed to land anywhere in Panama. Gen. Reyes reported this notification as follows:

This morning Admiral Coghlan informed me officially that the United States would prevent the landing of Colombian troops on any part of the Isthmus. I promised Admiral Coghlan that Colombia would not take such action until I reached Washington.

To make this action clear, Gen. Reyes presented a formal letter on the 21st to Admiral Coghlan demanding permission to land Colombian troops on Panama territory outside the zone of the Panama railroad. The request was refused. It is understood that Gen. Reyes is now on his way to the United States.

American interests on the other side of the world, in the Philippines, are not as undisturbed as was indicated by the dispatches of some months ago. For several days intimations of Moro uprisings have been vaguely reported (p. 522), and these reports are now made more definite by the following news dispatch of the 23d from Manila:

Maj. Gen. Leonard Wood and two battalions of the Twenty-eighth infantry and one of the Twenty-third infantry fought a five-days' battle with 2,000 Moros, near Siet lake, on the Island of Jolo, from November 12 until November 17. Three hundred Moros are known to have been killed, while many others were carried, dead or wounded, from the field. No Americans were killed. Maj. H. L. Scott, of the Fourteenth cavalry, and five infantrymen were wounded. On November 18 Gen. Wood started on an expedition against a body of 2,000 Moros, who are in the mountains back of Tablibi. No news has as yet been received as to the result of this movement.

From a late report it appears that the civil war in Santo Domingo (p. 522) is now really at an end. The investment of the capital city by the revolutionists continued until 10 a. m. of the 24th, when, according to press dispatches of that date, the government surrendered and President Wos y Gil and his ministers took refuge on a German warship in the harbor.

A somewhat suggestive adden-

dum accompanies the above dispatch. It is as follows:

During the negotiations for peace with the insurgents, United States Minister Powell informed the revolutionary chiefs that periodical revolutions ought to cease, because they interrupt commercial relations with other countries and augment the debt of San Domingo, which is without means to pay foreign creditors. The minister said further that these periodical revolutions endanger the peace of his government and of the governments of other nations, and that the present revolution if continued would imperil the sovereignty of San Domingo.

### NEWS NOTES.

—Ex-Gov. Drake, of Iowa, died at Centerville, Ia., on the 20th.

—The first national New Thought convention was in session at Chicago last week.

—On the 19th the Cuban reciprocity bill (p. 503) was passed by the lower House of Congress.

—Samuel Gompers was reelected president of the American Federation of Labor at Boston on the 21st.

—A labor demonstration under the auspices of the Socialist party of Cook county, Ill., is to be made in the Coliseum on December 6, with Eugene V. Debs as chief orator.

—Indictments charging Negro peonage (p. 377) were returned in the United States court at Savannah, Ga., on the 23d against seven men, one of them a representative in the legislature.

—A Greek play, "The Ajax of Sophocles," will be enacted at Hull house, Chicago, December 5, 7, 8, 9 and 11, under the direction of Mabel Hay Barrows, the actors being Greek residents of Chicago.

—An explanation of the single tax in the Icelandic language, by Paul M. Clemens, an architect of Winnipeg, was published recently in the "Heimskringla," a Conservative Icelandic paper of that city. It has since been published in tract form.

—A meeting in memory of the late Henry D. Lloyd (p. 504) will be held in the Auditorium, Chicago, on the 29th at 2:30 p. m., at which the speakers will be Miss Jane Addams, Clarence S. Darrow, John Mitchell, Mayor Jones of Toledo, and Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland.

—A ten per cent. wage reduction went into effect on the 23d (p. 503) in a majority of the cotton mills of New England. In Fall River, 35,000 operatives are affected, in Rhode Island 20,000 and in other places about 10,000. Before the month is ended practically every cotton mill in New England will be working on the wage scale in effect before March, 1901.

### PRESS OPINIONS.

#### THE ISTHMIAN QUESTION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Nov. 21.—The old slavocracy again takes heart of hope. The Ostend manifesto and the doctrine of State's rights have at last come to their own. The hands of the clock have been turned backward to the hour which marked the grand coup of secession. Davis and Toombs and all the noble galaxy of disunion shout down the corridors of time a loud hosanna to the name of Roosevelt. And the great sad figure of Lincoln—is it wholly forgotten?

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (Ind.), Nov. 20 (weekly).—The Republican has felt, and still feels, that the Panama route is the preferable, all things considered, but that feeling is based entirely upon what has appeared to be the judgment of the majority of the best engineers. It cannot be forgotten, however, that expert opinion is divided on the question as a whole, while in some special phases the Nicaragua route is conceded by all to be the superior. With such an alternative, even if its merits and defects do not strike quite so high an average as the rival route, a policy of aggression and force in securing concessions, whose political effects upon all South America may be far-reaching, was inexcusable.

Goldwin Smith, in Toronto Sun, Nov. 8.—President Roosevelt once more shows that in his "strenuous life" there is a dash of the buccaneer, and that the honor of the Republic might be in better hands. That the political position of Panama is rather that of a forcible annex to Colombia than of a part of it, and that the Colombian politicians, who were blocking a highway of the world, would here put the proceeds of their enormous extortion into their own pockets, are facts which could little excuse, much less could justify, conspiracy and breach of international law. The accession of France, due to her interest in the sale of the Panama canal, can lend no moral support to the transaction. But violence and rapine are in the air, and those who applauded the raid on the South American Republics are hardly in a position to condemn the raid on Panama. The most redeeming fact of the affair, and a bright spot in a political horizon otherwise dark, is the staunch adherence of a powerful section of the American press to international morality against the cry of "our country right or wrong."

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Nov. 20.—The highwaymen of the administration, joining hands with the highwaymen of France and Panama, have finished their crime and with red hands turn to the Senate of the United States and ask that body to approve their nefarious work. It will be approved, after a time, after conscientious men have had opportunity to express "abstract shibboleths" that the lusty, strenuous and war-hunting President has cast into the junk heap. The transcontinental railroads will be protected against competition that they probably paid to escape; the bribe hunters of the Senate will get what they were after; the United States will get "rights" to the Panama canal, "rights" to islands near Panama, and we shall be free to go on in our glorious role of protecting the South American from the robbing hand of the foreigner, the while holding him up that we may go through his pockets. It is a glorious work for us to be engaged in. We have outstripped the boldest of fiction pirates, the most vallant of real buccaneers. We have given a new interpretation to the Monroe doctrine. Now it is: This is our prey, not yours; our right to plunder and rob, not yours; our right to betray, divide and wreck, not yours.

#### DEMOCRATIC POLITICS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Nov. 17.—Up to the present time we have failed

to see that the defeat of Johnson in Ohio was compared with that of the reactionaries in Pennsylvania. Here the Democrats lose practically half their voting strength. Not a breath was allowed in the platform which by any possibility could be construed as remotely committing the party to anything in the world savoring of "Bryanism," yet this did not save the ticket from falling over 200,000 short of the vote accorded Mr. Bryan. In any fair estimate of results the Ohio fight of Tom Johnson was magnificently encouraging. It was merely the first battle in a long war and the enemy evidently exhausted its resources in achieving its victory.

#### REPUBLICAN POLITICS.

Columbus (O.) Daily Press (Dem.), Nov. 18.—Reducing wages will help fill the coffers of the national Republican committee next year for a campaign of "sound business principles," regardless of the effect on the "full dinner pail."

### IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 37 of that publication.

Washington, Nov. 16-21, 1903.

#### Senate.

No business of general interest was done during the week, and on the 20th adjournment was taken to the 23d.

#### House.

On the 16th the following resolution (p. 115) relative to the treaty with Cuba was adopted:

"Resolved, That immediately on the adoption of this rule, and immediately after the reading of the Journal on each day thereafter until the bill hereinafter mentioned shall have been disposed of, the House shall resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for consideration of the bill H. R. 1921, a bill to carry into effect a convention between the United States and the Republic of Cuba, signed on the 11th day of December, 1902; that not later than four o'clock on November 19 general debate shall be closed in Committee of the Whole, and whenever general debate is closed the committee shall rise and report the bill to the House; and immediately the House shall vote without debate or intervening motion on the engrossment and third reading and on the passage of the bill."

The House thereupon went into committee of the whole under the above rule upon the bill (p. 121) in question. The same subject was continued on the 17th, 18th and 19th, when, in accordance with the rule, the committee of the whole reported back the bill (p. 218) and it was passed (p. 220) by the House. On the 20th, without transacting any business of general interest, adjournment was taken to the 24th.

"That summer boarder caught some fish this morning," said Mrs. Cornrossel. "Says he threw his line into a school of 'em." "Any fish that was foolish enough to let him catch 'em didn't belong to any school," rejoined her husband. "That must have been an asylum."—Washington Star.

The rent of land, therefore, considered as the price paid for the land, is naturally a monopoly price. It is not at all proportionate to what the landlord may have laid out upon the improvement of the land, or to what he can afford to take; but to what the farmer can afford to give.—Adam Smith.

## MISCELLANY

## "I NEVER KNEWED."

Old Billy B. was a pious man,  
And Heaven was his goal;  
For, being a very saving man,  
Of course, he'd save his soul.  
But even in this, he used to say:  
"One can't too careful be!"  
And he sang with a fervor unassumed,  
"I'm glad salvation's free."

But the "means of grace" he had to own  
Required good, hard-earned gold,  
And he took ten pews, as well became,  
The richest of the fold.  
"He's a noble man!" the preacher cried,  
"Our Christian Brother B."  
And Billy smiled as he sublet nine,  
And got his own pew free.

In class meeting next, our Billy told  
How Heaven had graciously been,  
Yea, even back in the dark days when  
He was a man of sin.

"I was buildin' a barn on my river farm—  
All I then had," he said,  
"I'd run out o' boards, and was feedin'  
hands  
On nothin' but corn bread.

"I'll tell ye, bretherin, that I felt blue,  
Short o' timber and cash,  
And thought I'd died when the banks then  
bust,  
And flooded all my mash.  
But the Lord was merciful to me,  
And sent right through the rift,  
The tide had made in the river banks,  
A lumber raft adrift.

"Plenty o' boards was there for the barn,  
And on top was a cheese.  
And a bar'l o' pork as sound and sweet  
As anyone ever sees.  
Then I had bread and meat for the men,  
And they worked with a will,  
While I thanked God, who'd been good to  
me,  
And I'm doin' of it stiff."

A shrill-voiced sister cried: "Bless the  
Lord,"

The whole class cried: "Amen."  
But a keen-eyed man looked at Billy B.  
In thoughtful way, and then  
Asked: "Brother B., did you ever hear  
Who lost that raft and load?"  
And Billy wiped his eyes and said:  
"Bretherin, I never knowed."

—William T. Croasdale.

## HE WAS STOLEN, TOO.

"Jerome S. McWade," said Booker T. Washington, "seemed to me, when I was a boy, to be the smartest colored man in the world.

"Jerome was a slave. He lived in Virginia, at Hale's Ford. One day he appeared in a red velvet waistcoat, and straightway he was seized and taken to the office, for this waistcoat was the master's property. The master had worn it on his wedding day.

"Well, Jerome managed to prove that he had not stolen the waistcoat. Calhoun Hamilton stole it, and Jerome had bought it from Calhoun for a small sum.

"Now, Jerome," the master said. "I admit you're not a thief, but you're a receiver of stolen goods, and that's just as bad."

"No, no, sir," said Jerome. "No, no. That is not just as bad, by no means." "Why isn't it just as bad?" said the master.

"Because you wouldn't receive stolen goods yourself, sir, if it was bad."

"How do you mean? Me, a receiver of stolen goods? Explain yourself," the master commanded.

"Well, sir," said Jerome, "you bought and paid for me, the same as I bought and paid for that red velvet waistcoat. Well, wasn't I stolen, same as the waistcoat was? Wasn't I stolen out of Africa?"—San Francisco Star.

## CHILD LABOR CAUSES TRAMPS.

Miss Jane Addams, of Hull house, Chicago, writing in *Charities*, a New York weekly review of general philanthropy, points out that child labor has a decidedly debilitating effect upon the mental and physical systems, and so drives men to tramp life. "It is surprising," writes Miss Addams, "to find how many begin to tramp because they are tired to death, just as a business man goes to the woods because he is worn out with the stress of business life. This inordinate desire to get away from work seems to be connected with the fact that the men have started to work very early, before they had the physique to stand up to it, or the mental vigor with which to overcome its difficulties, or the moral stamina which makes a man stick to his work whether he likes it or not." We cannot demand any of these things from a growing boy. They are all traits of the adult. Miss Addams goes on to illustrate by means of a man in the municipal lodging house of Chicago, who had begun to work in a textile mill quite below the present legal age, in New England, and who had worked hard for 16 years in a place that required no mental exercise, but made him simply a cog in an industrial wheel. "At last," said this man, "I was sick in bed for two or three days with a fever, and when I crawled out I made up my mind that I would rather go to hell than go back to that mill." This man does not steal, Miss Addams says, but for four years now he has been tramping. The mere suggestion of a factory throws him into a panic. The physician has made a diagnosis of general debility. The man, in his opinion, is not fit for steady work, because prematurely spent. All this makes it very clear that the young, if too early submitted

to the grind of factory life, must swell our pauper list.—*Woman's Journal*.

## A TIMELY TEXT.

## AHAB AND THE VINEYARD.

It was no wonder that the king of Samaria was irritated by the conduct of Naboth, owner of that vineyard hard by the palace in Jezreel. It was of the utmost importance to the interests of civilization that control of it should pass to Ahab. Naboth had held it for many years. What had he done to improve it, to open it to the world, to make it an instrument for the advancement of mankind? No one was so naturally and deeply interested in that vineyard as was the king of Samaria. It was his "conviction that the time had come to carry out the gigantic project" that he had long cherished regarding it—a project "too great for individual or corporate enterprise. It could only be initiated and carried to a conclusion by a government of great power and vast resources."

Ahab had done all that a generous king could do. He had proposed to the Jezreelite a treaty with "provisions of extraordinary liberality." It was rejected unanimously and without consideration. "Ahab snaked unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near to my house; and I will give thee . . . the worth of it in money. And Naboth said to Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee. And Ahab came into his house heavy and displeased, because of the word which Naboth the Jezreelite had spoken to him; for he had said, I will not give thee the inheritance of my fathers."

Fortunately, the cause of progress was not so easily to be defeated. There were shrewd counselors about Ahab. In what followed the king himself took no hand—not he. His attitude was correct. But somehow an understanding was come to with the elders and the nobles of Jezreel, and they rose up against Naboth—who, it appears, had systematically neglected their interests, and was a very unworthy person, anyhow—and carried him forth out of the city and stoned him with stones that he died.

Then they sent word to the palace that Naboth was stoned and dead, and that the desired territory was in the hands of men who realized how beneficent were the intentions of the king. Ahab, be it repeated, had maintained a studiously correct attitude up to this point; technically he was justified, and on a large view he was acting in ac-

cordance with the interests of humanity, when he recognized the de facto state of affairs and prepared to respond to the invitation: "Arise, take possession of the vineyard of Naboth, the Jezreelite, which he refused to give thee for money."

It is true that Elijah, a prophet, had some hard things to say about the transaction, in the name of his God. The impractical man was really harsh on the subject; his language was most violent and objectionable; no newspaper to-day could print it. And somehow the name of Ahab has not come down the centuries as a synonym of honor. But he got his vineyard.—Philadelphia Public Ledger.

#### BEEF-EATER VERSUS VEGETARIAN.

A robust man, with red neck, fat ears, a chest like that of a pouter pigeon and impressive legs walked into the vegetarian restaurant in Walnut street yesterday afternoon. He hung up his umbrella where it would drip on the shoulders of the meek-appearing man at the next table, who was smacking his lips over a nuttoline omelet, put his hat on a chair and growled to the waitress:

"Gimme a double porterhouse, have it rare, blood following the knife, and fried potatoes, and a pot of black coffee. Hurry it up."

The waitress smiled sweetly and said:

"Sorry, sir, we don't serve meats of any kind, or fried potatoes or coffee, either. Shall I bring you a protose steak, sir?"

"A what?" bellowed the man with the red neck.

"A protose steak; it's made of nuts, and I'm sure you'll like it," said the waitress. "Don't you know that you oughtn't to eat meat?"

"Why not?" snorted the man.

"Why?" replied the waitress, severely. "You don't mean to say that you never heard that since lifeless flesh represents all the phases of cell change suddenly arrested, it is impossible not to appropriate together with the food values of flesh many of the uneliminated poisons and secretions and waste products?"

"Huh?" said the man, weakly.

"Look here," went on the waitress, "flesh foods tend to blunt the finer sensibilities of man and develop all his coarser animalism."

"Say, young woman," the man began. The waitress coldly and firmly shut him up.

"Didn't anyone ever tell you," she asked, "that science and experience

demonstrate that the plant kingdom furnishes all of the food needs of the body? Don't you ever forget that. Now let me bring you a protose steak, with some vegetarian hash, nut cutlets and a cup of caramel cereal."

There was no aggressiveness or inclination to argue left in the man with the fat ears.

"All right," said he, faintly. "Bring 'em on. Can't I have some fried potatoes, though? Please let me have some fried potatoes."

"No, you cannot have fried potatoes, but I'll serve you some nice malted nuts with raisins," said the waitress. And she did.

As the baffled beef-eater fell upon the vegetarian menu the waitress stood in a corner regarding him triumphantly.

"Now," said she, as she came to remove the dishes, "I am sure that you'd like a little nuttoline with jelly for dessert. Wouldn't you?" Her victim nodded.

"Come again," said the waitress, as she handed the man his umbrella. "If you'd dine here regularly your neck wouldn't be half so fat, and your complexion would be better. Remember, now, since the source of all food energy is derived from the sunlight and first stored up in the vegetable or plant life, it is wise to appropriate that energy first hand, instead of gaining only the unexpended energy in flesh food. Good day, sir."

In the falling rain outside of the restaurant the man stood for five minutes gazing in stunned fashion inside.

"Well, I'll be darned," he muttered to himself as he waddled off. "A protose steak! And I ate it!"—Philadelphia North American.

#### WHERE THE LOW FARE BENEFITS GO TO.

"Say, Mr. Smith, I am glad to meet you, and you may remember that a short time ago I was out to your place to rent a room which you said was \$5 a month. I did not fully decide then, but have now made up my mind to take it."

"Yes, I think I do remember, but the rent is now \$6."

"Why, how can you ask such a raise in so short a time?"

"Well, you know the three-cent fare line is coming out our way, and the car fare on the five-cent lines at two rides per day would cost you three dollars per month, but on the three-cent line it will cost you only \$1.80, so that by paying one dollar more rent you still save 20 cents per month."

"Yes, your figuring may be all right so far, but I was figuring on saving that \$1.20 myself, in fact, that is the only reason that I concluded to take your room at \$5. I do not consider it fair on your part that you take advantage of the situation in this way."

"Well, my friend, you are quite right, and it may seem unfair to you, but when I explain the whole situation to you, you will not blame me so much, and will then understand that I am in the same boat with you. In the first place, you must know that I am only the owner of the building and not of the lot, and through the force of the circumstances, that there are a good many like you who desire to come out on the low fare line to build houses, and as you cannot build a house without land, there is quite a demand for building lots on the low fare line and thus there has been offered a higher price, or rent, for land. Now you will see clearly that it is not I nor my landlord, who raised the rent, but it is you, yourself, and those like you who thought of saving four cents a day. And again, it would not make any difference even if I myself owned the land; I would, since I could, under the existing circumstances, charge as much rent as the people who desire to use my land would pay. You know the old saying: 'Whoever sits in a cherry tree eats cherries.'"

"Then, according to your explanation, there would be hardly any saving."

"No, not in the sense in which the people in general understand it. You must understand that the lower the fare to a certain locality, the greater the desire to locate there, and this desire in turn raises the rent or price of land in proportion as it is affected by the lower price of transportation. If no fare were charged, as is the case in the elevators of high buildings, then the price or rent of the land would be just about as much higher as the amount saved by such free transportation. If all the land benefited and affected by such free transportation should happen to belong to the same company to which the railroad belongs, then it would be as foolish for such a company to appoint and hire a conductor and furnish him with a register as it would be for owners of skyscrapers for their elevators; they compensate themselves for the expense of running an elevator by the higher rents which they collect from the occupants; or if the rooms are for their own personal use, then they pay this rent themselves."

This dialogue teaches that the only way the people can get a real benefit out of lower car fare is for them, as

a community, to own and operate such road themselves, and then collect in the form and nature of taxes the higher price or rent of the land in proportion as it was benefited by the lower or free transportation; and abolish all and every tax, direct or indirect, on that which is produced and consumed by man. And if all taxes on the last named things are abolished, then it follows as a natural consequence that they can be produced and consumed for as much less as the taxes amount to.—Cleveland Recorder.

#### COOKING AS TAUGHT IN THE CHICAGO PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Instruction in cooking is correlated with the other branches of study—geography, history, physiology, literature and drawing. The table must be set with an eye to use, beauty and symmetry, and the entire service, however plain and simple, must conduce to that. This done, regard is paid to the conversation of the pupils at table. One who has watched the progress of cooking in the public schools from its inception was present as they sat at their well-arranged meal not long ago. Somewhat surprised at the social, but very dignified, bearing of the pupils, he chanted to overhear some of the conversation.

"Are you fond of Browning?" inquired a miss of 12 of her next neighbor.

"Very," was the enthusiastic reply. "He is my favorite poet."

"But do you not find him hard to understand?"

"He requires a little close attention at first, but when you come to know him I'm sure you will find him easy," was the reply.

The astounded visitor then thought he would like to take part in this intellectual conversation.

"Do you really read and enjoy Browning's poems?" he asked.

"Some of them," was the reply. "I like the one, 'Ferishtah's Fancies,' where he tells you how to cook an ortolan," and she began quoting:

Pray, reader, have you eaten ortolans  
Ever in Italy?

Recall how cooks there cook them; for my plans

To yre with spit ally.

She repeated the entire poem to her surprised listener.

"I do not like the poem," said her less dignified companion. "Browning ends it with the eating of the birds. I think of the poor birds and do not enjoy it. I like 'Mother Goose' and the four-and-twenty blackbirds baked in a pie, because when the pie was opened the birds began to sing, and then everybody was happy. Whenever I think of Browning

I always see him biting into an ortolan."

"Do you never talk of anything but poetry?" inquired the visitor.

"Oh, yes," replied Miss Dignity, "but to-day we are supposing that we are guests invited to a fine dinner, and our teacher tells us that when we are invited out to dine we ought to carry something more than a good appetite. We should do our part at entertaining. That is why I began to talk of Browning."

"Do you talk Browning at home morning, noon and night?"

"Oh, no; that would be a chestnut," said Miss Dignity, forgetting the part she was playing, "but we try to have something interesting to say and to speak in a cheerful tone, because that helps digestion, you know."

After the meal came the dishwashing. The beautiful order in which this work was done and the cleanly surroundings took away the thought of disagreeable drudgery.

"Don't you hate that part of the work?" inquired the visitor of a sweet, rosy-cheeked girl.

"Not at all," was the reply. "Blessed be drudgery if it leads to something good. While I'm washing this pan I think of what Emerson says:

"Give to barrows, trays and pans  
Grace and glimmer of romance.

"We are trying to keep the kitchen clean at home just as it is here. Then everybody has better thoughts, and it's nicer, too. You should have seen how our kitchen used to look, and we didn't care a bit," laughed the girl. "Now we never clear up. We keep it clean all the time. It's ever so much nicer."—Chicago Chronicle.

#### AN EX-SLAVE OWNER SPEAKS. VIEWS OF A LEADING BUSINESS MAN ON THE CRISIS.

A letter written from Louisiana to the Boston Evening Transcript, and published in the Transcript of October 30.

"What fools we mortals be" to permit one-eighth of our native population to be terrorized into comparative exclusion from the industrial power and progress of the nation by the brutal practices of a portion of the people. Are American citizens ready to say that the Negroes living among them as citizens are incapable of enlightenment and untrustworthy because of the fiendish outrages of a few from among all those millions? Is it true that "He hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth?"

To judge from the magazines and newspaper articles of to-day it would seem that the African race should be driven from the land; and that the great

Creator committed an egregious blunder when He created Ham and his descendants; but per contra, the writer invites the attention of your readers to a few facts from Southern history and from his experiences.

In 1815-16 the Legislature of Louisiana, in its report upon the battle of New Orleans, commended "the battalion of free Negroes and its officers who participated therein very highly for their bravery, their loyalty, their patriotism and their intelligent action and assistance in repelling the British army."

Again, several years afterwards, the Legislature of Louisiana passed an act authorizing the free Negroes of Natchitoches parish to organize themselves "into a company of dragoons, and authorized their employment as local police." Negroes in a slave State organized as conservators of law and order! Would such an organization have been authorized by a solemn act of the legislature, think you, if these free Negroes had been vicious and shiftless and a menace to that society?

During the slaveholders' rebellion Gen. R. E. Lee urged "the Confederate Congress to provide for the enrollment of Negro slaves in the Confederate army and suggested that as a reward of their service, they be given their freedom." Did he not have faith in the sterling quality of their manhood?

The Confederate Congress, composed of slaveholders, thoroughly understanding every phase of the Negro character enacted a law in accordance with Gen. Lee's suggestion, providing "for enrollment and service of Negroes as Confederate soldiers." Is it possible they could have believed them to be unreliable and dangerous to Southern society at that time?

Of course your readers know that over 200,000 Negroes were enlisted in the Federal army during the Civil War and were faithful to the flag.

This testimony establishes the reliability of both the free Negro and the slave in army life, as well as his loyalty to the country in which he lives. Now, what of the slaves of toil who were confined and restricted to the plantations?

The American Negro and his children have no heredity; they are the offspring of over 240 years of servitude under laws which made it a crime for anyone to teach them to read and think or to aspire to an improvement in their condition. They existed simply as animals. Like the horse and the ox, they were compelled by the lash and the rod to obey. A slave woman upon a plantation occupied substantially the same relation to the master as his cow. She could not protect her own virtue. The



male could not protect the female with whom he cohabited, or their daughter, from the brutalities of the master, his sons or overseer. To raise a hand to do so was death. The statute prescribed the death penalty for a blow upon master or any member of his family, or even inflicted upon the overseer. This was their school of virtue. Under such conditions the morality of the slave was not only of the lowest type, but it was also a mockery to Christianity. The master's permission to cohabit, and "took up" affiliations were the rule, and "change as you please" the order. Such practice is still quite frequent. In the last month the household of the writer has experienced this mutability: The cook abandoned her little daughter to the father of her first partner, and "took up" with a Texas Negro who had just left his Texas consort and his "pickaninies." Christianity taught them no better. In the days of their childhood Christianity was more deeply interested in teaching the discipline of slavery and obedience to the master than in the salvation of black souls. Even to-day adultery, except with a female of 16 and under, is not an offense against law in this State; and candor impels the declaration that the Negro does not appear to be any more lascivious than the white man.

There are "white fiends" in Louisiana as well as "black fiends;" perhaps there are more of the "white fiends," and yet the population is about equal in color. Recently a "white fiend" broke into the female dormitory of the poorhouse and a white lady was his victim. He was promptly arrested, but was not lynched. Oh no, he was white; he was quietly incarcerated; he was indicted. This offense in this State is punishable with death. He was tried, and found "guilty without capital punishment." He is only a "white fiend," therefore only goes to the penitentiary for life. In the last few days five "white fiends" have been arrested for criminal assault in St. Landy parish and each has been landed safely in the parish jail at Franklin to await trial; but the State is not in spasms. The white man must be screened from public denunciation and given a fair trial, but the poor Negro must be lynched or burned without examination, as a race deterrent, amid the plaudits of the States.

The nation placed the Negro in his present condition by silently looking on while the power to protect himself and his household was taken away from him by new constitutions. To-day he is its ward—it stands in the relation of trustee to the race and should take

prompt measures to secure to it the full advantages of civilization. It should exercise the highest degree of good faith toward it.

Has the Negro race any capacity to acquire civilization? Is there any margin of expansion in it? Is there any foundation upon which to build? For a moment consider the past history of the South. During the Civil War the Negro slaves raised the cotton that furnished the basis of credit to the Confederate States, and the corn and provisions which fed the Southern armies, and maintained the people at home. This testifies to their industry. What more! Full of faith in the fidelity of their slaves the masters and all others capable of bearing arms went to the front and left their homes, their wives, their daughters, their little children, their chattels and their plantations to the care and protection of their human chattels—as society is now striving to persuade itself—to the care of the "black fiends" in human shape during that long four years of absence in the army. Who is there in all this Southland that will rise up to-day and testify that while acting as such guardians those slaves ever presumed upon their wards or ever betrayed the high trust, in any respect, which had been reposed in them? What higher testimony to their fidelity, their self-control and their worth can be adduced?

If reconstruction as suggested by Mr. Lincoln, or by President Johnson, or even as first offered by Congress, had been accepted by the Southern States all would have gone smoothly and the Negro race would not have been enfranchised, but with the exception of Tennessee all of the States refused it. Therefore Congress was compelled to reconstruct those States with such people as would obey its requirements; and the "carpet-bag" governments composed of loyal white and black citizens were inaugurated. The constitutions framed by those people and the laws enacted thereunder in the respective States will bear the closest inspection of every friend of good government. The provisions to uplift society by the education of the poor white and the emancipated slaves were most excellent, and would in a few years have placed the States upon the plane of intelligent citizenship. An examination of the statute books of the respective reconstructed States will show that, except the statutes relating to education and schools, very few of them have ever been repealed, although about 27 years have elapsed since the usurpation of the recon-

structed State governments by the old aristocrats. This attests the fact that the second revolution or the usurpation was not on account of ill-considered or vicious legislation; the occasion of it was, first, that the old slave barons, their sons and their retainers wanted the offices under the reconstructed governments; and second, they did not propose to have their emancipated slaves educated. With their inauguration orderly government vanished. Regulators terrorized the country. The rights of the newly made citizens were openly disregarded; the laws for the protection of the ex-slave were flagrantly violated and defied; and they were abandoned by the general government. Then came a holocaust of death to the Negroes—year after year it was repeated until Negro killing palled upon their appetites. Such was the Negro's schooling in reverence for law.

The last revolution began an epoch in the United States. Under its harvest the nation is now humiliated and disgraced. Those poor black people and their children having so terribly suffered throughout all that carnival of crime at length became full of bitterness and possessed of a desire for revenge. If the white man could defy law with impunity, why should they reverence it? If white men were at liberty to disregard the sanctity of their homes and kill the complaining fathers and brothers as "bad niggers," why might they not do likewise? At length the leaders of Southern opinion beheld the trend of their policy of crime and discussed the folly of the course they were pursuing. In November, 1893, the Richmond (Va.) Times said:

It is vain to talk and hope for good government if cheating and fraud in our elections are winked at or tolerated. If we commence in fraud we must end in rottenness. Negro rule is more endurable than a condition which must end in corrupting our people and turning them into a population of thieves, and this must be the result if fraud is openly winked at and condoned by all.

And the Times-Democrat of New Orleans, commenting thereon on the 23d of the same month said:

The Times is right in insisting that the present election law of the "Old Dominion" ought to be repealed and a fair one substituted. It is the same question which came up in Mississippi a few years ago when the new constitution was adopted. As Senator George said, it is impossible to wink at fraud without affecting in time the political morality of the people; and added, the same is true in Louisiana, saying it is impossible for those who tamper with the ballots or indulge in political trickery to pretend that it is in the interest of good government.



A distinguished lawyer sometime afterwards said to the writer that he "had concluded to be a Republican for the reason that under the iniquities practiced to suppress the Republican vote the State had become demoralized and even his own sons reasoned with him 'that if it was not a felony in the eyes of the people to disregard the law and steal ballot boxes or ballots or to run a Negro into the swamp or kill him to prevent his voting or to change an election, it could not be an offense to disregard any other statute,' and all protection to society had been undermined."

The influence of this persistent and wholesale disregard of crime, together with the influence of Southern lynchings upon society, has permeated the whole nation until it has become affected therewith. How this terrible school is taught! The writer one morning about a year ago in a certain city saw a Negro hanging to an electric light pole within a stone's throw of a church, into which worshipers were passing for early mass, and a convent, and within 100 yards of a courthouse. The corpse was left thus hanging, on the most public street, exposed to the gaze of the priests and students and to the public school children and to the general public, until about nine o'clock a. m. before it was cut down. He was said to be a "bad Nigger" and had cut an officer dangerously in the throat; but the mob did not wait for the wounded man to die. He is alive and well at this time, yet no one has been arrested or prosecuted for participating therein.

In this way the population is demoralized. Having during a quarter of a century permitted the sowing to the wind the nation is now reaping the whirlwind.

Under such influences, is it astonishing that some of the Negroes have become vicious, reckless and revengeful? But accord to the race the same measure of protection, the same educational advantages, and the same rights of citizenship accorded to other races, and it will soon be found to compare favorably in civilization with the average of the white race. How will this be done? "Aye, there's the rub."

The Southern States have a policy which is peculiarly their own. By their constitutions they provide for the education of all, according to their ability. They have prescribed therein also an educational qualification as a condition precedent to suffrage. Those provisions delude your readers into believing that the ignorance of the Negro is therefore the result of his own incapacity. Not so. The leaders do not propose to let

any large number of Negroes become educated. They will cry: "The danger is Negro rule, Negro domination," and it sufficeth.

Mississippi again leads the van with a scheme for continued relief. She has determined it in the recent white Democratic primary for State officers, when the policy was discussed in every county. Maj. Vardaman, the present candidate for governor, was its especial champion, and won the nomination on that issue, viz: "That only the proceeds of the levy for schools raised from the property belonging and assessed to the Negroes should be appropriated for the support of Negro schools;" and liberal exemptions and low assessments of the Negro property by the white assessors will do the rest. It is the showman's trick of "Now you see it and now you don't." It is the lack of education which shuts the Negro out from the ballot. In Louisiana the Democratic party were about 32 years in reaching the point where, except through crime, they could exclude the Negro from the ballot, and they do not now propose to undo or reverse their policy. The jury commissioners and jurors who are in harmony with the sentiment are a sure refuge should any courageous Negro or Negro's friend appeal to the law. Therefore the burning question of to-day is: How will the nation reverse this settled policy of the Southern States?

The only Constitutional answer seems to be to enact the necessary statutes to enforce the Fourteenth Amendment. Let each State understand by such an enactment that if it chooses to hold part of its population in ignorance, powerless to protect its personal and individual rights, uneducated and unfranchised, it shall not count that portion to balance the educated, intelligent enfranchised citizens of other States; and by such enactments show them that the nation does not any longer propose by nonaction and timidity to bribe them to keep the blacks in serfdom. Remember, the old bribe of three-fifths lost its force to maintain the peace!

The writer, as a patriotic American citizen, appeals to the Republicans of the North to hesitate no longer in the performance of their duty. Vitalize every Amendment to the national Constitution and thereby save the nation from great tribulation in the future.

"Do you mean to tell me that you would deliberately buy votes?"

"Of course," answered Senator Sorghum. "That's the only way to buy them. The man who buys votes impulsively is almost sure to get the worst of the bargain."—Washington Star.

## BOOKS

### RESIST NOT EVIL.

Since the publication of Tolstoy's "My Religion" the world has been brought almost anew face to face with the saying of Jesus: "I say unto you that ye resist not evil." The words seem very simple, and yet like all words, whenever, wherever and by whomsoever uttered, they need to be taken in their context in order that their true spirit be comprehended.

When Jesus uttered these words, He was giving His counsel of perfection, and in this counsel there must of course be a great injunction against the spirit of vengeance. Although there had been seers, as in the Book of Proverbs, who wrote "Say not thou I will recompense evil," the sentiment prevailed in Jesus' day, as it still prevails in ours, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." The very contrary of this, a contrast which Jesus expressed in His "Resist not evil," may be said to be almost the heart of His teaching; and His disciples caught His meaning. St. Paul says: "Recompense to no man evil for evil," "See that none render evil for evil unto any man," and St. Peter, "Not rendering evil for evil, or railing for railing." Even the profane poet, Juvenal, writing two generations after the time of Christ, says in his thirteenth satire: "Surely it is always a dwarfed, weak and narrow mind that finds satisfaction in vengeance."

It seems clear that Jesus in the Great Sermon was enunciating the principles for the development of personal character, and emphasized the point that a perfected character is not to be attained by the spirit of resisting a personal injury. The idea aimed against is that of personal vengeance, of "paying back," of "getting even."

Nay, more. The idea is not only that we must not resist one who is injuring us, or making demands upon us, but that, looking away from ourselves toward him, we are to turn the tables on him, and show a readiness to suffer or do even more than he seeks or demands. There seems no doubt that this was the ideal and the practice of Jesus on the personal side. His words and His life both say so.

Now when we turn from the purely personal aspect to the social side, is there the same ground or reason for the injunction? Here the evil act is taken out of the personal relation, and the mode of dealing with it has not the same effect upon personal character. The evil is done not to the individual but to society, and in resisting it there cannot be the same selfish spirit of vengeance. It seems therefore clear, both from the context and from the public acts and denunciations of Jesus, that his counsel for non-resistance applies to personal evil and not to social evil.

If this be true, it would seem that Mr. Darrow has warped the great text

in taking it as the title of his stirring little book (*Resist Not Evil*, by Clarence S. Darrow, Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 75 cents). And yet one may admit the above distinction and accept the above interpretation of the saying, and still agree with most that Mr. Darrow says. His arraignment of government, of the courts, and of society, as manufacturers of criminals, is powerful and convincing; and this book will be rightly rated as one of the beneficent instruments of the present day in forcing the public conscience to confess its own criminality and to assume a less vindictive and more rational spirit in dealing with criminals. This, however, is far from going with the author to the extent of abolishing all attempts at the administration of justice, and all efforts toward the amendment of criminality by the institutions of government.

When Mr. Darrow writes such a sentence as the following, he seems to me to strike a right line: "More and more," he says, "the best judgment and best conscience of men are turned toward the improvement of prisons, the introduction of sanitary appliances, the bettering of jail conditions, the modification of punishment, the treatment of convicts as men." Furthermore the best thought agrees with him in drawing the conclusion that "all of this directly disproves the theory that the terrible example of punishment tends to prevent crime." But does he not go too far in claiming that society can yet do nothing for the prevention of crime except the passing of laws that shall remove the unjust economic inequality among men? This ought it to do, but can it at once leave something else undone?

It is true that our poor governments, by their injustice and cruelty, are making criminals by the thousands; but the injustice of laws and the cruelty of their administration are not responsible for all criminality. The human heart, with its animal passions still dominant and with its unchecked avaricious desires, must be taken into account. Even granted that governments are pitiful makeshifts too often dominated by arch-criminals, yet they seem to represent the best that man can do up to date, and on the whole they seem, to the student of history, to be making progress. It is conceivable that we some day may develop out of the need of them; but in the process and at the present stage of the game they seem a necessary instrument for the development of society, and as such they must somehow deal with the criminal. The practical issue therefore is to improve the government both as to its method of dealing with the criminal and also with reference to preventing it from making criminals.

Many who share Mr. Darrow's radical views as to the injustice of society will regret that his arraignment is

sometimes weakened by over-statement. The fact is, no over-statement is needed; the thing is bad enough, told as it is. When, for example, he asserts that "all judgments are meted out in anger and hatred," we know that this is not true. When again he says that "uncertain and reprehensible as mob law has ever been it is still much more excusable and more certain than the organized force of society operating through the criminal courts;" we know that the facts do not bear him out. Mob law is the very acme of the spirit of vindictiveness toward the criminal which it should be our constant effort to eliminate from the act of punishment. The gist of the matter is that society, government, while necessarily resisting the evil done to it, must be brought to do so not in a vindictive spirit toward the criminal, but with a view toward protecting itself and if possible toward helping the criminal himself. This is indeed the significance of the effort to substitute reformatories for prisons, a movement which, in spite of difficulties and failures, has made substantial progress.

The strongest chapter in Mr. Darrow's book—a chapter which ought to be read especially by the earnest men who are sincerely desirous of better conditions and yet are working only superficially to the desired end—is that on Natural Law and Conduct. In this chapter he shows the heinousness of society's sin in condemning the vast majority of men to poverty and dependence. "In the penal institutions of the world," he says, "are confined a motley throng charged with committing assaults upon property, and yet this whole mass of despised and out-cast humanity have ever been the propertyless class." And where, he asks, is the property—all the wealth created by the labor of man and the bounty of nature? It is in the hands of those who have committed no crime against property! Well does he exclaim that

## NOTICE TO READERS.

If you have been reading *The Public* on trial, this notice may interest you. Your regular subscription for three or six months or a year, if sent in before January 1, 1904, will begin at once and continue until three or six months or a year, as the case may be, after January 1, 1904. Thus \$2 will give you the paper from receipt of your subscription until January 1, 1905; \$1 will give it to you from receipt of subscription until July 1, 1904; and 50 cents will give it to you from receipt of subscription until April 1, 1904. The same offer is open to all persons not already on the regular subscription list of *The Public*.

"the statement of the fact is sufficient to show the inequality of the whole system under which the fruits of the earth are kept in the possession of the few." This chapter alone is enough to justify a book, which, however extreme and perhaps mistaken it may be in certain conclusions, is one that deserves to be read until we reach a better day.

J. H. DILLARD.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

—Symbol-Psychology; a New Interpretation of Race Traditions. By Adolph Roeder. New York and London: Harper & Brothers. To be reviewed.

—Illustrated Catalogue of Books, Standard and Holiday, 1903-1904, comprising Illustrated Gift Books, Standard, Miscellaneous, Religious and Juvenile books, Standard Works in sets and in fine bindings, books in Series, Birthday and Year Books, and Calendars. Chicago: A. G. McClurg & Co.

### PERIODICALS.

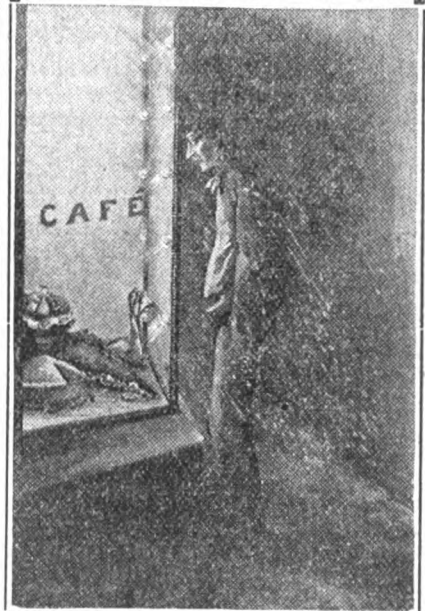
Pearson's for December begins a series of articles on "Modern Methods of Finance," by Henry George, Jr. The first of the series is the first of two parts on the copper trust.

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salary, he told him, would enable him to enjoy many pleasures that, as a poor man, were denied him.

Just how the feat was performed is not explained, but the author suggests hypnotism. This, however, only tends to lend a mysterious air to a fantastic tale.

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These exposures of respectable rascality, through Pearson's, McClure's, Leslie's and other progressive magazines, are significant of a gratifying change in public opinion. Pearson's is deservedly securing a large clientele, both by the democratic tendency of its more serious articles and the interesting features of its lighter ones. The "Don Q" stories, for instance, of which one appears in every issue, are as captivating as they are unique. The present issue

derives added interest from the autobiography of an Australian kangaroo.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THE PUBLIC

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DEBATE

There will be a debate between the Socialists and the Single Taxers at the West 12th Street Turner Hall, 1163 West 12th Street, near Western Avenue, on Sunday afternoon, December 20th, at 2 o'clock, on the following question: "Resolved, That it is to the interests of the Working Classes to Take Up the Propaganda of Socialism Rather Than That of the Single Tax." The affirmative will be represented by A. M. Simons, Seymour Steadman and Ernest Untermyer; the negative will be represented by John Z. White, Louis F. Post and Henry H. Hardinge, thirty minutes for each speaker, the affirmative being allowed ten minutes in closing.

State of Illinois, County of Cook.—ss.  
 Public notice is hereby given that at a Special Meeting of the Stockholders of The American Bank Service Company, a corporation organized under and by virtue of the laws of the State of Illinois, held at 178 Quincy Street, in the City of Chicago, County of Cook and State of Illinois, on Thursday, the Nineteenth (19th) day of November, A. D. 1903, at the hour of one o'clock in the afternoon, at which meeting all of the stockholders were present or represented by legally appointed proxy, notice of publication being expressly waived by said stockholders, the capital stock of said corporation was increased from fourteen thousand dollars (\$14,000.00) to forty thousand dollars (\$40,000.00); stockholders representing more than two-thirds of all of the stock of said corporation, being present and voting in favor of said increase of capital stock, and a certificate of said increase has been duly filed in the office of the Secretary of State of the State of Illinois, and with the Recorder of Deeds of Cook County, Illinois, as required by law.  
 Dated: Chicago, November 20, A. D. 1903.  
 C. L. MOULTON,  
 President.  
 M. J. FOYER,  
 Secretary.  
 THATCHER, GRIFFEN & WRIGHT,  
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