

The Public

Sixth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1903.

Number 285.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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

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

Two citizens of Porto Rico and subjects of the United States were sentenced to six months imprisonment at San Juan on the 15th for speaking with disrespect of the American flag. Lese flageytry?

Several Chicago clergymen are deeply concerned about Hull House, the settlement which Jane Addams has made famous all over the world, and they express themselves with painful freedom in the Chicago Chronicle. Because Eugene V. Debs has been allowed to speak at Hull House, some of these highly intelligent gentlemen of the cloth think the place must be socialistic. Because a portrait of Kropotkin has been observed upon its walls, it is surely anarchistic. And because its inmates, when they pray, enter into their closets and shut the door, instead of praying where they may be seen of men, it is beyond peradventure "without Christ" and atheistic. Verily, verily, how doth the busy pharisee improve each shining hour! For such clergymen as these, Howard Pyle's "Rejected of Men" would make good reflective reading.

Those plutocratic newspapers that are making the welkin ring with their protests against municipal management of municipal functions as socialism, would display more sense if they saved a word or two of protest for the growing tendency to construct the President's cabinet along industrial lines. We have had a secretary of agriculture for some

years, and a secretary of postal affairs for a longer time. Recently the post of secretary of commerce and labor has been established. That is destined to be divided into two secretaryships—one for commerce and the other for labor. And now comes the American Mining Congress with a resolution calling for a department of mines and mining with a representative in the President's cabinet. Here is a tendency that brings far more satisfaction to intelligent socialists than does the municipalization of public utilities. It indicates an evolution toward an industrial empire. If the class conscious socialists were to come into power in the United States, they could ask nothing better than a cabinet system already constructed upon industrial lines, with its secretaries of agriculture, commerce, labor, mining, building, etc., etc. But the "anti-socialist" newspapers see nothing in this tendency to fear. Is it because their managers are unintelligent, or because they are interested less in opposing socialism on principle than in conserving private "graft" for "graft's" sake?

A sensation has been caused by the committee on commercial law of the American Bar association, which reported to the association at Hot Springs, Va., on the subject of trusts. The report proposed three methods of dealing with trusts—taxation, regulation, and state competition. As to taxation, the report advised a franchise tax graduated according to capitalization, which "would leave, perhaps, the first \$100,000 free, and the first \$1,000,000 cheap, and raise the rate with each succeeding million." As to regulation it looked

favorably upon Congressional legislation enacting that "any corporation or individual who engages in inter-State commerce must furnish its services or supply its goods at lower rates wherever by any combination competition is prevented than where competition is left free." As to state competition the report recommended: "If necessary the state itself can enter the industrial field as a producer and restore the force of competition to its former supremacy by becoming itself a competitor of the great trusts." The report was signed by Walter S. Logan, of New York, formerly president of the Association, and by Henry Budd, Gardner Lathrop, George Whitelock and John Morris, Jr. In supporting it before the Association, Mr. Logan, as chairman of the committee, replying to an objection that the report was calculated to turn the Bar Association into a political club, said that "the lawyers must settle the trust question or the demagogues will." He argued that "if combinations continue competition will cease and commercial jurisprudence will be entirely changed." After a long and exciting debate the report was recommended with instructions to the committee to frame remedies for illegal combinations which threaten commercial intercourse. This disposition of the matter was really adverse to the report, but its friends claimed a partial victory in that the instructions to the committee recognized the trust subject as an appropriate one for the Association to consider.

Like so many of the ill-considered theories of trusts, this Bar association report ignores what is almost obvious in the nature of things economic, and is becoming

more and more evident as matter of observation. It ignores, that is, the fact that trusts, in so far as they are harmful, rest upon monopolies. It is not trusts that make monopoly, but monopoly that makes trusts. This almost self-evident theory has been disputed upon the strength of individual instances apparently in conflict with it. But these instances have been successively proved to be in harmony with the theory until now only one of any magnitude is unexplained, and upon that the Grand Masters of the Independent Order of Inverted Political Economy now lay great stress.

The first instance to which they pointed to show that wicked combinations make monopoly, instead of monopoly's making wicked combinations, was the railroad. But it was soon acknowledged that the power of railroad combination lies not in rails and cars, but in rights of way and terminal sites, which belong in the category of land monopoly. Then the Inverted economists pointed to the Standard Oil company as a combination without an underlying monopoly. But this cock didn't fight long. It was soon demonstrated that the power of the Standard Oil trust originated in its secret arrangements with the railroads, and resides in its ownership of the pipe line to the sea, which consists in pipes easily reproduced and in rights of way almost impossible to parallel. Then came the wall paper trust. Here was a trust with no other monopoly than its good will and patterns, which are not public monopolies. This instance was difficult to explain at first; but the trust soon saved trouble by explaining it itself. Under the force of competition, it "went broke," as a trust, thus confirming the theory that trusts which do not rest upon monopoly cannot survive competitive action. But hardly had the wall paper trust come to grief when the Morgan shipping trust stepped into the limelight of economic inquiry to

claim the honor of demonstrating the possibility of a trust without an underlying monopoly. Of course its dock privileges, subsidies, etc., etc., were monopolies, but these privileges were held to be too insignificant to account for the magnitude of the trust. Only a few months passed, however, before the shipping trust exhibited symptoms of the same disease that had proved fatal with the wall paper trust. And now we are referred to the thread trust. That has no underlying monopoly, so we are assured. But assurance is not proof. We await the evidence. When we see a verified inventory of the "capital" of this trust, and find therein no patents, no transportation privileges, either direct or indirect, no landed privileges in the stricter sense of that term, we shall be prepared to admit that a trust without underlying monopoly may be formed. But that has never been denied. You can form a trust of anything; the point is to keep it going. What we maintain is that a trust without underlying monopolies can neither head off competition for any great length of time, nor survive competition when it appears. To be specific, we have no hesitancy in prophesying — resting the prophecy upon general economic principles confirmed by recent events—that if the thread trust really has no underlying monopoly, the time is not distant when it will go to pieces before the assaults of competition, as did the wall paper trust.

Our advice to the banker-editor of the Chicago Chronicle (p. 355) to edit its news as well as its editorials, must have been anticipated; for in the issue of the 10th the news of the great Johnson-Clarke mass meeting at Akron, O., on the 9th, was head-lined after this fashion:

Johnson Meets a Frost; Opening of the Ohio Campaign Far From Successful; Candidate for Governor Is Given a Cold Reception at Akron.

In the body of the report the attendance at the meeting was es-

timated at 3,000. The characteristic excellence of that editing, for its deceptive purpose, will be better appreciated after reading the following report of the same meeting from the pen of Carl Robertson, staff correspondent of the Cleveland Plain Dealer:

Akron, O., Sept. 9.—Fully 7,000 people attended the opening meeting of the Democratic State campaign to-night. The crowd was composed almost entirely of Akroners, no excursions having been run for the occasion and no attempt having been made to attract Democrats from other parts of the State. . . . There was no blaring of brazen instruments and no unusual ostentation or display in the streets of Akron to-day. Practically no preparations of any kind had been made for the gathering. . . . John H. Clarke and Tom L. Johnson were the only speakers at the tent meeting. Both made speeches which were received with abundant enthusiasm. In order to accommodate the crowd the side flaps of the tent had to be removed and the listeners stood eight or ten deep beyond the flaps.

The efforts of Grover Cleveland newspaper organs to make Bryan appear a bolter in 1892 (p. 274), so as to neutralize the objection to Cleveland's nomination for a fourth term, that he was a bolter in 1896 and 1900, go on apace. One of the most conscienceless of these efforts was made in a recent issue of the New York Sun, which said:

If Mr. Bryan and all his Populist friends and admirers who voted for Weaver in 1892 had been less strategic and had put in their ballots for Cleveland, the result in Nebraska would have been a Democratic plurality of about 20,000 instead of a Republican plurality for Harrison of about 5,000.

This fictitious result is produced by assuming that all Nebraskans who voted for Weaver in 1892 were Democrats. It takes no account of the Populists. But as they had polled 70,187 votes for governor in 1890, it is reasonable to suppose that they polled as many in 1892, especially as the Populist wave was still rising. Consequently, 70,187 must be deducted from the Weaver vote of 1892, in order to ascertain the maximum number of Democrats who joined the Populists in voting for him. Doing that, we have 12,947. Adding this sum to the re-

ported Democratic vote of 1902 (24,943) it appears that Cleveland would have received not more than 37,890, if all Democrats had voted for him. This would have left him 49,337 behind Harrison instead of the 20,000 ahead, which the Sun tries to dupe its readers into believing he would have received. Now let us reverse the calculation. Suppose that the 24,943 Democrats who fired blank cartridges for Cleveland had done as Cleveland's manager, Mr. Whitney, advised and as Bryan therefore did. They would have increased the Weaver vote from 83,134 to 108,077, thus leaving Harrison in the minority by 20,850, taking the State of Nebraska out of the Republican column, and, in case of no choice by the Electoral College, throwing the election into the Democratic House of Representatives, which would have chosen Cleveland. Whitney's advice was good political strategy, and Bryan did not become a bolter by following it. If frequent explanations are necessary now, it is not because the facts reflect upon Bryan, but because the Whitney-Cleveland newspapers so frequently misrepresent them.

Johnson's campaign in Ohio has already demonstrated one thing most clearly. It has shown that the "remorganizers" of the Democratic party were trying to deceive when they pleaded Bryan's free silver views as the sole ground of their objection to Bryanism. Johnson has made their newspapers all over the country confess that the objectionable thing about Bryanism is not its free coinage policy but its democracy. The "remorganizers" will have none of Johnson himself, although he is not a bimetallist. It is enough that he is opposed to allowing the Democratic party to contest with the Republican party for the favors of the trusts. Neither will the "remorganizers" trust Clarke, whose election to the senatorship Johnson is support-

ing, although Clarke is a "sound money" man. Being a Democrat in other things, he also is objectionable. It is not merely "sound money" that the valets of plutocracy want. What they want is to own the Democratic party so that they may sell it out to the corporations as Republican leaders have sold the Republican party. Their attitude toward the Ohio situation has completely exposed them.

Gen. Buckner—the Buckner of Palmer and Buckner fame—has tired of masquerading with the "remorganizers." He now openly joins the Republican party, where he himself practically confesses that he really belonged in 1896. Appearing as a speaker at a Republican campaign meeting at Munfordville, Ky., on the 12th, Gen. Buckner described himself as a "former Democrat" whose confession of faith may be found in the Palmer and Buckner platform. He then explained that it was because he was that kind of Democrat in 1896 that he had become a Republican stump speaker now. Gen. Buckner excels the other "remorganizers," either in powers of perception or in the quality of candor.

One of the reasons urged by the representatives of the Cleveland electric lighting company, and its aiders and abettors, for opposing a special election on the question of establishing a municipal plan (p. 358) has come to grief. These monopolists and monopoly sympathizers protested very loudly that the special election would not be fair, because there was to be only one voting booth to a ward, instead of a booth in every voting precinct. This arrangement they charged to Mayor Johnson. But they were indiscreet or incautious enough to allow a Republican editor at Youngstown to suppose that they were sincere; and he in turn was indiscreet or incautious enough to ask Johnson about it when the latter spoke at Young-

town. The Republican editor's question was supposed by the innocent Republicans of Youngstown to be a "poser" for the Cleveland mayor. We quote it:

Why did you provide for a special election in Cleveland and allow only one booth in each ward, so that many of the people would not be able to vote?

Here is Johnson's answer:

The reason why we provided only one booth in each ward is that the Republican legislature, which passed the Longworth act, provided that in special elections there should be but one booth to a ward. It was a foolish and ridiculous provision, and it was not until very recently that I knew why it was made. The reason is this. The people of Cincinnati own a steam railroad, the Cincinnati Southern. Some time ago the Republican boss, Cox, cooked up a deal to sell this railroad. The people voted upon the proposition. There was a booth in each precinct and the proposition was defeated. Then Cox had a Republican legislature pass the Longworth law providing that for special elections there should be but one booth in each ward. He hoped that he might, at some future time, put through the deal by this method of keeping the people from voting. This, my friends, is the reason why we could have only one booth to a ward in Cleveland.

An outcome of the action a year ago of the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union convention in appointing a committee to report on the subject of taxation (vol. v., pp. 308-9) is an excellent report from L. P. Straube, of Chicago, the chairman of the special committee to which the subject was referred. Mr. Straube's report was made to the convention this summer at Washington. It is published in full in the Allied Printing Trades Journal for August. This report shows very clearly that there has been no marked increase in wages, even in trades which are highly organized, during the past 30 years. "According to the present census," says the report, "there was a decrease in the average earnings of those employed in book and job printing and publishing from \$551 in 1890 to \$482 in 1900;" and "taking the earnings of men only, the decrease was from \$609 in 1890 to \$561 in 1900." In the

same connection, the report adds that "in the printing and publishing of newspapers there was a decrease for men from \$667 to \$610 and for all classes of operatives from \$591 to \$532." Carroll D. Wright, the Commissioner of Labor, comes in for a merited rebuke in Mr. Straube's report. Regretting "the necessity of thus seeming to attack the Commissioner of Labor," the report explains by saying that "as he has arrayed himself on the side of the enemies of labor, and as his statements and the statistics of his department are generally accepted without question, it becomes necessary to expose his misrepresentations and falsifications." The whole report is interesting, and in many respects it suggests the possibility of further important civic work which trades unions might usefully perform.

The attitude which the superintendent of public schools in Chicago assumes toward educational questions at issue here, is well calculated to try the patience of citizens who wish to form fair opinions on the merits of those questions. The issue, with reference, for instance, to school books, is a simple one. Either side may be in the right, or each may be partly right and partly wrong. That is the question to be decided. And in forming their opinions the people of Chicago ought to have the benefit of candid expressions from their superintendent of schools, instead of being confused by misleading statements.

Such a statement was Superintendent Cooley's reply this week to Margaret A. Haley's lecture on "Democracy in Education" at the Henry George association. Miss Haley had charged in effect that "the book companies" dominate the public school authorities; but the Superintendent assumed in his reply that her charge related to the school book trust, and he met it with a tabulation showing

that only a few of the books used in Chicago schools are bought from the trust—most of them being bought from other book companies. It is almost inconceivable that a competent school superintendent should so utterly misunderstand an issue which is so familiar in educational circles. Whether school books are bought from one set of publishers or another, is not the issue. The real issue is over two methods of teaching—the bookish and the non-bookish.

The non-bookish method dispenses very largely with school text books, and is consequently out of favor with school book publishers whether they are in the trust or out of it. The bookish method, on the other hand, demands text books throughout the whole school system, from lowest class to highest, and is accordingly preferred by school book publishers, whether they are in the trust or out of it. There may very well be honest differences of opinion as to the relative superiority of these methods, and the school authorities in Chicago may be right in preferring the bookish one. But if they wish their views to retain the respect they ought to command, they should express themselves freely and candidly. This is all the more important with a question which concerns selfish interests as large and unscrupulous as those of the school book trade. The issue raised is not between the public schools and the school book trust; it is between the public schools and the school book business. Does this business induce school authorities to prefer the bookish to the non-bookish method of teaching, or does it not? That question ought to be easy to answer. And if the answer is negative, it ought to be easy to explain why the authorities do prefer the bookish method.

The outcry against Congressman Baker, of New York, for re-

fusing to be bribed with railway passes (pp. 274, 289) is appropriately supplemented by the report of a predicament in which Senator Beveridge got caught at Fort Wayne last week. He had eaten a meal at a restaurant where he was unknown, and upon offering to pay for it found himself without money. Then came the necessity of proving that he was not an impostor but a genuine United States senator. He did this by exhibiting railroad passes! Senator Beveridge is evidently an official to whom railroad passes are no temptation. He handles them as fearlessly as the snake charmer handles rattlers. But snake charmers are sometimes bitten by their loathsome pets. Let's see whether Senator Beveridge escapes when the next piece of railroad "grafting" comes before the Senate.

Speaking of railroad passes, we are reminded of President Roosevelt's refusal, somewhat widely reported last week, to accept from a patriotic Boston girl an American flag, made of costly material but with her own hands. He explained that he refused the flag in accordance with his uniform policy not to accept from individuals gifts of intrinsic value. The young lady's mistake appears to have been in offering the flag as an individual. She should have got herself incorporated. For Mr. Roosevelt appears to have no uniform policy of rejecting corporate gifts of intrinsic value.

For instance, in the New York Tribune (a Republican paper) on the 31st of August, the following explanation was made, evidently with Mr. Roosevelt's approval, in the name of "a friend of the President:"

On taking the oath of office, President Roosevelt was at pains to inquire of his secretary, George B. Cortelyou, whether it was customary for a President to permit various railroad companies to provide gratuitously special trains. He was assured that special

trains had been furnished free of charge to his predecessors, not in their personal capacity, but as Presidents of the United States. The President is aware that special trains are emphatically not furnished to Theodore Roosevelt as Theodore Roosevelt, but to the personage who happens at the present time to occupy the position of President of the United States. President Roosevelt was informed at the time of his original inquiry that the various railroads vied with one another in furnishing such special trains, not only by reason of the publicity accruing to the carrying company, but because such company had found that, because special trains carrying a President of the United States attracted potential and actual passengers to the trains' various destinations and points of call, their free purveyance constituted a sound business investment. Moreover, President Roosevelt considers that in his recent western trips he was merely completing or doubling the circuit broken perforce by his predecessor at San Francisco on account of Mrs. McKinley's illness. Apart from this, President Roosevelt also realizes that in such a trip, for instance, as that recently completed, a President could scarcely be expected to defray the cost of a special train out of his own private purse.

After that boyishly ingenuous explanation, who can blame the Boston young lady for complaining—

The President says it's a rule that he can't accept presents. But I read that he takes other things. A paper last night said he took railroad passes and champagne. Why not, then, my flag? Is it because people who gave him the other things were rich and he did not wish to honor a poor girl who only wanted to show her patriotism?

Who can blame Senator Beveridge, either, for filling his pockets with railroad passes—not for Beveridge, but for a "personage who happens at the present time to occupy" a seat in the United States Senate, where the railroads need favors? And who can possibly sympathize with Congressman Baker for rejecting passes offered him—not as Baker, but as a "personage who happens at the present time to occupy" a seat in the lower House of Congress, where also the railroads need favors?

"Shall I oppose the bill, then?" said the lobbyist.

"Well," said the magnate, "I leave it to you. Use your own judgment whether to oppose it or put something in it to make it unconstitutional."—Fuck.

"WE HAVE CHANGED ALL THAT"

In a certain document once held in much esteem among us are these sentences: "We hold these truths to be self-evident," that "all men are created equal," that "they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights," that among these are "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," that "to secure these rights governments are instituted," "deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." And those were once thy gods, oh America! Those the ideals toward the realization of which our republic was struggling, and which made us in the highest sense a world power. But, as in Moliere's play, when Sganarelle is attempting to diagnose a case, with an assumption of great learning, and someone says to him, "But I thought the heart was on the left side and the liver on the right," the quack doctor answered, "Yes, that used to be so, but we have changed all that;" so, to-day, if we speak of this old document, and our old reverence for those sentences, our political quacks tell us, "Yes, that used to be so, but we have changed all that."

These sentences, they say, "are aphorisms that run trippingly on the tongue;" they are "rot," and their author, whose name has stood high among those we held in most respect, we are told "was a timid, shifty doctrinaire—constitutionally unable to put a proper value on truthfulness." We are told that the events of the last five years have made us a great world power, and the cry is for more ships, more arms, more men in training for war. Not, as we are assured, that we expect or desire war, but that we may be prepared for any emergency. It is an appeal to the national vanity, enormously strengthened as that has been in these same five years. And so far it has been effective; the old ideals seem lost, indeed.

But such changes in a nation's ideals are not brought about in five years or in ten. They are the result of many influences, and these influences can be mainly and directly traced to three events: The prostitution of the civil service, the passing of a land

grant in 1861, and the protective tariff.

It is not necessary to dwell on the political corruption which has followed the making party spoils of the offices in our civil service. It is a subject of humiliation to ourselves and a marvel to foreigners. But the evils following this special land grant are little understood. The effects are seen but the cause is seldom recognized.

Grants of the public lands were no new thing in our national history. They were given to the soldiers in the Revolutionary war, to those of the war of 1812, and of that with Mexico. Large grants were made to the new Territories and States, as well as the special grants for the support of education. There were the homestead grants, grants for wagon roads, for canals—for very many purposes.

Over the question of grants to railroads there was always much controversy, and although by 1856 "the Senate had accepted the theory that when a railroad was to be built through public lands, it was, as matter of course, entitled to a large amount of these lands, to aid in its construction," the House came more slowly into line; and though the arguments for railroad grants were plausible and carried honest conviction to many minds, both in and out of Congress, the opposition to them continued.

Partly, this was because it was recognized that large corporate interests were behind the claims for them, and charges of legislative corruption were made. There seems no doubt that this had played its part in many of these grants, as well as in the passing of the bill, in 1861, by which *Congress gave to the Northern Pacific R. R. Co. a grant of 12,800 acres per mile within the States of Wisconsin, Oregon and Minnesota, and 25,000 acres per mile within the territories of Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Washington, to aid in the construction of the road.

By the completion of its main line in 1869, the company secured 43,000,000 acres, and the completion of the other two divisions

*Poore's Manual.

brought this up to 60,000,000 acres.

We talk of New York as the empire State. We compare its size with that of the British Isles. Yet it contains only 31,500,000 acres, and to a railway company was given, of the people's land, nearly double that number of acres!

The prostitution of the civil service opened the floodgates of political corruption, and this special land grant of 1861, more than any other, opened them to a wholesale robbery of the people. No grants to railroads have been made since 1880, but before that date these grants from State and Federal governments reached a total of 300,000,000 acres, and of this, 124,120,977 acres were a direct gift from the government, of the land which it held in trust for the whole people.

To-day, by the absorption of other roads, the great railway systems, and these are controlled by a few men, own a territory almost ten times the size of New York.

Nor does the robbery of the people stop here. The corporate industries, which played so large a part in bringing about these grants, stand behind the railroads still. "Mr. Morgan and his associates control 55,555 miles of road," and they also control corporations which Moody's Manual cleverly characterizes as "Morganized," and which need coal and iron; and by possession of these railroad lands, and by purchase, they already own many of the richest mines, and are fast gaining possession of others. That is, the coal and iron, which we cannot doubt the Almighty placed in the land for the benefit of the whole people, are exploited for the benefit of these corporations.

And by their control of the railroads, the steamship lines, the mines, the great steel plants, they control our industries, our commerce—it is hardly too much to say our civilization, for it is to-day based on steel.

That they control the government, which went into partnership with them through the protective tariff, "the mother of trusts," as Mr. Havemeyer frankly acknowledges it to be, every election, every session of Congress gives fresh proof, to our national

disgrace. Through the special advantages secured by the tariff they can defy all competition, and still further rob the people.

But it cannot be too often emphasized, too often insisted upon that primarily all the enormous wealth, all the power of the great corporations, whether railroads, the Steel Trust, the Sugar Trust, the lumber companies, the Standard Oil—any you will—rest on the possession of the land. Mr. Schwab's schedules of the properties of the Steel Trust give convincing proof of this. Here are the figures:

Iron and Bessemer ore properties	\$700,000,000
Mills, fixtures, machinery, equipments, tools and real estate...	300,000,000
Coal and coke fields, 37,569 acres.	100,000,000
Transportation properties, railroads, terminals, docks, ships, equipments	80,000,000
Blast furnaces (76 plants).....	48,000,000
Natural gas fields (number of acres not given).....	20,000,000
Limestone properties.....	4,000,000
Cash in Bank.....	65,000,000
Material and products on hand..	82,291,000
Total	\$1,400,291,000

Now, let us see what proportion of this vast sum they owe to their possession of the land:

Iron and Bessemer ore properties.....	\$700,000,000
Coal and coke fields.....	100,000,000
Natural gas fields.....	20,000,000
Limestone properties.....	4,000,000
Total	\$824,000,000

This does not include the unimproved values of real estate, which have been estimated at \$100,000,000. Yet, as it stands, it is more than half the value, almost two-thirds the value, of what Mr. Schwab specifies as the properties of the Steel Trust. That is, almost two-thirds in value is in the land, and the riches God has placed therein for the benefit of the whole people.

Nor is this robbery of the people's bank the whole wrong, nor do the special advantages of the Steel Trust stop here; "for while* farmers and householders pay on the average \$20 in taxes on every \$1,000 worth of property, the United States Steel Corporation pays less than \$1 in taxes on every \$1,000 worth of property."

"We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." So says the Declaration of Independ-

*Hon. T. L. Johnson, mayor of Cleveland.

ence. But the words seem to have faded from men's minds as they are fading from the precious paper whereon they were first written.

Fifty years ago and less they were still held to be "eternal verities," and it was recognized that the right to life, liberty and happiness rested on a right to the land—that a right to this meant individual independence, and every man of industry and thrift had the opportunity to acquire what he might reasonably need.

But we have changed all that!

In Europe little is left of the old feudal over-lordship, but here in America we have established an over-lordship of money, and the nation finds its ideals in enormous fortunes, in vast undertakings, in military power, and so far have we gone toward the centralization of power and the strengthening of the military spirit our fathers dreaded for the nation, that there is open advocacy of a "strong man" in the presidency, who shall hold his position for 20 years. We have the founding of a war college, resentment of criticism of the army, and the strengthening of class feeling, in the setting apart of a large body of men who, as the repeated experience of other countries shows, look down upon the citizens who support them.

Already our President exercises more despotic power than any ruler of Europe, and as a careful student of men and the times* tells us, "is impatient with whatever restraints the law imposes upon the Executive power."

Those behind this centralization know well that their power rests on the monopoly of the land—the people's land. Syndicates buy up vast areas at the West, and we have established among us a system of absentee landlordism with all its inevitable evils. The number of tenant farms, as is shown by the census, is steadily increasing, and more and more "the land is becoming not owned by the men who use it, and not used by the men who own it."**

Nearly 30,000 of our farmers

*Letter from Henry Loomis Nelson in the Boston Herald.

**See Prof. Elder's pamphlet, "The School Land of Oklahoma."

left the West last year for Canada, where a farm can be bought for little more than must be paid here in yearly rent. The price of land is steadily increasing, while the amount of public lands, suitable for settlers and which once seemed so inexhaustible, has decreased at a rate few realize. American land companies, however, fully understand it and are endeavoring to secure large tracts, not only in the Dakotas, but in Canada, evidently believing that emigration from the United States will continue. Even of the lands given by Congress to the Territories and States for the support of schools, much has passed and is passing into the possession of "rings." *

With all the enormous wealth in the country, with fortunes greater than any in the world, with all our boasted excess of exports over imports, with all our prosperity, living expenses have greatly increased, a fact plainly recognized in the proposal to increase the salary of the President, a fact recognized by railroad corporations in raising the pay of their employes. But, as the superintendent of the Chicago Bureau of Charity expresses it, "Prosperity raises prices, but does not raise the wages of wash-women, scrub-women and day laborers." What of them, and of the thousands of men and women with small salaries or incomes, which are not increased, yet who must meet the increased expenses of living?

The handwriting is on the wall! It is for us to read it aright.

It has been said that a people never move until only one course of action is open to them. If this is true, as history seems to prove, we have not yet arrived at that point, for three ways lie before us.

There are those among thoughtful men who, watching the signs of the times, predict revolution. This is a possibility not to be ignored.

"For though to-day the world has fixed its seat

On pillars of society and hills
Of custom, founded on the forceful
wills

Of master men, in many a toil bent
form

* See same pamphlet.

And low-browed visage on the crowded street,
Quiet but for a moment sleeps the storm."

Another, broad, easy, the downward way, is to drift, as we are doing; to "stand pat," as Senator Hanna advises; to let the net wind itself more and more closely about us—and, sooner or later, the republic is dead! Its forms may remain, but the life—the spirit of them—will be gone; and we shall have either the "strong man," indeed, or an oligarchy of the worst kind—that of money.

The third, the upward way, is steep and straight, and strewn with boulders of the largest size; for it means waking from what President Lincoln, of the Boston Board of Trade, lately called "our appalling apathy" as to our duties as citizens. It means putting aside our national vice of toleration. It means freeing ourselves from the rule of convention and bosses, taking our civil service once for all out of politics and insisting that our representatives in city, State and nation shall be men of character and ability. It means being great enough to acknowledge our national sin, and making what amends we can to the Filipinos. It means taking the railroads under government control. It means the restoration of the land to the people.

We can fight. The world needs no further proof that there are no braver men than ours in battle. But that which is before us now needs a different and a higher kind of courage, for it means the conquest of ourselves. Whether we possess the faith, the steadfast purpose and courage, the true patriotism needed for such a struggle, we have yet to prove.

If we have this noble courage and stand fast for the liberty wherewith our fathers made us free, the republic will once more rest on the broad and eternal foundations of eternal principles which they laid for it. We shall once more take up the work God gave this nation to do; and in the days to come, our people, looking back to the problems that now perplex, the dangers that now menace, can say, "Yes, these things used to be so, but we have changed all that."

LOUISE W. RICE.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Sept. 17.

The reports from Beirut, Syria, (p. 361), agree that the Turkish government has restored order there, and these reports are confirmed by Rear Admiral Cotton, who reported on the 12th to the American navy department that— he had exchanged very satisfactory visits with the governor general. The governor general has personal charge of the vice consul case. The late chief of police has been deposed. Twenty-eight persons, including the principals in the disturbances of last Sunday, have been arrested. Beirut quiet. Administration of new governor general inspires confidence. The former governor general left on the 12th inst. for Constantinople.

Admiral Cotton's mention of the new governor general is an allusion to the fact that on the 10th the Turkish government formally appointed Nazim Pasha as vali (governor) of Beirut, in the place of Reshid Pasha, who was removed for incompetency. Nazim Pasha was vali of Damascus at the time of his appointment to Beirut.

In Macedonia the terrible conditions are unchanged (p. 361), except that the circumstances are more than ever prophetic of war between Turkey and Bulgaria. For such an outbreak both countries are evidently preparing. Turkey is said to have 300,000 soldiers in the field, and Bulgaria has ordered out reserves. On the 14th the Bulgarian ministry, through a diplomatic note warned the European governments that unless they intervene for the protection of Bulgarian Christians in Macedonia, and restrain Turkey from advancing upon Bulgaria, Bulgaria herself will be obliged to act. The note in question refers to a previous note (p. 312), and declares that what was therein predicted has been more than verified. It charges the Turkish government with systematically annihilating the Bulgarian people, and complains that the mobilization and concentration of great forces in European Turkey under the pretext of suppressing the revolution, give Bulgaria reason to suppose that at an opportune

moment she will be attacked by Turkey. In the presence of such a situation, which it looks upon as calculated to bring about a collision between Turkey and Bulgaria, the Bulgarian government asserts its inability longer to remain indifferent. It therefore declares that—

If the great Powers do not take measures to give the Sublime Porte counsels of wisdom and of moderation, the Bulgarian government will be obliged to take the necessary steps to be ready for every eventuality and not be taken by surprise.

In explanation of this Bulgarian note, the Premier of the Bulgarian ministry made the following statement on the 15th:

It has been from the first plainly evident that the policy of Turkey is to hinder the development of the Bulgarian race in Macedonia, the strongest national element there. With this end in view the Turks proceeded to devastate the country and kill the Bulgarian Christians, driving the survivors into the mountains and forests, where they would either perish of hunger or else cross the Bulgarian frontier and become a burden to the Bulgarian nation. The Bulgarian government is now compelled to protect not only Bulgaria itself but also the Bulgarian element in Macedonia. Turkey has concentrated 300,000 troops in Macedonia, only about 25,000 of whom are engaged in the suppression of the revolt. There is no attempt to fight the insurgents, but the troops attack innocent women and children. The Bulgarian government is forced to perceive in this excessive mobilization a clear sign of Turkey's desire, after she succeeds in suppressing the outbreak in Macedonia, to attack Bulgaria and exterminate the Bulgarian race. All our latest information from Macedonia and Constantinople confirms this view. Confronted by such conditions, Bulgaria is forced to the conviction that Turkey intends to attack her, and the Sofia government has taken this last step of asking the Powers to intervene. Otherwise Bulgaria must take measures for her own protection.

Although there is as yet no authentic news of action by any of the Powers in response to the Bulgarian note, it was reported from Sofia on the 16th that three of them (none of them named), had that day notified Bulgaria that if she goes to war with Turkey she will receive no aid from the Powers.

The sessions of the Socialist congress at Dresden, Germany, which began on the 13th, are at-

tracting general attention on account both of the number of voters represented and of the questions under debate. There are 3,000,000 voters of Germany represented at the congress, being more than 25 per cent of all the voters of the Empire. The first business meeting of the congress began on the 14th, and the question which has distracted the party—whether it shall claim representation among the three vice presidents of the German reichstag (p. 328)—was the principal subject of debate.

This question gives concreteness to the issue between the opportunist socialists, whose leader is Bernstein, and the programme socialists, whose leader is Bebel. By virtue of their large representation in the Reichstag—over 80—the Socialists are entitled to a vice-president of that body. Bernstein advocates claiming the first-vice-presidency, because the party is second in party strength in the Reichstag. In support of this position he argues that the Socialists should assume government responsibilities as fast as opportunity offers. Bebel objects to any Socialist's taking such an office as vice-president of the Reichstag under the existing capitalistic regime. Out of this contest has grown a bitterness of feeling among programme Socialists toward opportunists who make their living by writing for capitalistic publications; and one of the resolutions debated at Dresden proposed that members of the Socialist party be prohibited from writing for papers that are not socialistic. A vote was taken on the 16th upon resolutions condemning the proposition that the Socialists accept a vice presidency in the Reichstag, and the resolutions were adopted, thus giving the victory to Bebel.

Further hostility to the Socialist party of Germany was shown on the 16th by the German government. The minister of war issued a decree forbidding non-commissioned officers and privates from having in their possession or distributing any Socialistic writings without the permission of higher authority, or singing songs, uttering cries, giving expression to any Socialistic senti-

ments, and from attending any meeting, contributing money to or belonging to any society, without the permission of their officers.

The British outlook in politics is still undefined, although a meeting of the ministry, understood to have been called to consider the ministerial policy with especial reference to Mr. Chamberlain's protection programme (pp. 129, 147, 163, 200, 313, 338, 347, 360), came off on the 14th. No disclosure has yet been made of the proceedings at that meeting. It is surmised, however, that an irreconcilable difference of opinion developed, and that a reorganization of the cabinet is probable.

Immediately after the meeting the Premier issued a pamphlet in advocacy of a moderation of the free trade policy of Great Britain. Its title is "Insular Free Trade," and in it the Premier describes himself as—

a free trader, but not of the pattern which holds that the doctrine of free trade is so universal in its application and so capable of an exact expression that every conclusion to which it logically leads must be accepted without hesitation and without reserve.

American political interests are kept alive by the Democratic campaign in Ohio (p. 359), which Mayor Johnson is leading. The Akron meeting of the 9th in the Republican county of Summit, of which we had no trustworthy details last week, proves to have numbered fully 7,000. The only speakers were Johnson and Clarke. The chairman, Judge C. R. Grant, dispensed entirely with an opening speech. On the 10th both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Clarke spoke in the county court house at Wadsworth, a town of 2,000 inhabitants in the Republican county of Medina. Owing to a heavy storm two meetings on the way from Akron to Wadsworth were abandoned and only 1,000 people attended the Wadsworth meeting. The meeting on the 11th also was small—only 800 attending—the explanation being that it had not been advertised in advance of the arrival of the speakers. It was at Ravenna, in the Republican county of Portage, a town of 4,000. At Youngstown on the 12th, the audi-

ence numbered over 4,000, and was addressed by Mr. Johnson and Thomas McNamara, Thomas Taylor presiding. Youngstown is the capital of the Republican county of Mahoning. The meeting on the 14th was at Alliance, in the Republican county of Stark. Mr. Clarke was alone here, Mr. Johnson being at home to attend a weekly meeting of the city council. The attendance is reported indefinitely as "several thousand people."

While conducting the Ohio campaign, Mayor Johnson also conducts the affairs of Cleveland with the comprehensive business grasp for which he is notable both in political and business life. He succeeded on the 9th in securing further progress in his long-fought-off effort to reduce car fares in Cleveland to three cents.

Bids for a 3-cent road were opened in July (p. 249), when it was found that a short road on Denison avenue, Cleveland, had been bid for. As explained at the time the object of bidding only for this short line was to put the 3-cent company in the same position with reference to extensions that the established 5-cent companies are in. Under the new municipal code, extensions of lines are easily obtained, but new franchises are obtained only with great difficulty and much red tape. This was intended to favor old companies and to balk Mayor Johnson's 3-cent fare plans. But it is now seen that if the bidder for a 3-cent fare line builds on Denison avenue, he will be able to secure extensions all over the city. The fight against 3-cent fares is therefore concentrated against the proposed Denison avenue franchise. One method adopted by the old companies was to secure consents of property owners on Denison avenue for a line which they themselves proposed to build; and pursuant to this method they induced signers of consents for the 3-cent line to withdraw. There was in consequence a long-drawn-out struggle for consents. Some property owners signed and withdrew five or six times. On the 24th of August the 3-cent fare proposition had been consented to by a majority of the property owners, but enough were

induced to withdraw before the city council met that night to destroy the majority. The 5-cent companies, however, claimed a majority that night and applied for an extension of their lines through Denison avenue. In their application they stated that while they were in possession of consents from a majority of the property owners they were not yet ready to file them. They never did file them and on the 4th the board of public service denied their application and granted that of the 3-cent fare bidder. This grant was confirmed by the city council unanimously on the 9th, the requisite number of consents for it then having been filed.

This is described by the Cleveland Plain Dealer as "a most notable victory" for Mayor Johnson. The Plain Dealer's report adds: "Unless blocked by the courts there can now be no obstacle to the immediate fulfillment of at least a part of the original issue with which Mr. Johnson went before the people of this city in his first campaign for the mayoralty." Mayor Johnson himself is reported by the Plain Dealer as saying:

The road will be built on Denison avenue within the specified time beyond any question, barring injunctions. It will certainly be built long before the opponents of the move desire it.

Although interest is centered upon the campaign in Ohio, Iowa also lays claim to attention. The Democratic campaign in the latter State was opened on the 12th at Dennison, Crawford county, by the Democratic candidate for governor (p. 182), Jeremiah H. Sullivan. Mr. Sullivan's "keynote" was his description of the two schools that struggle for political mastery:

These schools cannot be united. You and I belong to one or the other. If you believe in equal rights for all and special privileges to none, you believe that all source of power rests with the people. You believe in competition in trade. You believe in giving to the individual the greatest latitude and freedom possible in organized society. You believe in a trade that has the world as a market. You believe in the levying of taxes only for payment of public expenditure. You are opposed to tribute in any form. If you are a disciple of the other school you believe it proper for a government to aid you at my expense. You believe that great organiza-

tions of wealth and power have the right of levying tribute upon the citizenship of our country for their special benefit. You believe not only that a sufficient tax should be levied to pay legitimate public expenditure, but in addition the same law should indirectly be the instrument of collecting from you that for which you do not receive any compensation.

Upon this basis Mr. Sullivan argued against protective tariffs, and for revenue tariffs.

The Democratic convention of Maryland met at Baltimore on the 16th, and nominated Edwin Warfield for governor. Its platform is distinguished for the following race question plank:

We believe that the political destinies of Maryland should be shaped and controlled by the white people of the State, and, while we disclaim any purpose to do any injustice whatever to our colored population, we declare without reserve our resolute purpose to preserve in every conservative and constitutional way the political ascendancy of our race.

NEWS NOTES.

—The eleventh National Irrigation Congress assembled at Ogden, Utah, on the 15th.

—On the 22d the people of Denver are to vote on the adoption of a city charter submitted by the recent city charter convention (p. 282) under a recent amendment to the State constitution.

—The best individual shooting of the infantry rifle team of the U. S. army at Seagirt, N. J., on the 10th, which won the Dryden trophy, was done by Quartermaster Sergeant Hawkins, a colored man.

—The sixty-sixth anniversary of the birth of Father Edward McGlynn is to be celebrated at Murray Hill Lyceum, Thirty-eighth street and Lexington avenue, New York city, on the 28th at 8 o'clock. The address will be made by Mrs. Marguerite Moore.

—A bronze statue of William McKinley was unveiled at Toledo, Ohio, on the 14th. Addresses were made by Senators Hanna and Fairbanks. Mayor Jones is not reported to have been present. The statue was received by the president of the board of county commissioners.

One hundred cases of bubonic plague and eighty deaths were reported in Tondo, the most populated suburban district of Manila, on the 16th. Twelve cases, with nine deaths, are reported from Cebu, in the province of Visayas. Cholera is prevalent in all parts of the Philippine islands.

—President Roosevelt, on the 16th, pardoned G. D. and B. F. Cosby, convicted (p. 215) of Negro peonage in Alabama and serving terms in the penitentiary.

The pardon was granted on the recommendation of the judge who had sentenced the convicts and at the request of citizens of Alabama, both white and black.

—Raymond Robins speaks on "The Social Spirit," at the Henry George association, Handel Hall, Chicago, at 8 o'clock on the 17th, and the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones at the same place and hour on the 24th. The speaker at 3:30 on the 20th will be the Rev. August Dellgren. Mr. Dellgren takes the place of John Z. White, who will speak in Peoria.

—The published proceedings of the last meeting of the Grange of the State of Washington show that this Grange favors the initiative and referendum. By resolution, members are recommended to "attend their caucuses and conventions and see that none but those pledged to the passage of the direct legislation, and the initiative and referendum laws are nominated."

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 300) for the month ending August 31, 1903, shows the following:

Receipts:	
Tariff	\$48,268,222.14
Internal revenue	41,246,229.68
Miscellaneous	8,949,801.64
	\$98,464,253.46
Expenses:	
Civil and misc.	\$23,923,861.57
War	28,716,417.90
Navy	15,746,048.05
Indians	2,413,923.47
Pensions	25,603,236.99
Interest	4,999,245.38
	\$99,412,733.36
Deficit	\$ 948,479.90

PRESS OPINIONS.

OHIO POLITICS.

Johnstown Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 12.—If Tammany had a Tom L. Johnson to put up for mayor it could order the coroner in now to sit on the remains of the Hon. Seth Low.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Sept. 9.—For a fellow who hasn't got a ghost of a show, Tom Johnson seems to be causing the sure-thing crowd a great deal of unnecessary worry.

Seattle Mail and Herald (Dem.), Sept. 12.—It is easy to call names. A man of straw is easy to thrash. It is cheap politics to abuse a man in localities where he is not well known and the people have no means of ascertaining the falsehood of it. But we imagine that the Republicans of Ohio are going to have trouble in harvesting the usual quantity of votes next November, because of Tom L. Johnson.

Nashville Daily News (Dem.), Sept. 11.—Says the Banner: "The addition of Henry George, Jr., to the Tom Johnson aggregation in Ohio gives unmistakable evidence of its true character." Nothing truer ever appeared in the Banner. The participation of Henry George in the Democratic campaign in Ohio is the best evidence in the world to well-informed persons that absolute sincerity and purity of motive lie back of the professions and principles of the party in this campaign.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Sept. 15.—Three members of the Roosevelt cabinet are announced to take part in the Ohio campaign against the principle of just and equal taxation, as proclaimed by Tom Johnson.

There is a certain propriety in this. The President is opposed to equal and just taxation in national affairs, and therefore why should he not be found in opposition when it is demanded in State affairs? One principle underlies it all, whether it appears in tariff taxes for the benefit of trusts or State taxation for the exemption of corporations.

JACOB RIIS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 11.—It is natural that the landlord class should slobber over Jacob Riis as the President has been doing. It was Mr. Riis who succeeded in cleaning out Mulberry Bend and some other cesspools of New York with the result of increasing the rental value of the sites ten or twenty or perhaps even a hundred fold. But the condition of disinherited New York is as bad as ever. Poverty is just as deep. Immorality is just as rampant. Vice and crime are just as much a feature of the swarming metropolises. The only difference is that the poor and the degraded and the outcast have been driven by improvement from Mulberry Bend and like localities to others not yet so celebrated. And this is the real contribution of Jacob Riis to the solution of the problem of poverty. Had he made one more effective Mr. Roosevelt would never have dreamed of holding him up before the world as the model citizen and the highest type of philanthropist. Mr. Riis is merely a spectacular friend of the poor. He may mean well and possibly some of his work deserves praise. But a man sincerely devoted to the cause of the poor will first find out what is oppressing them and then he will undertake to stop the oppression. Riis has never attempted to do this.

NEW YORK FUSION.

Pittsburg Post (Dem.), Sept. 14.—The position taken by the Democratic members of the fusion movement in New York is impregnable. Nobody doubts, nor would any reader of election returns for years question, the Democratic majority in that city. It is more fairly Democratic than is Philadelphia Republican. That fact does not conflict with any admission that might be forced as to the unworthy record Tammany has made in some years of its supremacy. Thousands of Democrats have voted that ticket because no honest fusion movement was inaugurated. . . . Now the Democratic fusionists demand an independent Democrat for mayor. Why not? Such deference was shown in Pittsburg. The majority sentiment when normally expressed was conceded to properly exercise the dominant power in fusion. When Republican office holders become so selfish as to regard fusion as merely a means for keeping them in place, little difference exists between Seth Low's cerulean reform and Tammany.

TOM L. JOHNSON'S WAY.

Columbus (O.) Press (Dem.), Sept. 12.—When Johnson was elected mayor of Cleveland he said he would give them a three-cent fare. He set about it at once. Every obstacle known to Hanna's railway was put in his path, but patiently and persistently he swept them aside until it is now reported that an ordinance for a three-cent fare street railway upon an important thoroughfare in Cleveland has been passed by council. . . . It is quite likely that Hanna and his street railway will find still further ways to block the establishment of three-cent fares; but it is absolutely certain that Mr. Johnson will accomplish what he has set out to do.

DEMOCRATIC REORGANIZERS.

Nashville Daily News (Dem.), Sept. 9.—It is now evident that the Cleveland propaganda, composed of bolters and their Republican sympathizers, do not intend that the Democratic party shall harmonize unless they are permitted to write the plat-

form declarations and name the candidate. These things they know will not be permitted, as indicated by the action of the Ohio convention, and therefore it must be concluded that the disturbers are going to remain disturbers; that the bolters are going to remain bolters. However, it is gratifying that the disorganizing press cannot control many of the disaffected element.

MISCELLANY

JUSTICE—FREEDOM.

For The Public.

How shall all mankind be lifted,
Strength be brought to weakness lowly,
Toll's oppression-clouds be rifted,
Right be recognized as holy?

Many eras, many sages

Life's sublimer words have spoken:

Flee your blood-stained heritages!

Justice! Freedom!—these the token.

JAMES H. WEST.

A MYSTERIOUS PROVIDENCE.

A man put his finger in the fire.
"Lord," he said, "what agony I suffer!"

Then he stirred it round a little.
His wife cried, "O, God, why dost
Thou so grievously afflict us?"

The minister poured kerosene on the fire.
"My brethren," he said, "whom
the Lord loveth, He chasteneth."

The man poked his finger a little further into the fire. "This is a cruel world," he groaned. The Morganized Charity association gave him an asbestos glove.—Bolton Hall, in Life.

THE LOGIC OF CHILD LABOR.

Why should men, created in God's image and destined for three score years and ten, be old and worn-out at 21? In two words—child labor.

Society made these men slaves in childhood—sentenced them to hard labor in infancy. It crushed them in one-third the time it takes Nature to make men decrepit. It put them to work as "dogs," carrying the glass blower's product to the molding room all night long, when they should have been in their trundlebeds. It bent their boyish backs to the loom when they ought to have been playing at leapfrog.

"Passed on." To what?

To tramping and vagabondage. To petty thievery. To beggary. Seldom to murder or capital crime. There is not left enough in them for such an effort. They are the flotsam and jetsam of society. Firmly conscious that the world has not been quite fair to them, they are not savage. A worn-out slave is not savage.

In the phraseology of the street, these men are "all in."

Behold your work, O goddess of greed! You killed the body and the soul of these men when they were just out of the cradle! Are you proud of your handiwork? God made them living souls; you made them things!—*Kansas City World.*

A SOCIAL FABLE.

A citizen of a republic once went a traveling to improve his mind. He crossed the ocean and visited a certain country, where he saw a boy spending his young years under exceedingly careful tutelage. Wise and well-trained teachers looked after his intellectual development; physicians and athletes and scientific experts watched over his food, and sleep, and recreation, and saw that he had enough of everything. The citizen of the republic asked: "Who is this boy, of which such exceptional care is taken?" and they answered: "This is the future sovereign of the country."

Then the citizen of the republic went home to a great industrial city where he lived, and this is what he saw for one week:

Sunday—A future sovereign selling papers in the rain.

Monday—A future sovereign serving a big department store as cash boy at two dollars a week.

Tuesday—A future sovereign testifying that he worked as a breaker boy in a coal mine, though two years younger than the legal age.

Wednesday—A future sovereign working in a Kensington mill, locally known as the "Kindergarten."

Thursday—A future sovereign, with a message in his pocket addressed to a house of ill repute, holding a gory novel in one hand and a cigarette in the other.

Friday—A future sovereign playing craps on the curbstone because the politicians had not provided schoolhouses enough.

Saturday—A future sovereign coming out of a saloon, carrying a "growler."

And the citizen thought, and thought, and thought.—*The Monthly Leader.*

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION.

Substance of an address delivered Sept. 10, 1903, before the Henry George Association of Chicago, by Miss Margaret A. Haley, President of the National Federation of Teachers.

The sharpest conflict and the most decisive that the world has ever known is going on in the educational, industrial, economic and political fields between the undemocratic and the democratic spirit. On its outcome depends the perpetuity of our democratic government and our civilization.

Our economic system is almost entirely a survival of medievalism, and it has always been essentially undemocratic. Our taxing system is a good illustration of this. Its wholly irrational basic principles have not only come down to us from feudalism, but no essential changes have been made in this system in centuries, notwithstanding our progress in other directions.

The educational field presents what seems at first glance a paradox. In administration the public schools have become almost entirely undemocratic, especially in large cities. This is an apparent loss because the public school system has been, from the administrative side, the most democratic of our institutions; though the methods of teaching in the schools have always been medieval and monarchical—the teacher being of necessity an autocrat because teaching itself and all the ideals of education were essentially undemocratic.

In the last 25 years there has been a great educational awakening. Its result has been to demand democratic methods in education, but this awakening has extended only to the methods of teaching. We have lost on the administrative side. We have grown less democratic, and the tendency in that direction is on the increase.

This is due largely to our industrial, economic and political systems. To such an extent has our industrial ideal, which is essentially monarchical and military, vitiated the public mind that it has been easy to carry over this industrial ideal into the administration of the schools.

One thoughtful writer in commenting on our graded city school system said: "If the system was working ideally we would be able to pick up a child from the third grade class, just as he was saying his tables and had got as far as seven times nine, and drop him in any other third grade class in town and have him say 63, and go right on without being conscious of any change."

He might have gone a step further, and added that we could have dropped this child in a factory, a bottle factory for instance, and he would pick up his bottle, take two steps and put it down, go back, take up another bottle and put it down, and go on with this work, as described by the superintendent of the Alton Glass Works, without realizing any change from his school room.

If our present industrial system is to continue to make human beings mere cogs in a wheel—automatons, the public schools in the hands of the politicians and the captains of industry must and will become preparatory places of train-

ing for the factory; and the economic conditions are reinforcing the industrial in converting the schools into an educational factory system.

If, on the other hand, the ideals of the educators are to prevail in the public schools, and freedom, individuality, personality and character are to be demanded for teachers and children, the ideals of the industrial and the economic system must go. This is the struggle.

The greatest thinkers that the world has ever known have brought their best thought to bear on the economic, the industrial, the educational and the political questions, but their thought has not found expression in a democratic system, either of education or economics or industry or politics, because these thinkers have each worked alone in their own special field, while the forces arrayed against democracy in all these fields are united. The weakness in this great struggle against undemocratic conditions is the failure of the democratic forces in the educational, economic, industrial and political fields, to unite.

The educators must recognize that democracy in education, either in methods of teaching or administration, cannot be secured nor the educational system prevented from becoming an educational factory system, while the public mind is vitiated by the ideal of the industrial factory system which makes the man at the top the only possessor of the gray matter, and the thousands below the mere tools to carry out the directions of that gray matter.

So long as the American workman occupies this position, so long will the tendency increase to make the American teacher the fingers to carry out the plans of the gray matter resident only in the one head at the top. And so long as our economic system finds expression in laws reducing the teachers to the condition of paupers, and the schools to pauper institutions, so long will the struggle of the educators whose ideal is freedom, individuality, personality and character, be a hopeless struggle.

The educators to-day cannot stand alone, nor can the economists, the statesmen, the labor unions, nor any others who are trying to improve conditions. If the ideal of democracy is to be secured in one field it must be secured in all.

There is little hope of uniting the whole people in the political field; partisan politics precludes that possibility. In the industrial world we find employer against employe, labor unions against

employers. Union there seems a remote possibility.

In the economic field so much is in the region of speculation, and demonstration only possible through political action, that harmony there is difficult if not impossible.

The place where all can unite is on the welfare of the child, and the public school as the social center is the common ground on which all can meet to discuss and to settle these questions in the interest of the childhood of to-day—the manhood and womanhood and citizenship of to-morrow—the humanity of the world. And the ideal must be democracy in education, the education that extends from the cradle to the grave. This ideal means democracy in every department of human interest; it means freedom to the human mind.

THE RACE PROBLEM DISCUSSED.

Sermon preached by Rev. Quincy Ewing at St. James Episcopal church, Greenville, Miss., June 28, and published in the Springfield Republican of July 12.

There shall no evil happen to the just; but the wicked shall be filled with mischief.—Prov. xi:21.

The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day. The way of the wicked is as darkness; they know not at what they stumble.—Prov. iv:18-19.

Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things where-with one may edify another.—Rom, xiv: 19.

The race problem is not something that belongs within certain geographic lines, dividing one State from another, or a certain number of States from others. It is not southern or northern, eastern or western. It extends as far as the boundary line of nations, and is not confined within them. It claims continents for its territory and does not stop with them, but must have hemispheres as well. It is as wide as the world is wide, and, under one form or another, awaits solution on the part of men most savage and men most civilized. Nor is it a problem but recently come into the life of humanity, unknown to ancient generations. It is as old as the human world is old,—older than the oldest state, the oldest government, the oldest poetry, philosophy, religion; as old as man's capability for love and hate.

It is no secret how the ages of the past, far and near, dealt with this problem, how they tried to solve it in its many forms. The motive of their dealing with it was hate, their equipment the sword, their solution blood and death; the result of that solution, more hate, followed by more blood and death! Up to the present time the world as a whole

can hardly be said to have adopted and put into practice a method for the solving of its race problem differing very greatly from that of the ancient Spartans in dealing with their special phase of it. We recall that the Helots were flogged once a year to keep them reminded of their helotism, and hunted down and slaughtered by the Spartan youth, like rabbits on a western prairie, when they threatened to become too numerous. Two thousand was the "bag" on one occasion, if Thucydides may be credited. By hardships and cruelties inflicted upon men powerless to resent their wrongs, by efforts of one sort or another to degrade them and keep them degraded, and, on occasion, robbing them of life to get them out of the way,—this has been the world's anciently adopted and most widely practiced method up to date of attempting the solution of its race problem.

If that has been the right method, the wise method, the unavoidable method, then we who say that we believe in God say also that He committed a crime when He created the human race, a crime which dwarfs all others into ridiculous insignificance! For He and He alone is responsible for the race differences of the human family. No race of men has been permitted to select its own distinguishing characteristics marking it off from others. They were selected in every case by the Author of the universe; or, if you please, evolved in the course of ages through the operation of his inevitable and unavoidable laws. Whether in the beginning God made as many differing human types as there are distinct races to-day, or made only one man and woman, the ancestors of all; on either hypothesis the responsibility is his,—that some races are fair skinned and others dark, some low-statured and others high, some bearded and others beardless; some with flat noses and others with long, some with thick lips and others with thin, some emotional and others phlegmatic, some disposed to worship him chiefly under aspects that by others are ignored, relatively or utterly.

To say, then, that because there are differing races of men there must be race hatred, and its cruel and bloody consequences until all the weaker races have been harried off the face of the earth, and the one strong race left to know itself God's chosen, is but to assert that God made humanity in order that man might be destroyed by man, that he waits to crown with glory and honor those of the sons of men who shall have proved themselves capable of at once inflicting and resisting more iniquity than their less fortunate fellows. It is God, we read in that book held by

Christians to be inspired, who "made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation." And so, I say, if some men are to be hated because they differ from others in racial characteristics, despite their "one blood," such hatred to be thought of as justifiable must be conceived of as intended by the Creator when he planned the universe and the life and destiny of mankind. There is no possible word that can be uttered in justification of race hatred which does not lay the responsibility for it upon God himself!

I am well aware of the weakness of such an argument in this day and time. I am well aware that the Christian church, which, a generation ago, was united in belaboring Charles Darwin, and praying to be delivered from the godlessness of his doctrine of the survival of the fittest, is now disposed to defend and applaud to no small extent the acting out of this doctrine with an orthodox zeal that makes heretics of such foremost disciples of the great evolutionist, as Alfred Russell Wallace, Herbert Spencer, Goldwin Smith, John Fiske, and others. I am well aware that among Christian men and women to-day the disposition is becoming less and less to refer fundamental questions of right and wrong for final arbitrament to the God revealed by Jesus Christ. I know, if I know anything at all, that there is to-day a deadlier atheism in many of the pulpits and pews of the Christian church than ever fell from the lips of an Ingersoll or a Bradlaugh. I know that in this day of grace, in the house of his friends, Jesus Christ is wounded more tragically than ever he was in any street of Jerusalem, on any hill in Palestine; that the God he revealed is for many but a name to be juggled with, not a father to be obeyed; and he himself little more than an excuse to roll up the eyes and turn loose the tongue of un-pious piety! And therefore I should not expect this argument, that God being responsible for race differences, his goodness and wisdom are attacked when men make these differences their justification for hatred of their fellow men; I should not by any means expect it to appeal effectively to the reason and conscience of all people who profess and call themselves Christians.

But surely there are some professing Christianity who really want to be Christians; to look at things and men, and God, as Jesus Christ looked at them, honestly eager to rid their hearts of every prejudice, their souls of every sentiment and conviction, which would imply denial or doubt of the goodness and wisdom

of the Heavenly Father. To them I would appeal with this argument, and may, without the consciousness of wasted effort in declaring a gospel already repudiated! Suppose a good man, the father of a large family. There are great differences, let us suppose—as often happens,—among his children. Some are much stronger physically than the others, and very much superior to them mentally and in moral inclination. They were all so born without choosing of their own. What is the father's wish as he looks upon his children and considers their needs and destiny? Is it his wish that the inferior ones among them should perish, and only the superior survive; that the strengthening, educative, elevating things of life should be partially or totally withheld from the inferior to be bestowed in greater measure upon the superior? Is it his wish that the weak boy, physically, mentally, morally, should be kept weak, denied the means of developing his body, his intellect his conscience, lest the gulf be contracted between him and his superior brother,—lest, perchance, he should become a less pliant and useful tool to accomplish the ends of his superior brother? Is it the father's wish that his superior children should manifest their superiority by hating their inferior brothers and sisters; treating them with harshness, contempt, cruelty, berating them with evidences of their relative dullness, ignorance, misdeeds, degradation; and should finally show themselves fit to be his chosen, the rightful recipients of his bounty and his great love, by driving their weaker brethren from the common home,—to claim it all for themselves? What would you think of the father whose heart made room for such a wish? If you are a Christian, what the good God of heaven must think of the bad God of this world, if this world was made by any God for race-hatreds and their consequent cruelties. What would the good man think of his superior children, who mistreated and sought to degrade still further their inferior brethren, instead of endeavoring to strengthen, enlighten and lift them up? What, doubtless, the God we worship, Our Father of heaven and earth, thinks of men, swayed by the brute impulses of race hatred, who aim to be destroyers rather than saviors unto their fellow men!

If hate rather than love must suggest the solution of the world's race problem; if the safety of the world's good depends upon its obedience to the dictates of the former and not the latter, then let us all at once have done with Jesus Christ and the God of Jesus Christ; or let us agree that the beloved disciple misunderstood the spirit

of his Master when he wrote: "Beloved, let us love one another; for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love." Let us put away that saying of the apostle; and, thinking of all peoples on earth who differ from us noticeably in race characteristics, let us substitute for it what St. John should have written for us: "Beloved,—that is, you of the Anglo-Saxon type,—let us hate—not one another; but millions not ourselves. For this hate is of God; and every one that hateth is born of God and knoweth God. He that hateth not, knoweth not God; for God is partly love, but mostly hate."

The special phase of the race problem that concerns us most deeply as white citizens of the United States, and, more intimately and pressing, as white citizens of the South, does not differ fundamentally from other phases of that problem in other parts of the world. As elsewhere, so here, there are but two methods of dealing with it as it is presented to us; but two ways of attempting to solve it, one or the other of which must be adopted—the way of love and righteousness, and the way of hate and iniquity. These black people are here among us in this "white man's country," not as invaders, not as immigrants, not of their own choosing. Neither they nor their ancestors went down willingly into any ship that would bear them from their African huts to our plantation cabins. Neither they nor their ancestors are responsible for the problem that confronts us. The responsibility is the white man's. In our time thousands of mules have been corraled in this country and shipped to Africa; in the days of our fathers thousands of human beings were corraled in Africa and shipped to this country to meet the demand of this country's markets. The mules in the one case, the human beings in the other, were consulted to just the same extent. Had we let these black people alone, beyond any shadow of a doubt they would have let us alone,—us of this land from upper Maine to lower California, from the Cascade mountains to the Florida keys. We—the Anglo-Saxons—chose not to let them alone, knowing their distinctive race characteristics as well as they are known now; their race inferiority as conspicuous and repellent then as it is now. They, in short, are just as responsible for the problem that confronts us, the white people of the

United States, as the elephant would be for the trampling down of my rose bushes if I took him from his native wilds and turned him into my flower garden. This, then, is strictly a problem of our making, and when I say our, I am identifying myself with the white men, not of the State of Mississippi or the South only, but of the entire country. The problem was created by the nation, not by any section thereof, and the responsibility of dealing with it is national as well as sectional.

But here in Mississippi and the South the question is addressed to our consciences with singular and awful emphasis. How are we going to deal with it, how are we going to undertake to solve it—this problem that is ours, of our making? Shall it be by the method of love, and pity, and righteousness, or by the method of hate, and contempt, and iniquity? Shall it be along the clean way of law and law abidingness, or along the foul way of lawlessness and anarchy? Shall we hate these black people so much that our white legislators must fail to enact penal statutes sufficiently severe to fit their crimes? Or shall we love them enough to trust their punishment, when they are criminals, to the laws passed by white legislators, to the indictments presented by white grand jurors, to the convictions agreed upon by white petit jurors, the sentences imposed by white judges and executed by white sheriffs? If there is one crime that the legislatures and courts are powerless to deal with, to provide punishment for of adequate dispatch and severity,—in the case of any man, whatever his race and social condition, and we are resolved in the matter of this one crime to deny their authority,—still the field is an immense one, where we may choose in dealing with these weaker people to regard or disregard the law of a civilized land, to obey or disobey the dictates of justice and righteousness. The field is an immense one in which we may show these people that we hate them, that we have contempt for them, that we look upon them as degraded and desire to keep them so; that their rights as human beings, their sensibilities, their mental capacities, their ambitions, and hopes, and aspirations, their intellectual and spiritual development, as human beings, do not concern us in any way to command our regard and respect; that it is our purpose simply to use them for our benefit, as we use our mules; to keep them in that state of mule-like ignorance in

which they will be most useful to us, and that they need not expect law abidingness from us when their ignorance and degradation raises the hand unlawful against us. So may we choose to solve our problem by brutalizing the weaker race and ourselves in the process—a process lengthened out perhaps through black and bloody generations till our land is desolated by civil war or befouled with a massacre of the weaker by the stronger that would redden the universal heavens with shame!

Or, in the wide field of our association with these black people, we may dare to face and meet the difficulties arising out of such association, trusting in justice enough to believe that there can no evil await us in the path of it; and in righteousness enough to feel that its way can issue only in right. And it is no new courage or faith that we need to meet and face these difficulties in the way of righteousness and justice; it is but the same old courage with which we dare to confess, despite all the heart-breaking defeats and perplexities of human life, that there is a just and righteous God, who, because He is what He is, may be trusted by our groping souls, and adored, to the end of time, and onward into eternity! As we trust our eternal salvation to the justice and righteousness of God, we may surely trust our temporal welfare to the way marked out for us by our love of justice and righteousness. We may dare to deal with these people, showing them that we do not hate them, and that we have not contempt for them, because they are black, or brown, or yellow; ignorant as compared with us; wanting in mental power and moral discrimination as compared with us; and because many of them were once our slaves. We may dare to show them that by us their rights as human beings shall be regarded and respected; that from us they shall get justice; that our purpose is not to keep them ignorant, but to help them to knowledge; not to brutalize, but to humanize them; not to trample them down to deeper degradation, but to lift them up to that light of the loving God which should shine in the face of every son of man!

Will it increase and intensify the difficulties of our race problem so to deal with these people? Must we keep them ignorant and degraded, and deny them justice and kindness—the justice of the law of the land, the kindness of the compassionate heart—in order that the gulf be not contracted which sepa-

rates our superiority from their inferiority? Great God!—the atheism of an idea like that! And like all such atheism, the base of it is selfishness and cowardice! The strong, brave man is not disposed to deny his weaker brother the means of muscular development, lest his own prowess should cease to be conspicuous, and himself be menaced by a rival; and the strong, brave race cannot afford, without sacrificing its self-respect, to make the confession of cowardice and selfishness which would be implied in the policy of withholding the opportunities of intellectual and spiritual development from a race weaker and inferior. Not without casting away, as a thing of no worth, their most valuable possession—their self-respect—can the white people of this land consent to be typified by the individual who, having the power, would choose to stand high by standing with his heel on a weaker brother's neck!

A word of warning before I close. There seems to be just now a sort of mania getting possession of the white men of the North as well as the South for mobbing the Negro when he is a criminal and when he is not. Within the past two weeks in a Northern State two mobs have spent their fury upon him, and neither was inspired by any crime committed or any charged, unless it be a crime for black men to do honest work, or to worship God in one of their churches. Within the past week at least two of these people have been lynched in Southern States, one in Arkansas, the other in Mississippi, for an offense committed five years ago. Very recently, according to the editor of the Vicksburg Herald who is a Southern gentleman and tells the truth, there was a "shameful occurrence" in one of our interior counties, where a number of Negroes lost their lives at the hands of a guerrilla band of "avengers," who rode and shot, and shot and rode. And, still quoting from the editor of the Vicksburg Herald, those murdered Negroes had done no crime at all!

It may puzzle some of us to account for the suddenly increased disposition of Northern communities to mob and lynch the Negro; it does not puzzle me. I saw, and said, and attempted to publish, several years ago, that the piling up of dead men in the Philippine islands, on the ground that the inhabitants thereof were an inferior people, with no rights which the Anglo-Saxon was bound to respect—that this performance was certain to inspire something of the same treatment for the millions of black people throughout

the United States. It was practically inevitable that Northern communities, which approved and applauded the shipping of soldiers by thousands to kill by tens of thousands the inferior Filipinos—whose sin was that they wanted to govern themselves—would not be so likely in future to hold themselves under the restraint of justice and righteousness in dealing with the inferior Negro here at home. In our immediate locality I believe that the mob spirit is being nursed and nurtured from day to day by several of the vilest newspapers that ever came from a printing press. For some reason—a keen-witted young lawyer friend of mine tells me it's politics!—the newspapers of this section—those with the largest circulation and some others—seem bent on convincing their white readers that the only way to save themselves, soul and body, is to hate the Negro! I would warn you, if you value the only souls you have that are savable and worth saving, if you value the cleanness of your hearts and the sanity of your brains—I would warn you to be on your guard against the terrible, conscienceless work of these newspapers!

And to this warning let me add the exhortation that we be true to the best tradition of our Southland, spoken to us from the graves of the noblest of our fathers! They did not hate the Negro, for all his ignorance, unintelligence, inferiority. I never met a Southern gentleman who did. They loved their slaves, and their slaves loved them. The brutal masters who abused these black people with the lash, forerunners of the politicians who abuse them now with the tongue—the old-time Southern gentleman did not regard as his social equals. We shall not go widely wrong, I think, in the solution of our race problem if we follow the Southern gentleman, whose father and grandfathers were gentlemen before him!

REVISED QUOTATION FOR OUR NATIONAL SCRAP BOOK.

Be strenuous, and let who will be clever.
Strike crashing blows, not shun them all day long:
And so make life, death, and the vast forever—
One Chinese Gong !!!
—Life.

This matter of heredity, of explaining how things came to pass, is a fit subject for antiquarians and archaeologists, but for the poet and seer *life is*, and he looks for causes among the living and not among the dead. The real sustaining cause of things *is*, and not *was*, and

must in the nature of the case continue to be. The columns of a century ago cannot support to-day's temples. There is a living source of life, or else life is an illusion.—The Whim.

Sadie was 11 and Alice seven. At lunch Alice said: "I wonder what part of an animal a chop is. Is it a leg?" "Of course not," answered Sadie; "it's the jawbone. Haven't you ever heard of animals licking their chops?"—Little Chronicle.

BOOKS

TOWARD THE LIGHT.

I do not remember that the expression single tax is used in the book, but single taxers the world over may congratulate themselves on the addition to their library of this notable volume (*Toward the Light*, by Lewis H. Berens, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., London, 75 cents). It seems to me to be the ablest and most effective work in support of the taxation of land values that has appeared since the death of Henry George. It is the latest volume of the familiar red series on social science issued by the above publishers, who have done the public a great service by supplying at small cost such a thoughtful set of works in attractive binding and most excellent print. This latter point should be appreciated, because so many of the books on social problems are published at prices that put them beyond the reach of most readers, or else are printed in type that is ruinous to the eyes.

The writer of this book will be known to many American readers as the author of the "Story of my Dictatorship." Those who have read this will remember that, while it had a fanciful setting, there was much of it that called for a deal of thinking. So with the present work, let no one buy it with the idea that its somewhat poetic title includes aught but plain, earnest thought. Its sub-title is "Elementary Studies in Ethics and Economics," and here, again, the reader must not take the word elementary in too light a sense. One of the hardest books ever written on the higher mathematics bears on its title page the beguiling legend—especially designed for the use of beginners. It must not be understood, however, that Mr. Berens' book is a dull, abstruse treatise. It is written in good, clear style, the only possible criticism being that some of the sentences might perhaps become clearer by being made into two. What I wish to do is simply to prepare the readers of the book—and may their name be legion—for the fact that they must not expect to read it with the same suspension of intellect with which we commonly scan the morning papers.

The heart of the book is the land question. Whatever other discussion there may be of ethics or of economics, or of the relation of these subjects to each

other, or of other specific questions, like money, and interest, and government, the central, fundamental plank of the author's platform is the land question.

He argues that economics must find principles in ethics, and that the basic principle of economics may be summed up in the one word justice. Finally, he concludes that the first necessary step toward the establishment of the reign of justice is to recognize and respect the claims of all to the use and enjoyment of the earth.

In the method of effecting this justice he upholds entirely the plan of taxing land values, though he sees, of course, that the term "taxation," is not accurate. He shows most clearly the meaning of economic rent, and how a "tax" upon land values would furnish the natural public revenues. He finds that such a tax best conforms to correct principles, which he states in the following proposition: "Each member of the community should contribute toward the public expenditure in exact proportion to the value of the advantage or opportunities granted him by the community." Such a tax, he holds, "could be easily, effectually and cheaply assessed and collected; and, as each has to use land, each citizen would contribute towards the common expenses, not in proportion to his ability to pay, but in exact proportion to the value of the advantages or opportunities granted him by the community—by his fellow citizens." He shows, furthermore, that "the private appropriation of land values, or the private appropriation of the natural public revenues, is not only an infringement of the law of justice, not only a denial of the equal claims of all to life, but also a direct violation of the fundamental principle on which the institution of private property rests, a direct violation of the great ethical or social commandment: 'Thou shalt not steal.'" Hardly in the writings of Henry George himself will one find the arguments more clearly and forcibly stated.

It is not necessary here to follow him in his definition of terms and in other side issues. One or two points may be mentioned. He seems unnecessarily squeamish about the use of the word "capital," which is, as he says, "calculated to confuse and perplex;" but how can we get along without some such term? When he says "it is labor which employs 'capital,' not 'capital' which employs labor," we know quite well what he means, and it is hard to see what other term he could use for the word "capital," which he persists in putting in quotation marks. However, all that he says on the subject of this term is well worth studying, and it will be seen that he is not entirely in accord with Mr. George's definition.

But his only sharp disagreement with the master, whom he calls "the greatest of modern ethical teachers," is in the question of interest. Speaking of Mr.

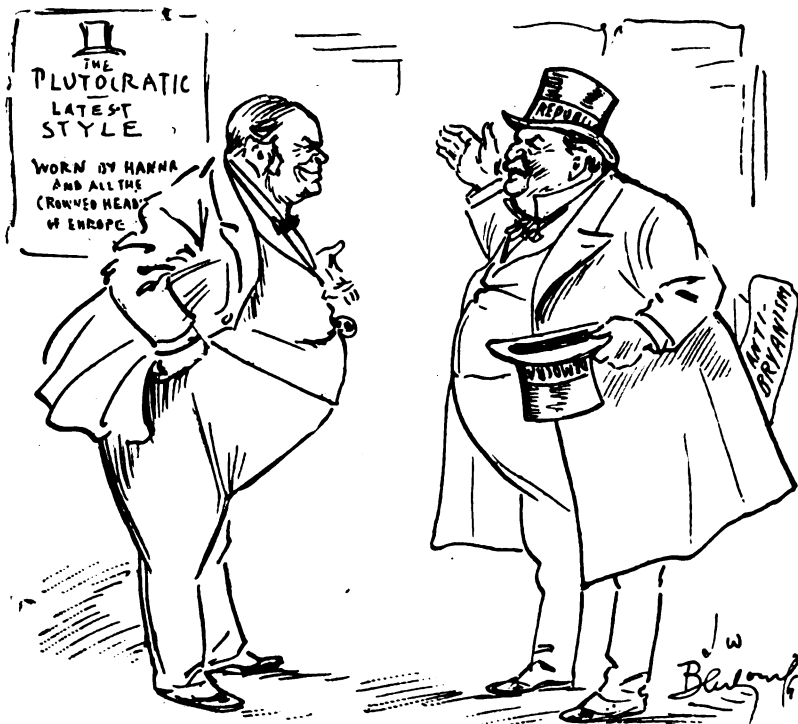
George's well-known discussion of this subject, he says: "In short, after his complete overthrow of the current justifications of 'interest,' Henry George enters the lists on its behalf, and sets up a special defense of his own, a defense which seems to us as untenable as those he had just confuted, and which we regard as the main flaw and blemish in his soul-awakening, epoch-making, classical work, 'Progress and Poverty,' which we ourselves hold in almost religious reverence and sacred respect." Whether he satisfactorily rebuts Mr. George's argument based upon the innate power of certain things "to yield an increase, or give a return over and above that which is to be attributed to labor," is a question which the student must decide for himself. There is certainly much force in his reply, which can hardly be given in brief. He holds that the natural increase which Henry George advances as the natural basis of interest, is really the natural reward, or wages, of the labor of those engaged in certain departments of industry; and that "any advantage nature may be supposed to yield to any special branch of industry, would tend to be distributed, or to distribute itself, amongst all those who were exchanging services or commodities one with the other." However, the author well implies that the question of interest will take care of itself. "It is," he says, "a matter of congratulation that differences of opinion on this somewhat abstract, if not merely academic, question cannot be any real cause of antagonism or separation between any who are seriously desirous of establishing justice, and of securing to mankind the fruits of justice."

Whatever subject Mr. Berens touches he discusses in a thorough-going, yet good-tempered manner. His book is one which, by reason of its sincerity and its fair-minded discussion of a great problem, we should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. It is a book to buy, and lend, and talk about. One cannot but wonder, after reading it, how long it will be before the question which he argues will come to the front as a recognized issue in politics. Who that watches the present anxious trend of social discussions will venture to prophesy that the time may not soon come when the argument of this book will appear a conservative plea for common-sense and justice?

J. H. DILLARD.

PERIODICALS.

The readers of the Ladies' Home Journal will be glad to see in the September number the first of a series of drawings by Mr. W. L. Taylor, illustrating the Pioneer West. The picture in this number, Pioneer Settlers crossing the Alleghenies, is full of character and spirit, telling on a page a great chapter of American history. In Mr. Mable's literary talks on p. 15, he calls attention to the fine practice of reading aloud, a subject woefully neglected in the schools to-day—necessarily so, by reason of the multiplicity of studies forced upon them. Page 10 is given over to that solemn form of humor in which we Americans will



HIS FIT, EXACTLY.

G. C.—Why, Mark—I could wear your hat just as well as my own!

some day perhaps equal the English. On that page "nine famous women" tell what they would do "if they had a million dollars."

The New York Independent of August 20 is a rich number. Mayor Jones contributes a most interesting paper on the "Non-Partisan in Politics," incidentally giving his views upon his last triumphant election. Mr. Jones would certainly approve the following words of Henry George, who says in his general introduction to the Science of Political Economy: "The organization of political parties, the pride of place and power that they arouse and the strong prejudices they kindle, are always inimical to the search for truth and to the acceptance of truth." Yet neither of these leaders (we know about Henry George, and the same is probably true of the Mayor) would fall to make the best possible use of an opportunity for good which a party might offer—at the present stage of the game. In this number, among other good things, "The Fate of the Salaried Man" deserves attentive reading.

The Journal of Education of the Academy of the New Church (1903) contains several addresses of considerable interest. That on Modern Education, by Rev. Homer Synnestevedt, is a very clear statement of the latest problems in education. One of these that is coming to be generally recognized is overcrowding. We have been introducing a number of new studies, at the same time retaining the old ones, and the result has been that all have suffered. We do not think that the two remedies mentioned by Mr. Synnestevedt, namely, mechanical adjustment by which time is saved here and there, and correlation, or studying one branch in connection with others, have gone as far in solving the problem as he seems to think. Almost any teacher will confess to feeling that the program of studies is so crowded that sufficient time can not be given to any subject. The result is high-pressure and superficialness.

The leading subjects of the September Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor are the farm colonies of the Salvation Army, and the condition of the Negroes of Xenia, O.

"Are Riches Demoralizing American Life?" is the subject of an article in the World's Work for September. The writer

was loaded with many very interesting statistics. We sold last year \$10,000,000 worth of sporting goods. We have \$50,000,000 invested in private pleasure craft. In 1886 the public paid only \$54,414 to see racing in New York State, as compared with \$3,400,717 in 1902. Many game preserves have been established by millionaires, a "distinct benefit to the nation," says the writer. One man has 25,000 acres in New Hampshire, another 40,000 acres in the Adirondacks. Speaking of home life, the writer says: "Old-fashioned home life, as it existed in the most representative New York society into the 80's, is a thing of the past." We also learn that none of the hosts of servants in the great houses are permitted to marry and hold their places. In spite of his many facts and conclusions, the writer's final conclusion is that the country is safe. Savings banks deposits continue to increase.

BOOKS REVIEWED IN THE PUBLIC

Can all be purchased through the Purdy Publishing Company
New Book of Kings (See Sept. 20, 1902) 50c
The Old Testament Bible Stories for the Young (see July 28, 1903) \$1.50
 Order anything that has ever been reviewed in THE PUBLIC; will fill order promptly.
 All Economic Literature on sale.
 PURDY PUBLISHING CO., McVicker's Building, CHICAGO

CAMPAIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS

FOR TEN CENTS

THE PUBLIC will be sent to any address in the United States, beginning with the next issue after the subscription is received, and ending with the issue of Nov. 7, 1903. Payment of 10c. must invariably accompany each of these subscriptions.

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

TERMS:—Annual Subscription, \$2.00; Semi-Annual Subscription, \$1.00; Quarterly Subscription, 50 cents; Trial Subscription (4 weeks), 10 cents; Single Copies, 5 cents. Free of postage in United States, Canada, Cuba and Mexico. Elsewhere, postage extra, at the rate of one cent per week. All checks, drafts, post office money orders and express money orders should be made payable to the order of THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING CO. Subscribers wishing to change address must give the old address as well as the new one.

Published weekly by THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1641 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

ATTORNEYS.

EWING & RING, ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS, HOUSTON, TEXAS.

Frealey K. Ewing. Henry F. Ring.

FRED. CYRUS LEHUSCHER, COUNSELLOR AT LAW, BENNETT BLDG.

99 Nassau St., Borough of Manhattan, Tel. Call, 4004 Corlandt. Rooms 1011-1014. NEW YORK.

CONTRACTORS.

G. H. ATKINSON & CO., CONTRACTORS, JERSEY CITY, N. J.

Electric Light, Telephone and Municipal Work. Trolley Roads Built and Financed.

Trade

The National Tea Bank

130-132 Water Street NEW YORK

Since 1874 we have been supplying Banks, Institutions and families in all parts of the Union with

Finest Teas and Coffees

We can supply YOU. Samples sent on application. Write for booklet, "What You Should Know About Coffee."

The Art of Living Long

CORNARO'S CELEBRATED TREATISE In broken health at 40, he adopted the easy system herein set forth and lived to 102.

You have rendered a service second only to Cornaro's in making him live again for us.—HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

Illustrated, full cloth, gilt top, transportation prepaid, \$1.50. Sent upon receipt of price.

WRITE FOR CIRCULAR

Wm. F. Butler, 58 University Bldg., Milwaukee