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EDITORIAL

Success.

It is failures, not successes, that breed success.

Our plutocracy.

President Wheeler, of the University of California, in an address at the Dartmouth commencement, is reported as saying: "The economic conditions of the last ten years have suddenly produced a portentously numerous class of American beings whose whole strength and wit are completely absorbed in devising the means of spending any reasonable proportion of their income." But nowhere in the address is there a hint of what the economic conditions

are that have produced such results. Why cannot commencement orators say something definite?

"Tipping" an evil of plutocracy.

Speaking of the occasional attempts to get rid of the tipping evil, the Springfield Republican goes to the root of the trouble. "Large possibilities," says the editor, "for reducing the tipping evil no doubt lie in the stirring up of a public sentiment against it, but the fact must be recognized that the root of the trouble lies in that concentration of wealth and consequent rise of social divisions on democratic soil, which, on one side of the line, assume an air of patronizing and superior liberality, and on the other a correspondingly receptive attitude of self-respectless dependence and parasitical activity. We shall not be thoroughly rid of the tipping evil until we are rid of these strongly anti-democratic tendencies.

Unripeness of the people.

That Russia is not yet ripe for free institutions, is the firm opinion of the procurator general of the Russian church, as he is reported from St. Petersburg. This has a familiar sound. Oppressors always discern the unripeness for freedom of the people they oppress, just as grafters proclaim the unripeness for business of the public they rob. From agitations for municipal ownership to aspirations for parliamentary institutions, from problems of insurance mutualization to movements for direct legislation, from questions of freedom of the slave to demands for universal suffrage, the insuperable difficulty is always the same. The people are not ripe for it. They are never ripe for managing themselves and their own affairs—not in the estimation of their managers.

Men without a country.

When Edward Everett Hale wrote of "The Man Without a Country," he thrilled us all with his suggestion of the indescribable horror of a countryless condi-

tion; and we thought of it as the extreme of punishment for crime. But now an Iowa lawyer, Emlin McClain, is reported as advising the Iowa State Bar Association that children born of American parents in the Philippines are not Americans by birth, cannot become Americans by naturalization, and therefore are doomed to the dread condition of the hero of Hale's story. They are men without a country. Probably this view of the law is erroneous. Children of American parents, though born in the Philippines, would very likely to be regarded as are children who are born of American parents while the parents are journeying abroad. That is, they would be native born American citizens. But of children of Filipino parents born in the Philippines, it is literally true that they are people without a country. Born under the American flag, they are nevertheless foreigners; but having no foreign citizenship to renounce, they cannot be naturalized. In their condition we may realize Hale's touching concept of outlawry.

Justice for sale.

In the county jail at Chicago there is confined to-day a man who would have been hanged last Friday if he had not been lucky enough to borrow \$600 after his gallows had been erected and only a few minutes before he was to have been strangled upon it. This was to have been done in the name of justice and with the might of the law.

The name of the man is Hoch. He had been convicted of a crime for which, if guilty, he ought to be hanged if any man ought under any circumstances to be hanged for anything. But he had not been given the advantage of all the safeguards of the law which have been erected for the protection of innocence. He was entitled to a hearing before the highest court of the State, and nothing stood in the way but his inability to pay the expense of transcribing the

record of his trial. Had he been financially able to meet that expense, Gov. Deneen would have granted him a reprieve until the highest court had passed upon the legality and justice of his conviction. Being unable financially to do this, he found himself dependent upon the charity of strangers, both for an opportunity to submit his case to the final tribunal, as any convict with money could have done—as he himself, with money, could have done,—and also for the prolongation of his life pending the decision of that court.

Gov. Deneen had declared, according to the uncontradicted newspaper reports, that he would grant a reprieve if the necessary money were provided, but otherwise would not. And so, the money not coming, this prisoner's gallows was constructed, he went to sleep Thursday night a doomed man, he rose Friday expecting to be hanged at noon, and at noon he would in fact have been hanged had not the required sum of money been procured. It came as he was being prepared for death. And thereupon, and for that reason and only that reason, Gov. Deneen granted a reprieve. This is a clear case of sale of justice. For \$600 this man's life, which, without that money would have been taken by legal mandate, has been prolonged.

It would be worse than folly to criticise the Governor. He did not act against the law nor beyond the law. Presumably he acted according to the law, and nothing appears to impeach his good faith. But what shall we say of laws, professedly for the maintenance of justice, which make the ministration of justice depend, in capital cases, upon the financial ability of the persons who are accused? What shall we say of laws under which the convict with \$600 to pay for a court record may, while the convict without \$600 may not, have his life prolonged and the regularity and justice of his case reviewed? This is not a question of guilt or innocence. It is a ques-

tion of putting a price upon justice.

Death of two prominent single taxers.

The single tax movement in western Pennsylvania has suffered a loss in the death of James Watson Stuart, of Pittsburg. A man of pronounced conservatism temperamentally, he was shocked at first by Henry George's indictment of civilization, but his rugged reasoning powers, coupled with his acknowledgment of moral sanctions and a fine perception of justice, saved him from improvidently rejecting George's teachings, and he became and until his death remained a weariless disciple. Mr. Stuart was a busy business man whose acquaintance, very large in Pittsburg, extended widely into other States, and he utilized the opportunity this afforded for promoting his cause. With what his friends describe as "a finely balanced enthusiasm," he devoted himself to that cause as to a religion; and, indeed, he so regarded it, for to him it belonged in the category of "the natural order."

James Love, reported by the Summer issue of the Single Tax Review to have died at Camden, N. J., on the 1st of June, was another promoter of the single tax movement whose work in that behalf will be missed. Mr. Love will be remembered chiefly for his skillful satire on the economic vagaries of the university cult, which bears the title of "Japanese Notions of Political Economy." Several other products of his pen deserve attention. A vein of satire runs through them all; but, as with his "Japanese Notions," there rises above the satire a presentation, clear and strong, of the economic principles he recognized. These belong to the rational in contradistinction to the mystification school of political economy. Mr. Love was among the earliest disciples of Henry George, having turned his attention to George's teachings at Burlington, Iowa, early in the '80s, at the suggestion of the late Richard Spencer, of

that city, who is reputed to have been the first adherent of George east of the Rocky Mountains.

Animus of the Chicago strike.

In our judgment, frequently expressed (p. 265), the teamsters' strike, now ended, was instigated for the purpose of embarrassing Mayor Dunne in his municipal ownership policy and was revived again and again with the same motive. Some suspicion of this animus appears to have affected the Chicago Tribune, which commented on the strike editorially on the 22d in these terms:

The distinctive feature of this remarkable and costly contest is the sinister character of the whole affair. It was the first instance in Chicago of a great labor contest initiated solely and purely from corrupt and really undisclosed motives. Precisely what the real motives were it is not yet, and perhaps never will be, possible for an "outsider" to say with exactness and perfect certainty. Two things, however, are certain. The first is that it was not begun, as pretended, out of sympathy for and in behalf of the garment workers. The second is that few "outsiders" have any adequate appreciation of the adroit manipulations, the maze of half-truth charges and counter charges, the political calculations, business considerations, and graft tactics which have characterized this so-called industrial dispute.

But for Mayor Dunne's able and honorable management those "adroit manipulations," "business considerations," and "graft tactics" would have plunged the city of Chicago into a regime of military government, as was originally intended and as the organs and spokesmen of the grafting interests demanded, and all possibility of executing the civic policy which Mayor Dunne was elected to execute would in consequence probably have vanished. This regime of military government, with its consequent demoralization, was avoided by Mayor Dunne's impartiality toward both parties to the strike conflict and the administrative skill with which he met the emergency. Whatever the purpose of the conspiracy back of the strike may have been, Mayor Dunne has balked it.

Bryan's candidacy.

At a banquet to William J. Bryan in Madison, Wis., on the 28th, the Democratic national committeeman for Wisconsin named him as the party standard bearer for 1908. In replying, Mr. Bryan alluded to this remark by saying it is too early to discuss Presidential nominations. Mr. Bryan's attitude toward the nomination for 1908 is no secret. He can hardly be insensible to the fact, obvious to all other intelligent observers, that the tide which is running so swiftly and so strongly, both within and without the Democratic party, against the spirit of plutocracy with which this Republic has for a generation been obsessed, is running also just as swiftly and just as strongly in favor of his candidacy and election. Beyond all dispute he is the choice of the democracy of both parties. But Bryan holds his personal ambitions in the leash of his patriotism. He makes his personality secondary to his principles. Notwithstanding his supreme availability now for the Presidential nomination in 1908, he doubtless realizes that men even more available may have come to public notice when that year opens; and he is not the leader to embarrass his friends or his party by political forestalling. Should a more available man have then appeared, Bryan may be depended upon to recognize the fact and make the most of it for the good of the cause which as yet he preeminently represents. Should no such man appear, there is as little reason to look for a weak, false modesty on Bryan's part in that event as for selfish obtrusiveness in the other.

WAGES OF "THE MOST PERFECT OF ALL THE SERVITORS OF THIS EARTH."

When the opponent of trades unions wishes to make a particularly strong argument in support of his position, he appeals to the public's sense of equity by asserting that the union places all its members, good, bad and indifferent, on a level as to wages. This,

he declares, is not fair to the high-grade mechanic. The union keeps his wages down to the level of the wages of less valuable men, whereas, he should be permitted to get as high wages as he can earn; a thing that he would be able to do were it not for the tyranny of his selfish union.

The fact that there is not a grain of truth in this argument makes no difference to the man who uses it. It seems plausible to anyone who gives the matter no critical attention.

As a matter of fact, the union merely seeks to prevent wages from falling below a certain minimum; the employer is at perfect liberty to pay superior mechanics as high wages as he pleases—there is no maximum limit, except that fixed by economic law. Most employers pay a limited number of extra valuable men a moderate advance on the union scale. The number of these fortunates bears absolutely no relation to the number of first-class men in the shop. Every shop must have one or more high grade mechanics, and precisely as many as must be had get the higher wages, and no more, no matter how many first-class men there are in the shop.

Furthermore, the total amount of the higher wage does not depend upon the recipient's value at all. It depends on what happens to be the amount of the minimum wage. The premium for skill is the difference in wages. Manifestly that difference would not be any greater than it now is if the minimum rate should decline. The difference in skill would remain the same, and, as the premium is not paid as a matter of equity, but purely as a matter of business policy, a decline in the general wage rate would be accompanied by an equal fall in exceptionally high wages.

The following press clipping (credited to the Washington Post) is interesting as a side light upon the question of the sincerity of those who profess a desire that the workman should be paid according to his value, yet who denounce the union as a bar to that:

"Chinese house servants are getting scarce and high priced in California," said Mr. R. B. Lester, of San Francisco. "With many of us this is a source of

real grief, for your Chinaman is the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth. He won't make one mistake a year; he carries out his orders with unquestioning obedience, and he never 'sassses' his employer. With their growing scarcity there has been a corresponding increase in the wages until now a good Chinese cook thinks nothing of asking \$50 to \$60 per month."

Fifty or sixty dollars per month ought not to be too much wages for "the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth," but, mind you, the only reason they get it is because "With their growing scarcity there has been a corresponding increase in the wages."

In further evidence that the grief of the California employers arises from the fact that they are obliged to pay as much for "the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth" as an ordinary American mechanic receives, I beg to present the distinguished testimony of "The Poet of the Sierras," Mr. Joaquin Miller, as given over his signature in the Arena, of October, 1904. I quote:

If the doors were opened to-morrow, so that we could get a good domestic, as was the case a few years ago, for one-fifth the price that we now pay for a poor one.

The "most perfect of all the servitors of this earth" working, a few years ago, "for one-fifth the price that we now pay for a poor one"?

Was there a labor union among the Chinamen a few years ago whose tyranny forced the highest grade of labor to accept, not one-fifth of what he now gets, but "one-fifth of what we now pay for a poor one"?

No. The Chinaman was unhampered by the wicked tyranny of trades unions. He was free to accept any price that his employer would pay. And as for the employer, his opportunity to put into practice his economic theory of the value of individual contracts to the laborer was ideal; it could not have been improved upon. He was perfectly free to pay each individual employe according to his value, not according to the arbitrary dictation of a trade union, which selfishly and tyrannically holds the best workman down to the wage level of the less efficient! Did he do it? Did the employers illustrate their economic theory by paying according to value?

According to the employers?

own verdict, the "Chinaman is the most perfect of all the servitors of this earth;" and according to Joaquin Miller they paid this highest-class servitor "one-fifth what they now pay for a poor one!"

No doubt the trades unions—like all other human institutions, including the employers' unions—need to be purged of much that is bad in them. Meantime, the trades union has ample cause to survive so long as its enemies, in combating it, contradict history, ignore natural law, and put reason, logic and common sense to shame.

HORACE CLIFTON.

NEWS NARRATIVE

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 3.

Political evolution in Russia.

As a sequel to the session of the Zemstvos congress at Moscow (p. 263), reports are at hand of the permanent suppression of the *Novesti* (p. 264), the leading Jewish liberal paper of St. Petersburg, and of the seizure by the Russian police of all the documents relative to the proceedings of the congress.

A new congress of Zemstvos is to meet at Moscow in August, in which, in addition to Zemstvos and Dumas representatives, two peasants from each province and delegates from various liberal associations of the Empire are to participate.

While the Zemstvos movement, coming up from the people of Russia, is struggling for a parliamentary system of government, the Czar is planning for the national assembly, under Imperial authority and subject to Imperial control, which he promised (vol. vii, p. 777) five months ago. Pursuant to these plans as made public within the week, this assembly will meet November 14 next, and the elections for delegates will be held one month earlier—October 14. As reported from St. Petersburg on the 30th, the plans aimed to eliminate class representation by allowing all persons to vote except soldiers, persons under 25 years of age, governors and vice-governors of provinces, prefects and other police authorities, convicts divest-

ed of civil rights, tramps, foreigners and women. It appears from this report, however, that the voting is not to be directly for delegates, but is to be for members of electoral colleges, by which the delegates are to be chosen; and that qualifications for voting for members of the electoral college are prescribed in complicated ways with reference to property interests. Under the presidency of the Czar, the council of ministers assembled on the 2d to perfect the plans.

Norway and Sweden.

The plan for dissolving the union between Sweden and Norway (p. 263), heretofore reported to the Swedish Riksdag by its joint committee, was approved on the 27th by both houses of that parliamentary body. In the upper house the committee's report was adopted unanimously and without debate. In the lower house some objection was made to a detail of the report, the Socialist leader in that body having urged that the proposal of the report to borrow \$25,000,000 to meet the new conditions might be regarded in Norway as a threat of war. Other speakers replied that the peaceful intentions of Sweden would be amply shown by a unanimous vote for dissolution of the union in accordance with Norway's wishes. About 20 members voted against the loan, but the report as a whole was adopted unanimously in the lower house as in the upper.

A new ministry for Sweden was formed on the 2d. It is bipartisan in politics and favorable to peace.

Norway has made a prompt response to Sweden's peaceful proposals. In accordance with Sweden's exaction of a referendum in Norway, the Norwegian ministry proposed to the Storting on the 27th that a referendum on the question of dissolution of the union be taken. This proposition was at once referred to a special committee, which reported favorably on the 28th, recommending, however, that the referendum be considered by itself and not as part of the series of conditions of dissolution presented by Sweden. Immediately upon receiving this report the Storting adopted it

and fixed August 13 for submitting the question of dissolution to the people of Norway.

Jewish world's congress at Basel.

In Switzerland on the 30th the Zionist congress was rent by the refusal of the majority to accept an offer of land for settlement in Africa. The movement of which this congress is representative was inspired by the late Dr. Theodor Herzl for the restoration to the Jews of their fatherland. It began with a congress at Basel, Switzerland, in 1899. At its fourth annual meeting, held in 1902 at the same place, the congress resolved (vol. iv, p. 617) to raise by collections from all parts of the world \$1,000,000 for the purchase of land in Palestine for Jewish occupation. The British government, influenced probably by colonizing possibilities, soon became interested in the movement, and at the session of the congress at Basel in 1903 (vol. vi, p. 328) an offer from Great Britain of 5,000 square miles in extent, in Uganda, British East Africa, was considered. No action was taken by the congress at that time, beyond the appointment of an inspection committee to view the land. But at the recent meeting of the congress, on the 30th of July last, the subject was disposed of. This meeting began on the 27th in the grand hall of the Casino at Basel, with over a thousand delegates representing the leading forces of the Zionist movement throughout the world, and including an unusually strong delegation from the United States. Max Nordau pronounced an eloquent eulogy in memory of Dr. Theodor Herzl, founder of the movement, this being the first anniversary of his death, and the session was suspended for an hour as a mark of respect. At the afternoon session of that day Dr. Nordau was elected president. When the British government's offer came up for discussion as a special order on the 28th, Israel Zangwill urged acceptance of the proposition, provided the particular tract offered, which had been found to be unhealthful, were replaced by or extended to a more favorable location. Mr. Cowan of London and Mr. Leon on behalf of the American delegation urged that the offer be declined. After a prolonged debate and acrimoni-

ous proceedings, the congress, on the 30th, adopted the following resolution by a large majority:

Resolved, That the Zionist congress firmly maintains the principle for the foundation of the colony in the Jewish fatherland, Palestine, or in that vicinity. The congress thanks Great Britain for her offer of African territory, the consideration of which, however, is terminated; and hopes that Great Britain will continue to aid in the solution of the Jewish question.

The minority, described in the dispatches as "the socialist section," thereupon withdrew. On the 31st they issued a circular address to the Jewish people protesting against their treatment during the meetings of the congress, and giving notice of their intention to form a special organization, with the view of taking over the Uganda territory.

British politics.

The Parliamentary paper explaining the proposed redistribution of Parliamentary seats, regarding which the Ministry recently suffered a defeat (p. 263), shows that the proposed distribution was in accordance with the following scheme:

The number of members of the House of Commons shall not be materially altered. A municipal borough or urban district with a population exceeding 65,000, not at present separately represented, shall become a separate constituency. A county or borough with a population exceeding 65,000 multiplied by the number of its members shall have an additional member for every complete 65,000 of the excess. A borough with a population of less than 18,500 shall cease to exist as a separate constituency. A county or borough with two members and a population of less than 75,000 shall (except in the case of the city of London) lose one member. A county or borough with more than two members and a population of less than 65,000 multiplied by the number of its members shall have one less member for every complete 65,000 of the deficiency. The county and the borough shall, as far as practicable, be made coextensive with the administrative county and the municipal borough respectively, but the boundaries of a borough shall not be curtailed except when the population affected is inconsiderable. In London each metropolitan borough shall be treated as if it were a borough returning the number of members returned by the present boroughs or divisions to which it most nearly corresponds.

The net result is shown in the following table:

	Gain.	Loss.
England—		
Counties	6 ..	8
Boroughs, London....	5 ..	—
Boroughs, outside London, including new boroughs.....	20 ..	6
	31 ..	14
	Net gain..17	
Wales—		
Counties	— ..	—
Boroughs, including new borough.....	1 ..	—
	— ..	—
	2 ..	1
	Net gain.. 1	
Scotland—		
Counties	1 ..	—
Boroughs	4 ..	1
	— ..	—
	5 ..	1
	Net gain.. 4	
Ireland—		
Counties	— ..	20
Boroughs	1 ..	3
	— ..	—
	1 ..	—
	Net loss..22	

Reviving feudalism in New Foundland.

Before the King there is supposed to be now pending for his approval, if he may not already have sanctioned it, a bill adopted by the legislature of New Foundland about two months ago, which would create intolerable feudal conditions in America. Newfoundland, at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, has an area of 40,200 square miles, and a population of 217,037. Although adjacent to Canada it is independent of that Dominion and holds direct Colonial relations with Great Britain. The government (inclusive of Labrador) is administered by a governor appointed by the king, and a legislative body of two houses—the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly. The proposed feudalization referred to above began openly on the 27th of April last, according to the London (England) "Land and Labour," by the introduction by the local ministry of resolutions in the House of Assembly—

for the confirmation of a contract which, it appeared, had been made on January 12 with the "Anglo-Newfoundland Development company," promoted by "Messrs. Harmsworth, of London, England," assigning to them in perpetuity about three thousand square miles of land for the purpose of wood-pulp and paper manufacture.

The contract included amazing conditions as to the unfettered ownership of this vast area, which practically handed over the government of the region to the new company. The same day a bill embodying the contract was read a first time. Next day, April 28, it was read a second time. On May 2—the next sitting of the House—the bill was committed. On May 3 it was reported. On May 5 it was read a third time. A great public meeting of citizens was held on May 10, and passed emphatic resolutions against the bill. . . . Nevertheless, the bill was sent on to the upper house or Legislative Council, where it was read a second time on May 12, in spite of the protest and petition. On May 17 the measure was committed and reported, on May 22 recommitted for a technical alteration and again reported, and set down for third reading on May 29. On that date the third reading was deferred, and we are informed by the Colonial Office that it has not yet reached this country for the royal assent, but that the substance of the citizens' protest has been telegraphed by Sir William Macgregor, the governor. The upper basin of the Exploits river, of which it is proposed to make the Harmsworth combination absolute rulers—as we shall presently show—is a lake country more than a hundred miles long, its scenery surpassing even that of Killarney. It cuts right across the heart of the colony. The three thousand square miles included in the concession are a noble and favorite sporting and fishing country, and the deer of the great northern peninsula of Newfoundland pass across this ground twice every year when they migrate southward in the autumn and return in the spring. By fencing in the concession Messrs. Harmsworth will be able to capture almost all the deer of Newfoundland. . . . It is believed that there are valuable minerals in the concession; and these are handed over absolutely for a consideration which is little more than nominal. The Exploits river is nearly as long as the Thames, and the great region of mountain, river, lake, and forest to be handed over forever to Messrs. Harmsworth is as large as the Thames basin from London up to the headwaters near Gloucester. It includes a dozen fine lakes, one of which, Red Indian lake, is three times the length of Windermere. These lakes, and their connecting rivers, with the water power and traffic facilities appertaining to them, are handed over to the Harmsworth trust. The new Harmsworth province is now connected by rail with both east and west, the railway cutting across the Exploits river just below the ceded territory. The citizens of Newfoundland have recently had to buy back this railway from its monopolist own-

er at a cost of over a million dollars, and in 1901 paid Mr. Reid, the late owner of the railway, nearly another million for certain land concessions formerly granted by the legislature. Newfoundland having thus taxed itself "up to the hilt," as one of the speakers at the protest meeting said, to recover the national heritage in the land and means of transit, is now actually going to hand over to an English firm of capitalists the very land for the opening up and development of which the railway was required. This new province, which is being handed over absolutely to the Harmsworth partners, is twice as large as Prince Edward island, and four times as large as Rhode Island, one of the states of the American union. The so-called "pulp bill," under plea of encouraging a paper industry, actually sets up a power in one of the most fertile and promising regions of the British empire as absolute as that of the czar or the sultan. The concession is perpetual. "For ever and ever" is the note that rings through the Newfoundland press. The lease is for 99 years, but the government undertakes "at the expiration of every further term of 99 years" to renew the lease with "the same rents and royalties, covenants, provisions, and agreements." So that Newfoundland is eternally bound, and long after the present capitalists are forgotten their descendants may be the sole ground landlords of a country half as large as Wales. The concession includes permission to "fell, cut down, and use all or any of the trees for the time being standing and growing on any part of the demised premises," without any reforestation obligations. The Harmsworths may sweep the land bare like a flight of locust. Not only the land is handed over, but "lands covered by water." All streams, lakes, water-courses, springs, are to be the property of the company for its milling and logging business, and it may divert, dam, or stop up all waters at its pleasure, and use all the power of the great waterfalls for driving its mills. Any person using any of the waterways on the territory for floating lumber must pay rent to the Harmsworth trust. . . . The whole of the three thousand square miles of land and the property upon it, as well as mill property outside the concession shall be exempt from municipal taxation. Thus, throughout all future generations, the very germs of local government cannot spring up within the territory. The company are to be bound to give sites for churches or schools, but nothing is said as to houses or shops, so that they can retain the power of expulsion from residence in the territory, and also will have the power to prevent any selling of goods to their workers, except from their own stores. Every man in the

whole region will have to buy all his goods at the company's prices, and be liable to immediate exile if he incurs the company's disfavor. It might be thought these powers—exemption from local and imperial taxation, absolute ownership of timber, and also all minerals and precious and other metals, leave to charge rental for the use of waterways, and landlord's rights over every foot of the territory—were amazing enough. But what of this? The Harmsworth combination are to have power, within 70 miles of their borders—that is, in an additional area twice as large as Wales—to "enter and take" any lands required by them for rights of way, telegraphs, telephones, railways, tramways, roads, mills, works, factories, warehouses, wharves, piers, docks or shipping facilities, paying to the dispossessed owners or occupiers a price to be settled, if necessary, by arbitration. "And upon payment to the owners or occupiers aforesaid of the amount awarded in such arbitration the said lands shall become and be absolute indefeasible property of the lessee." Not only is any property owner within 70 miles of Messrs. Harmsworth's borders to be compelled to "stand and deliver" if they covet any part of his land, but the government must do the same. Only the government will not receive even an arbitration price, but a rental working out at 12 acres a penny! Choice bits of picked land in important positions, at 12 acres a penny! Was ever anything like it heard outside Gilbertian farce? All the choice harbor land may be picked up thus and appropriated for 70 miles in every direction from Harmsworthland, provided that not more than half a mile square is seized upon in any single creek, harbor or bay. Rivals may thus be absolutely shut out from the rivers. What, it may be asked, are "Messrs. Harmsworth, of London, England," to pay for all these unheard-of concessions? (1.) An annual rental of two dollars a square mile. Even this paltry payment "shall not be payable on swamp or barren lands." Yet on those barren lands, which are a free gift to the Harmsworths for ever, towns for the workers may be built, and any ground rent charged that pleases the company. (2.) While there is no charge except the rent for the trees converted into pulp or paper, 50 cents a thousand feet shall be paid for trees converted into "sawn lumber." (3.) For "precious and other metals, minerals, and mineral substances," the company are to pay "five per cent. of the net profits." And this is how the "net profits" are ascertained. From the "gross price" received are to be deducted: (1.) Wages and salaries. (2.) Ten per cent. per annum on the cost of buildings, shafts, engines, machinery, gear, tools, rails,

plants, and effects of every description used in the mines or in connection with them. (3.) Insurance of ditto. (4.) Taxes, rates, assessments and duties. (5.) Repairs, storage, freight, export duties and harbor, dock and other dues. Thus the company may earn compound interest of ten per cent. before it begins to reckon the "net profits" on which the shilling in the pound is due to the government. It can prospect, sink trial shafts, lay down railways, and pay itself a perpetual ten per cent. on the works, whether individually remunerative or not, before it "owns up" to a halfpenny of that "net profit." The payment for mineral wealth is therefore virtually nil! And that exhausts the payments under the agreement. A paltry four or five thousand dollars a year—a fraction of the annual rent of a draper's shop in a London suburb—for a vast monopoly, which within a few years may hold within its grasp towns, railways, harbors, telegraphs, the industrial centers, and the means of communication of the colony!

Municipal ownership in the United States.

The tendency in the United States, away from private monopolization of public business and property, has expressed itself emphatically at Springfield, Ill., in connection with the question of public lighting. Ten years ago that city was paying \$137.50 per year per lamp for electric lighting. Resenting this as an overcharge, a body of public-spirited citizens formed a lighting corporation which built a plant and agreed not only to furnish lighting for \$113.33, but to apply the difference between that sum and \$60 to paying the cost of the plant, which, upon being so paid for, should be the property of the city. In five years the city owned the plant. But instead of proceeding to operate it, the Council leased it for five years to the Capital Electric Company, which had already obtained a franchise for commercial lighting. This company afterwards transferred its plant and rights under both franchise and lease to the Public Utilities Company, with which the city is now in conflict. Early in May of the present year, in view of the approaching expiration of the lease, the Mayor, H. H. Devereaux, appointed a special lighting committee to consider the question of leasing vs. operating. This committee was composed of the Comptroller, the Electrician, and four

aldermen. Pending final action, the lease was extended from June 1st, when it expired, until July 1st, and later until August 1st. Meanwhile, the Business Men's Association took up the subject, and a special committee composed of Jos. Farris, F. H. Bode, and Fred Bengel recommended advising the city to operate its plant, but the report was voted down by the Association by 18 to 10. The singular fact of so small a vote in a membership of 350 and an attendance of 75, is explained by the statement that the "bankers and big business men were in favor of the lease and the little business men stayed away or did not vote." The Mayor's official committee made a divided report to the Council. The majority report favored municipal operation; the minority, all aldermen, favored leasing and recommended advertising for bids. It soon became evident that a majority of the Council would support the minority report. When the reports were submitted, Alderman Hickox, the leader of the leasers, moved to strike out of the minority report the clause for advertising for bids, as, in his opinion, no lower bid than that of the Utilities Company, \$55, would be forthcoming. The motion was carried and the minority report adopted. Alderman Hickox at once offered an ordinance leasing the plant to the Utilities Company for ten years at \$55 per arc lamp per year, to be paid by the city. At the next meeting a verbal bid of \$52.50 was made, and at an adjourned meeting on the following day a motion to again adjourn for the purpose of enabling this and other bids to be perfected was defeated by the advocates of a renewal lease. Alderman Hickox then moved that the ordinance be put on its passage, but the Mayor recognized another alderman who made a motion to adjourn, which the Mayor declared carried. On the 28th a large mass meeting of citizens at the courthouse adopted resolutions condemning the members of the Council who had attempted to contract with the Utilities Company for lighting the city, and commended the members who stood for municipal operation. A special meeting of the Council on the 29th, called by the leaders to extend the present lease for a month, was adjourned

by the Mayor, "under the gavel." A majority of the aldermen, all in favor of leasing, endeavored to revive the meeting, but were forced by the police to leave the chamber. They adjourned to the law office of one of their number, and there voted to extend the lease for a month. At the regular meeting of the Council on the 31st the minutes of this meeting were not read, but the minutes of the regular meeting were read and adopted. Owing to the absence of a "leaser" alderman the Mayor's rulings were clearly sustained. A large crowd of citizens attended and presented the resolutions of the mass meeting favoring city operation. Meanwhile the Utilities Company had obtained an injunction prohibiting the Mayor from taking possession of certain property connected with the lighting plant, the title to which is in dispute between the company and the city. This property consists of arc lamps and electrical extensions added to the city's original plant. The company claims these additions as its own property; the city claims the plant as a whole. Local public sentiment appears from the dispatches to be general in support of Mayor Devereaux's city operation policy.

Mayor Dunne on municipal ownership.

Mayor Dunne of Chicago spoke on his municipal ownership policy (p. 265) on the 29th at Boston. In the course of his speech he said:

Misrepresentation and mendacity have been resorted to freely by the press of Chicago, and in the press dispatches sent out from that city, in order to embarrass, impede and prevent the consummation of the municipalization of the street car systems of that city.

Referring to his "contract plan" he called it "a short cut to municipal ownership" and predicted that the system would "prove so remunerative as to pay for its construction inside of ten years." He assured his audience that—

Chicago is in earnest, and when she says "I will" to-day she will say "I have done" to-morrow. That to-morrow, in my opinion, will be but a few months away. It may be longer, but the resistless force of public sentiment cannot be withstood. Chicago can and will accomplish what Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Hull, Aberdeen, Cardiff, Dundee, Sutherland,

Berlin, Vienna and Milan and hundreds of other great cities of the world have done.

In closing he said:

I confidently predict, from what I know of the people of Chicago, that within a very short time it will have the proud distinction of being the first great city in the United States to be in actual ownership of its own municipal street car system, and when once that great city has proved that municipalization of street car plants is an assured success, hundreds of other American cities will follow and accomplish an economic revolution to the great advantage of the citizens of this country.

Mayor Dunne spoke on the same subject to a large audience at Providence on the 1st.

The Chicago teamsters' strike.

At last the teamsters' strike (p. 265) has come to an end. The truck drivers voted almost unanimously on the 27th to raise their boycott against strike-bound establishments; and on the 30th the coal teamsters' union called their strike off. This action was followed on the 31st by the employers' union, through its "action committee," with a declaration of permission to its members to engage without discrimination and under the barn rules such of their old employes as might be needed.

A telegraphers' strike.

A general strike of the 2,000 telegraphers on the lines of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railways was ordered on the 31st. The telegraphers had been given the alternative of accepting the wage schedule of the company by the 1st or quitting the road.

Yellow fever in New Orleans.

On the 28th the city of New Orleans, against which the State had declared a quarantine (p. 266), was practically isolated from the rest of the world. The bars of quarantine had been raised against her on the 27th by Mississippi, Texas, Tennessee and Alabama. Mississippi is maintaining her quarantine with a military force, and not only against New Orleans but against the whole of Louisiana. Not alone residents of that State, but through passengers who have complied with the government regulations, have remained the required length of time at the detention camps and hold certificates from the marine hospital corps,

are turned back. Texas also has extended her quarantine to the entire State of Louisiana. On the 1st it was reported from New Orleans that a clash was imminent between Louisiana and Mississippi because the latter's troops, in maintaining quarantine, had invaded the former's territory and seized property. At latest reports the plague was spreading. Statistical reports of the 3d from New Orleans are as follows:

New cases yesterday..... 33
Deaths yesterday 11
Total number cases to date..... 379
Total deaths to date..... 79

For abolishing taxes on the home.

Important action of general interest was taken by the United States League of Building and Loan Associations at its annual convention (p. 267) at New York last week. Fred C. Leubuscher, a New York lawyer prominent as a representative of these interests, introduced resolutions advocating the abolition of tariff taxes on building materials. The resolutions made the point that these taxes, no longer necessary to protect American industry, hamper home-building. They asked that a committee be appointed to prepare and present a memorial to Congress for immediate repeal of such taxes. Referred to the committee on resolutions, a majority of whom were opposed to them, the resolutions were reported back with a recommendation that they be referred to a special committee with instructions to report at the next convention. This recommendation was adopted by the convention and Mr. Leubuscher was made chairman of the special committee. His associates on the committee are J. N. C. Shumway, a State senator of Illinois; E. G. Henry, New Albany, Ind.; Fred Bader, of Cincinnati, and Michael J. Brown, of Philadelphia.

NEWS NOTES

—Secretary Taft and party (p. 266) left Japan on the 1st.

—Sergius Witte, the senior peace envoy for Russia, who sailed last week from France on the Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse (p. 264), arrived at New York on the 2d.

—A suit for a receivership for the Equitable Life Assurance Society (p. 185) was begun on the 27th in the

Federal court at New York. J. Wilcox Brown, of Maryland, is the leading complainant.

—Seven coal companies owning mines throughout Ohio and West Virginia and employing 16,000 men, arranged on the 27th to combine their coal, railroad and dock properties, valued at \$50,000,000, under a common directorate, thereby forming the second largest coal corporation in the world. It is named the Sunday Creek Co.

—Since the adjournment of the Connecticut legislature it is learned that it had enacted a corrupt practice act, which, as the Providence State describes it, "has teeth and can bite." It provides that any successful candidate for office in Connecticut who is found guilty of corrupt practices in connection with his election, shall forfeit the office to his defeated rival.

—Gov. Folk has forced the suspension of gambling at the Delmar race track in St. Louis county outside of the city by the use of the city police force when the sheriff refused to act. Gov. Folk said of the result: "I am glad of it. The law has been vindicated. What has happened in the racetrack case should prove a lesson to others who dare defy the laws of Missouri."

—A report from Omaha to the Chicago Chronicle (Rep.) of the 31st is to the effect that James H. Eckels, Paul Morton, Thomas F. Ryan, Edward Cudahy and others have combined to establish a chain of papers in Nebraska to be controlled editorially from a central office for the purpose of creating popular dissatisfaction with Bryan in his own State and thereby discrediting him as a Democratic leader in the nation.

—A 7-column article by Tolstoy appeared in the London Times of the 1st, in which Tolstoy discusses the present situation in Russia. The land question is reported to be the principal subject of the article. In this connection it asserts that Henry George was right and that he perfected the only practicable, peaceful solution of the problem; and it predicts that the problem will be actually solved by the Russian people by abolishing landed property, thus showing the other nations the way to a rational, free and happy life.

—A suit was brought at Albany, N. Y., on the 27th by the Attorney General of the State, against the officers and directors of the Equitable Life Assurance Society (p. 185) for restitution of misappropriated funds, and that the net surplus of the society be applied to the uses of the policy holders. Among the defendants are Cornelius N. Bliss, James B. Forgan, M. E. Ingalls, Alexander J. Cassatt, James J. Hill, Chauncey M. Depew,

John Jacob Astor, Edward H. Harri-man, Levi P. Morton, August Belmont, Robert T. Lincoln and Henry C. Frick.

—Mayor Johnson of Cleveland prohibited gambling on the 31st at the race track at Glenville, a city which has just been annexed to Cleveland. He is reported in the Plain Dealer of the 1st as saying on the subject: "Mayor James of Glenville told the race track people they could sell and they made all preparations. I might have delayed the annexation of Glenville so that James could have made good his promise, but to have done so would have been cowardly. All my friends urged me not to interfere. All the pressure was on that side. I am not a crusader and not a reformer. All laws cannot be enforced. I would not attempt to stop election betting or church raffles." He gave as his reasons for refusing to allow pool selling at Glenville, that the legislature had refused to legalize it, and for two years it was prohibited at the Glenville track. "If there had been pool selling at the race track up to the time of the annexation," he added, "there would have been no interference, unless there had been a scandal; but there had been no pool selling there for two years, so I merely maintained the status quo."

PRESS OPINIONS

POSTAL GRAFT.

Everybody's (Magazine), July.—Why not reduce the postal deficit caused by the extension of rural free delivery, by cutting off some of the swollen profits of the railways on postal contracts?

ELIHU ROOT.

(Chicago) Unity (rel.), July 27.—We can but express our deep regret that the man who perhaps more than any other shaped the policy of the government and justified the same with his high legal sagacity in its Philippine conquests, is now in charge of its international affairs and is to manage the diplomatic service of our nation. We regret the Philippine episode as a lamentable reversion on the part of the noblest republic in the world to aristocratic and monarchic methods and ideals. . . . Mr. Root is unquestionably a man of ability; we doubt not his integrity, but the destiny of a nation that is intrusted to the keeping of such a man, whether as Secretary of State or as President, will fall short of that perfect mission which the poets and philosophers have fondly ascribed to the United States of America.

THE LATEST ATTACK ON BRYAN.

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), July 31.—Monday's dispatches contained an account of a scheme to destroy the political influence of Mr. Bryan, of Nebraska. The scheme, it is said, is backed by J. H. Eckles, of Chicago; Paul Morton and Thomas F. Ryan (Equitable Life grafters); Edward Cudahy, the beef trust magnate, who, if the laws were enforced, would probably be in prison to-day. This gang of highbinders, we are told, backed by the boodlebund of plutocracy, is to establish a chain of newspapers in Nebraska, for the purpose of conducting an "educational" campaign against Bryan. . . . Fighting

Bryan! Bryan picks bigger game than that from between his teeth after each meal. And they are going to conduct a "campaign of education." They don't mean education; they mean misrepresentation, hypocrisy, vilification, nonsense, falsehood and fraud. That aromatic bunch is not capable of conducting any other kind of a campaign.

THE LIBERAL (DEMOCRATIC) PHILOSOPHY.

The (London) Speaker (Lib.), July 1.—No people more persistently assume that all the ordinary governments are bad than do all the ordinary socialists, who wish to make government omnipotent. But the real Liberal philosophy about freedom is quite different. The Liberal does not say that the government will choose badly. He does not say that the man will choose well. He says that up to a certain point it is a good thing that the man should choose. In certain matters, as the choice of a wife or the choice of a walk before breakfast, the Liberal declares not that the man's act is good in every point, but that it is good in one point—in that it is the man's act. The Liberal doctrine about freedom can be indicated in two sentences. It regards every man as, in a certain degree, a god. It therefore desires every man to be, in a certain degree, a creator. It desires him to make good things, not merely to have them. It is not satisfied that the life of the community should pass through him, as if he were a pillar-box. It desires him to bear his own fruit, as if he were a tree.

MISCELLANY

BABE OF THE TENEMENT.

For The Public.

Babe of the tenement,
Born but to die,
Through the cathedral choir
Wails your weak cry.
What though our wealth afford
Hirelings to praise a God;
If this should find reward—
'Tis not of Christ.

Babe of the tenement,
How can they feel
Who would your hope of life
Carelessly steal?
What though the landlord sits
Nursing his crafty wits,
Bloated with benefits—
'Tis not of Christ.

Babe of the tenement,
So you must die;
Some churchman bars your place
Under God's sky.
How should they choke who sing?
Can this coarse cruel thing
Flourish where Christ is King?
'Tis not of Christ.

Babe of the tenement,
He named you heir,
Who to the sparrow's fall
Stooped with his care.
What is this steeple high
Where they have let you die?
This is St. Property;
'Tis not of Christ.

CHARLES HOWARD FITCH.

Suppose that for the word soldier we should always use the word man-killer: how would it affect the repute of the profession?—The Crown, Newark, N. J.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

A MAYOR WHO DOES NOT "FIX HIS FENCES."

Mayor Johnson yesterday signed the ordinance accepting the report of the Glenville annexation commission fixing terms and conditions for the annexation of that city to Cleveland. Mayor Johnson assured the council last Monday night that he would sign the ordinance, not because he did not think the terms were as good as ought to be secured, but because the people of the two cities had overwhelmingly voted for annexation.

Notwithstanding this declaration Republican members of the council and many residents of Glenville feared the Mayor would veto the ordinance because it would add to Cleveland a large voting district that is considered Republican. Mayor Johnson acted promptly in order to dispose of this rumor.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 24.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS IN MORALS.

Rev. Quincy Ewing, in the Age-Herald, of Birmingham, Ala.

I read in a local paper yesterday a rather gleeful account of how two "posses" of deputy sheriffs were sent out to different points in the county last Sunday to corral Negro crap-shooters; how the two posses found "something doing" at Johnsonville and Ensley, "drew into their dragnet" 24 "festive sons of Ham," and lodged them behind the bars of the county jail.

Surely this is somewhat of a remarkable proceeding—"posses" of deputy sheriffs sent out to hunt up crap-shooters! Are we getting so very moral and clean in this district that posses must go after crap-shooters who need to be hunted and spied upon in order to be discovered? Twenty-four in the "dragnet"—and in dungeon cells, charged with "violating the Sunday law!"—and they had to be hunted by posses in order to stand revealed in their Sabbath-breaking iniquity!

I find myself asking, and I cannot but ask aloud: Will posses of deputies be likely to go soon on a Sunday hunt for crap-shooters who have white skins? And how long will it be before posses will be sent out by the sheriff to corral men of wealth, and social standing, and votes, in this community, who appear to find poker absolutely necessary to relieve the ennui of living through Sundays?

Probably posses on the hunt might have found as many as 24 of them last Sunday not as far from the sheriff's office as Ensley or Jonesville!

What is to become of the two dozen

"festive sons of Ham" who were drawn into the dragnet by the hunting posses and locked up in wretched cells?

Why, they will be convicted, of course, and sent to somebody's mines, to be worked for all they are worth on the abominable "convict lease system;" or they will be put in shackles and set to work on the streets or roads, in full view of the public gaze—including that of our refined women and our little children! And all because they committed an offense no graver than dozens of "nice gentlemen" are guilty of in this city every Sunday that dawns. They were playing "come seben, come leben," so peaceably—so much after the manner of "nice gentlemen," that they had to be hunted by posses!

July 18, 1905.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the original MS.

Dear John: Some jokes are so faint you have to tell 'em loud, or print 'em in big type to give 'em any bite. Here's one that didn't come out of the almanac:

Once upon a time there was a corporation organized for its own good, called the Standfast Oil Company. It had a Junior Clerk who was new to the business and fresh to this faded world. The Junior Clerk got twelve dollars and fifty cents a week, and he got it prompt, for the oil company was solvent as the government, and had an easier cinch on revenue, for whereas the government collected when due, the oil company collected in advance.

Well, one day the Chief Clerk of the Standfast Oil Company says, says he: "Go to! There's mighty little do'n' to-day; suppose you take the rebate-book, Junior, and go out and collect rebates."

Then the Junior Clerk takes the rebate book under his arm, lights a cigar, and says: "What is a rebate, anyway?" says the Junior Clerk.

"A rebate, Sonny," says the Chief Clerk,— "a rebate is where you pay one hundred dollars freight on a car-load of oil, and get fifty dollars back from the railroad as conscience money," says the Chief Clerk. "Go on!" says the Chief Clerk; and the Chief Clerk looked at the Junior over the end of his nose, "Go on!"

Well, the Junior Clerk went on; and at noontime came in, his eyes bulging.

"See here!" says he, "this rebate business is a peanut with three beans! Why, I got 'em every shot! The railroads paid on every car as soon as

I touched 'em! Say, I'm a treasure ship on the Spanish Main, an' no pirates! I'm a travelin' bank, an' no cashier. See me unload! Look! Gold! Checks!—But where do the railroads get on? What's the good of chargin' a hundred dollars, and payin' back fifty? Why not charge fifty to begin, and save bookkeepin'?"

"S's'h!" says the Chief Clerk, says he. "Quiet is the lay! You are a bright boy, Junior, to notice it. Now mark my words, and I'll put you on. You see the railroads are bound to pay this rebate to all shippers; but it's only one or two of the big ones that know it. The Standfast Oil twigged it, asks for it, and gets it." And he winked two times at the Junior Clerk, for it's only the head of a firm that's required to be pious. "I suppose," said the Chief Clerk, dreamily, "I suppose there's no one knows how many millions are now a layin' up in the rebate fund of the railroads—uncalled-for rebates, nobody to claim 'em," says the Chief Clerk pathetically. "You saw yourself how willin' the railroads are to pay 'em, when asked. Go to dinner!" says the Chief Clerk.

Then the Junior Clerk went to dinner to a stool and ten cents' worth of coffee and sinkers.

"It's \$12.50 I'm a gettin', and me able to touch the railroads that way. It won't last," says the Junior Clerk. "Maybe I won't use a tip like that?"

So the Junior Clerk hied him to a lawyer who built trusts, and he says: "Build me a corporation with lots of stock; build her wide and deep; call her the Columbian Collection Company of America; and don't spare expense, for I've more money in sight than a federal treasury."

"All right," says the lawyer, "come again in two days and sign the papers."

Then the Junior Clerk came and signed, and the lawyer asked him his line of collection, and the Junior Clerk told him of the navy-yard heaps of rebate-gold that the railroads had laid away.

"My company will pay a shipper, say ten dollars, take an assignment of all rebates—the shipper knows of none—and for ten, we'll collect thousands."

Then the lawyer looked cross-eyed at himself for a minute, and says: "It's a great scheme. You don't happen to have five dollars about your clothes to help this thing along, do you?"

And the Junior Clerk said that in a week it would be no object to him; and he went out haughty and a little

unsteady, for he was already lame carryin' the money he expected to make.

Then the lawyer said to his book-keeper: "Try to remember the features of that young man, if you are interested, for we shall never see him again. He has a scheme for gettin' rich off the rebates that John P. Rockefeller didn't get away with, and John is a barber who, when he shaved a pumpkin, never left any whiskers, or I miss my guess. Charge the account to profit and loss, for as we sow it's only once in several times we reap," said the lawyer.

But the next day he got a letter from the Junior Clerk: "Here's five dollars, and wipe the slate. Drop the corporation, for I'm too young to go into business by myself in a town of this size," wrote the Junior Clerk.

And the lawyer who tells it says that he'll stand on a stack of bibles as high as you choose to pile 'em, and say, any day, that the only words in this yarn that are untrue are the names of the people and corporations mentioned; and these he'll never give away, so help him.

UNCLE SAM.

P. S.—This is a true story, as the books of subscription, etc., will testify. It may not be of general interest. U. S.

WHAT CAN RHODE ISLANDERS DO?

An article written by Lincoln Steffens for the first issue (dated June 27) of *The State*, Rhode Island's able new paper, published weekly at Providence in the interests of "a better and greater Rhode Island." Citizens of other States may profit by this article.

The first thing Rhode Islanders could do, they have done: They have found their public opinion, they have expressed it and they have shown that it is a force. The next thing to do is to make it "the" force. Rhode Islanders have to put their public opinion into politics and—keep it there.

How? There is no one way. There are many ways, and no man, be he insider or be he outsider, can tell a people just which course is the best for that people. Nor does the method matter much. The effort is the point. That makes good citizenship. Even where it fails, the effort for reform produces—character. See, for example, what the patient, earnest, honest devotion of ex-Gov. Garvin has done for Dr. Garvin; it has made him one of the finest men in this broad land. Well, that is what we are after, I take it; good government is not an end in itself. A good King, a great Czar or a wise boss could give us good government. But we Americans set out

some hundred and odd years ago to give ourselves a good, representative government, which is a very different thing. The end of such a democratic republic is a race of good men and strong; and of good women and true. Now we are not producing such a race—not by a long shot. The flower of "our" modern System is John D. Rockefeller, and the brightest blossom of "your" Rhode Island System is your Marsden J. Perry. And as for the root and branch, your country people whose citizenship is purchasable at from \$2 to \$20 a head, suggests what you are at bottom. And that is what is the matter with Rhode Island. For the reason your State is what it is—a disgrace to the name "American"—is not that Senator Aldrich is selfish, nor that Marsden J. Perry is treacherous and unscrupulous, nor yet that Boss Brayton is corrupt and generous and "keeps his word." They are all that, those representative Rhode Islanders, but they are what they are because the people of Rhode Island have been out for themselves, have betrayed their trusts and have sold their votes. If the voters in the Rhode Island towns were not corruptible, and cheap; if the manufacturers and their "labor" would not, for the price of "protection" betray their State to their party; if financiers and business men and lawyers would not, for the sake of "good business," sacrifice "good government"—if, in brief, the people had not been selfish, treacherous and corrupt, then Aldrich and Perry and Brayton could not be so. I have spoken of Aldrich and Perry and Brayton as your representative men. I mean it. They have not, indeed, represented the best interests of your State, but they have represented the civic character of your people. Rhode Island has been a State for sale because the Rhode Islanders were a people for sale.

"But," you say, "Rhode Island is no worse than other States." If there is any comfort in that, take it. It is true. But to me it only explains why Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, Cincinnati and Ohio, New York, city and State—why the United States itself is not a government of the people, by the people, for the people. The American people have not been true enough to themselves or loyal enough to their government to rise above the petty and private advantages of business profit or personal comfort.

So, I say, the greatest good that can come from a reform movement for "good government" will be not the re-

forms achieved, but the character developed in trying to get them; not good government, but good citizenship. You may begin by making some men drop their "swag," but Rhode Islanders cannot go far without making sacrifices themselves, all along the line. The towns will have to give up some of the benefits of disproportionate representation; the country voters will have to lose the price of their votes; the manufacturers will have to risk their tariff for the sake of putting their "grand old party" through the discipline of defeat; the financiers will have to put up with proper regulations of their banks and with franchises granted on terms that consider the public weal. This will be hard, but, I, for one, thank God that we selfish Americans can't get reform by simply reforming the other fellow. I rejoice in the truth that we cannot get any essential betterment in our political condition except by becoming better people ourselves—all of us.

But the other fellow is the man to begin on. A corrupt government represents the sources of its corruption. The government of Rhode Island represents the public utility companies, including the railroad; the dominant financial institutions and groups; and vice. In other words, it is a government of the people, by the politicians, for the men who want to make special laws or break general laws. The thing for Rhode Islanders to do, then, is to make the government represent the common interests of all the people in the State. How? By organizing the public opinion of all the men in the State who want out of the State nothing but "a square deal." Now, I do not mean by "organization" the creation of a "third party." Really I don't mean "organization" at all. The development of some sort of community feeling, with a leadership, is all that is necessary, and a community feeling is nothing but a constant public opinion. But public opinion, to be a steady force in politics, has to be informed, expressed and guided to community of action—at the polls.

It is all very well, in emergencies, for committees of well-meaning men to march up to the State House and by a demonstration there of numbers, standing and eloquence to ask legislators to represent the public will. But such processions are revolutionary; they are extra-legal, unconstitutional; they are generally humiliating to a free people; they are late. Those legislators were elected by a corrupt ring

to represent the campaign fund and the other sources of corruption of the State. No "honest grafter" has a right, after taking money to pay his campaign expenses with the understanding that he will represent graft, to turn around and represent the public. The people should have elected those legislators if the people wished to be represented by "their" legislature.

The only right left to a people, after a legislature is elected, is to present quietly a petition and to have an orderly hearing upon it. The legislature may grant or deny the petition. If, however, the petition is denied, the people are bound to wait till the next election to "kick," and then it is better to—vote. Thus the only thing to do now is to defeat those legislators for reelection; that is the next step for Rhode Islanders to take.

The whole country saw your committees present your petition to "your" legislature. We saw "your" legislature deny or ignore your prayer. We saw, as you must have seen then, that "your" legislature did not represent you. You looked like a lot of poor Russians approaching your Czar, unwilling to believe that the "Little Father" would turn you away. Their "Little Father" sent out his Cossacks to shoot down his people. Your boss didn't order you shot down. He didn't have to. He sent his lobbyists to your "representatives," and they sold you out. They showed you where their allegiance lay. Now you saw that, you Rhode Islanders, you great and good Americans of Rhode Island, and you ask: "What are we going to do about it?"

Some ingenious, patent remedy is what you are looking for. I have none. I have heard of some, but they are complicated and untried; or, worse still, they are "radical." I think most of them are quack. Mine is simple, natural, and it has never failed to cure.

It is—vote. Go quietly to the polls at the next election and vote. Vote, first, against the party responsible for your humiliation, and mine; for an insult by your government to you is a demonstration that my government can snub me. Vote the other party ticket. "That is just as bad," you say? It is worse, probably. I find almost everywhere that the minority party is worse than the majority party; it is more meanly corrupt, hungrier and less well organized, is less capable of orderly grafting. But that does not

matter. Reform will not come in a day, nor a year, nor with one election, nor ten. You are not voting for the "Democratic Party," not yet. You are voting for yourselves and your State. You are voting *against* the Republican Party. You are teaching your own party, perhaps, a lesson. You are saying to its leaders: "Since you don't stand for me, I won't stand for you."

"Reform should go on within the party." If you believe that, then go into your party and reform it. But if you won't do that; if you "can't afford the time" to do political work all the year around, then let the politicians do it, but, if you leave party politics to the party politicians—do your work outside of your party. And the only "safe" and "easy" way to do that is to beat your party because it is "your" party. If your party does not represent you, vote against it or—your party and your State government and your United States Senators and the United States will go on representing what they represent now—graft.

This wholesale method is the party method; this will produce "good government" by representative parties. There is another method, and the two can be worked together. Certainly they both should be applied in Rhode Island this year. Besides teaching the Republicans a lesson, Rhode Islanders have examples to make of those legislators, individually, who betrayed or ignored them. These misrepresentatives must be defeated this fall. You—and I mean *you*—have, first, to beat the legislators who went to the State House from your district—if they failed you. And, for the sake of driving the moral well home, if there is any doubt about the man, give yourselves, give the State, give us self-respecting Americans everywhere, the benefit of that doubt. Throw out any man whose conduct was not conspicuously and positively high above suspicion.

This is beginning reform at home. After that, however, there is one more thing Rhode Islanders can do. They can beat the members from the rotten boroughs. How? By a petition to the people. Go out into the country and ask the country people to vote against *their* traitors. Go as committees of citizens, and go humbly. Go from town to town, and from district to district, explaining the situation. Explain what it means to sell a vote; admit that you have sold your vote, not for cash, but for comfort, or "protection" or something just as bad as money; promise to forego your bribe

profits and beg them to forego their "pay for time lost in going to the polls." Explain what it means to sell out a community; admit that you have submitted to the betrayal of the State for advantages to Providence or Newport or Pawtucket, and promise to think of Rhode Island and vote for the common good, if they will not be bribed wholesale by some special legislation for their town. Explain how the United States is concerned; how, because they sell out, Rhode Island sends to Washington to sell the rest of us out—your United States Senators Nelson W. Aldrich and that other one. What's his name? But no matter about them now. The point is that you ask the country citizens of Rhode Island to stand by you this year and help you, as one people, to clear out your State House. "No use?" I believe that such an appeal, earnestly made, and very plainly put, without oratorical display, vituperation or exaggeration, would arouse those country voters to a broader patriotism than your own. So much of an optimist am I. But, succeed or fail, the experiment should be made, for we Americans ought to know our own people. We want to know if, with \$15 cash per head on the one hand and the worth, whatever it is, of our institutions on the other, the plain American people will choose the dollars, as our captains of industry do. For perhaps democracy is impossible. If it is, if the great American experiment is a failure, let's find it out and—all go in for graft or whatever is the object of life.

If the people respond to a petition from the people, there remains to be done only the same thing over and over and over again. Watch the next legislature and all its creatures. Demand of it a revised constitution, a Republican form of government and everything else that you want. Watch what the organization of the legislature does to your bills. If it buries them in committee, hold the party in power responsible, and lick that party at the next election. If the organization lets your bills come to a vote, watch that vote and beat every legislator that votes against you. Take no excuses. Take results, vote on them and vote to kill.

It won't take long to restore representative government by this process, but it will take forever and ever to maintain representative government when you have got it. But that is the beauty of this scheme. It is a scheme

for self-government. It is self-government. It may not produce very good government, not at first. But, man to man, American to American, I tell you, it will produce good men, good Americans.

But, who is to do this watching and reporting? Who is to inform and express and guide this public opinion? Your State paper, The State. Committees do it in Chicago, the Voters' Leagues, Municipal and Legislative. But they have newspapers to carry their reports, enforce them and support their decisions. Rhode Island is as poor in representative newspapers as it is in representative government. The same false interests that control your State, control your leading presses. The State of Rhode Island needs The State, and you can lead Rhode Islanders out of their present slough of corruption and humiliation, if you proceed in the right spirit. Now, I know the spirit in which you are starting your little weekly. It is earnest, modest, patriotic and democratic. You hope only to voice the public opinion that has found itself in Rhode Island. If you do that long enough, that and no more, if you do not try to lead it too far or too fast; if you will stand now and always simply for a representative government that represents the people, all the people, all the time, you can do your job. And your job, as I conceive it, is to watch your representatives, tell how they vote and act on important bills and policies, and advise the others how to vote all together when these representatives appear for reelection. Don't try to prove bribery or corruption; don't try to guess motives; judge all men by what they do. If they stand by the State, urge the State to stand by them; if they go back on the State, advise the State to go back on them. You will make mistakes. If you do, confess them. Mistakes don't count. If you try to be fair, you will appear fair, and fair dealing will win, I believe. But there is one mistake that you cannot survive—because it is unfair. Don't blame the rascals too much, blame the people; don't ask the rascals to reform, ask the people to reform them—at the polls. That will reform the people, and that is where reform must begin in Rhode Island, in Missouri, in New York, in Pennsylvania—in the United States, and that is where it should end—in the good of a good people.

I believe in woman suffrage.—Phillips Brooks.

LOBSTERS I HAVE MET.

For The Public.

Bound for Australia we were at anchor off Samoa. The natives came swimming out to greet us, and we threw coins into the water for them. They can do most anything in the water. It made no difference where we threw the coins, those black fellows always got them.

Among the passengers was an American named Hutchins, who had quit the ministry to become a promoter; and also a good fellow named Sullivan. If there was anything on, Sullivan started it. Some of the natives rowed us ashore. They could row some, too.

It was awful hot. About a dozen of us started up street. The natives gathered about us like flies around a pie wagon. They all had something to sell. We were curious to know what was in the shops. We went first to a place where they "kept" hardware. Sullivan estimated they had about a hundred dollars' worth. The next was a dry goods store. They kept three hundred dollars' worth. Then came a general store. They had about two hundred dollars' worth; nothing doing. Aside from another place where they sold curios, these were all the shops for 30,000 people to trade at.

The people work one day a week, every Friday. On this day they cultivate their patch of taro. Taro looks like a half grown cabbage. It can be boiled, fried, baked or eaten raw. Aside from bananas, cocoanuts, and a few native fruits, taro is the chief food.

The next place of interest was the king's "palace." The King, Malletoa, was seated in the front yard, and as he saw us coming, got up to greet us. He was a fine looking old fellow, with gray hair and mustache, about six feet tall, and built like an athlete. He invited us in. After we were seated his guard did a native dance for us. It was a peach of a dance—regular rough-house. After it was over the King ordered a round of cava. Cava is a native dope that tastes like a dash of gasoline with a monkey wrench in it. The inclination is to regret it. I came near regretting mine, but I was so taken with the hospitality of the King I determined to hold it down.

"Fine country you have here," observed Sullivan, struggling to speak.

"Yes," answered the King, "good place to spend summer."

"It seems to me you don't have much else to spend."

"We don't need much else."

"Have you any aldermen here?"

"No, sir. No use for them."

"No use for them? Have you no trolley cars or railroads or water works?" Sullivan rubbered around.

"No, won't get them till we get aldermen."

The laugh was on Sullivan.

"If it's a fair question, what salary do you get?"

"Fifty dollars a month. But they haven't paid me for four months. If I don't get money this month, I quit job."

"Well, it's a hot job," mused Sullivan, fanning himself. "Ever smoke?" he asked, offering a cigar.

"Once a while," smiled His Giblets, reaching for the rope.

"What salary your president get?" he queried.

"\$50,000 a year."

"\$50,000 a year! That very much money."

"You would think so a lot harder if you saw the bunch we pay it to."

"Was no Mr. Cleveland a good president?"

"Very good, about two jumps ahead of a mackerel. He was a large crowd. No one ever accused him of being an Anarchist or a Socialist. He was very respectable."

"What is Anarchist?" asked the King, moving closer to Sullivan.

"An Anarchist is a man who thinks a government bears about the same relation to the growth and prosperity of a community that a rat does to a granary."

The King looked as if he thought he was getting a bum steer.

"And a Socialist?"

"He wants more rats."

The King grinned.

"I have heard about Prohibitionist too. What they want?"

"A Prohibitionist is deserving of a great deal of sympathy," smiled Sullivan; "he wants a policeman to help keep him sober."

This was a slant at Hutchins, and we had a laugh at his expense. Poor Hutchins! He didn't want to tip his mit on the prohibition question after the King laughed at the joke, yet he knew the rest of us were wise, so he had to butt in.

"I suppose you would substitute mob law for government?" he blurted.

"The mob we sent to the Philippines, or the one England sent to South Africa?" taunted Sullivan.

"No, but the sort that did business in Haymarket Square, Chicago, a few years ago."

"That kind of a mob wouldn't hurt anybody if it were let alone."

"Seems to me they hurt a few that night."

"Sure they did. They had been holding a peaceable meeting when a lot of policemen came up to start something. The crowd wasn't a lot of cigar signs; they could feel a rap on the head. It wasn't the first time that game had been played either, nor the second—"

"Well, it was a disgrace. It was as bad as Russia," interrupted the other.

"Worse, my boy, worse," continued Sullivan; "but the crowd didn't disgrace itself. That's where you're left-handed. I admit that what the police got was a plenty, but—"

"You don't have much use for policemen?" put in the King.

"Oh, it isn't policemen, exactly," testified Sullivan; "it's government. I don't think much of that."

"Aw, come off," ejaculated Hutchins. "Suppose there was no government, what would become of the shipping business?"

"It would be free."

"Free for pirates?"

"Fewer pirates than now," replied Sullivan, puffing at his cigar. "Talk about pirates! Wait till we get to Auckland, you'll see pirates standing around thicker'n hair on a dog."

"What pirates?"

"Custom House Pirates."

"But when you land the government will protect you from thieves and hold-up men, won't it?"

"Oh, I don't know, a policeman may hold me up."

The King, who was taking it all in, silently puffed his weed.

"Suppose you knew there were no police at Auckland, would you feel safe to go ashore?" ventured Hutchins.

"Hutchins," replied Sullivan, mopping his brow, "there are so many free schools around you'd better get vaccinated. You think the police are as natural as trees. As a matter of fact they're as artificial as a Chop Suey plant—"

"We have no police here," interjected the King. "Our people are safe."

"Sure," continued Sullivan, "but Your Highness must understand that our friend here has lived so long among people who have things in hock that he's nutty. He thinks we ought to have a sort of Papa to steer us around. He's got so used to leaning against Papa, he's lop-sided."

Everybody laughed but Hutchins. He tried to look pleasant, but didn't do it good.

"Hutchins is a type that's numerous," continued Sullivan. "You can't throw a stone anywhere without hit-

ting one. They always either want something or think they do—Papa must get it. One guy makes sugar, and wants a cinch. He gets Papa to make it a crime to buy it of anyone else.

"Another one thinks God in His infinite wisdom gave him the whole works; he says he is up against it unless Papa chips in. Papa agrees he's a few chips shy, and makes good.

"Another, who knows the difference between a bun and a bakery, convinces Papa there ought to be something doing in trolley lines and gas plants. After that he's a substantial citizen."

"And what do the people get out of it?" asked the King, as we started to leave.

"The people? Oh, they get a reputation," replied Sully as we drilled back to the ship.

A year later found me in Samoa again. As we entered the harbor we saw three men of war, a German, an American and a British. The scene was changed. Malietoa, the king we had visited with on the first trip, had died. Following an ancient custom among Samoans, which permitted a dying king to name his successor, a fine old fellow called Mataafa was named by Malletoa. Mataafa had been king once and had been deposed. He had been a rival of Malletoa. After being deposed he was exiled and taken to an island in the South seas. When Malietoa died a German man of war, which was at anchor in the harbor, was dispatched to bring Mataafa back. On landing he was received with great acclaim by the natives. He was about 60 years old, with gray hair and mustache, and like the dead Malietoa was a fine specimen of physical manhood. Peace would have continued in Samoa had it not been for the ambition of the London Missionary Society. The Society wanted Tanus, a son of the dead Malietoa, to take his father's place. It is organized for the purpose of carrying Christianity to people who ain't wise enough to take it off the bat.

The Society got busy. Poor Tanus didn't want the job. He thought his father's wish ought to be respected. But that made no difference to the Society. Here was a chance to butt in and—what are we here for?

The next mail to Sydney brought from the British Consul a story of "a great uprising among the natives. Malietoa had died and the natives were at each other's throats. A British gunboat must be sent at once." It was sent. An American man of war ar-

rived about the same time, to protect American "interests." About the only American interests I saw was a cottage in which the American Consul bunked.

The "war" was on. The natives I had seen a few months before, as peaceable, hospitable, kind-hearted and gentle, as you could wish people to be, were now a blood-thirsty mob. We were allowed to go ashore. To go up the street, which was about half a mile long, we had to get "passports." These were issued by a brass-buttoned guy who thought he was all the eggs. There were about 20 in our party and we gave him more business than the president of a life insurance company.

"Where are you from?" thundered His Giblets, to the first applicant for a pass. I guess he thought the poor hod was a spy.

"Lancast—"

"Take off your hat in the presence of the quartermaster, sir," piped another guy.

The poor hod jerked his lid off as if his life depended on it.

"I am f-r-o-m L-a-n-c-a-s-t-e-r, sir," he said.

"How did you get here?"

"I— c-a-m-e in a boat, sir."

"What boat?" grunted the other. Be lively now, we can't be bothering with you all day."

"T-h-e M-o-a-n-a, sir," stammered the British subject.

"How long are you going to stay here?"

"O-n-l-y a f-e-w h-o-u-r-s, sir,"

"Where do you want to go?"

"A-s f-a-r a-s I m-a-y, sir."

And so went the joke. The pass was signed with the usual amount of agony by the quartermaster.

When it came my turn, I let on I knew him well. "Hello, old man," I said. He looked up at me, as much as to say, "who in h— are you?"

"What, you don't mean to say you don't remember me, Bill?"

"I can't say that I ever saw you before, sir; besides my name ain't Bill," he said.

"What! You don't mean to say you ain't Bill Schlopsky?"

"That's what," he replied.

"Didn't you work in Butterfield's grocery about 15 years ago?"

I think if I had laughed it would have gone hard with me. He was as mad as any man I ever saw.

"I warrant, sir, you never saw me before in your life," he declared.

"Maybe not," I mused. "But you certainly look like Bill."

"Where do you want to go?" he

asked, ignoring my last observation.

"Wherever the others go," I replied; "but, say," I continued, "what is your name, anyway?"

This appeared to shock his dignity more than ever.

"There it is on that pass," he said.

"C-a-n-f-i-e-l-d," I read. "Well, if you don't look for all the world like Bill Schlopsky. Bill and I used to hand out beans in a little 2x4 grocery, years ago, down in Ohio. I could have sworn you were Bill."

We left "Bill" looking like a hired man.

Going up the street we came upon a party of American soldiers, who were off duty.

"What is it all about?" was asked one of them.

"D— if I know," he replied.

"Been any shooting going on?"

"Yes, a little. We all came pretty near being put off watch last week.

"Tell us about it."

"It was up there in the culvert. There were only about 150 of us, and there were about 2,000 natives on top of the hill. You will notice it is about 200 feet high, and shaped like a horseshoe. When we got into the culvert we started to climb the hills. The natives fired just once. If they had fired at us there wouldn't have been anybody left to tell about it. We found out afterwards that old Mataafa had told his men that if they killed us they would be called savages, and that they had better shoot high. As it was, six of our fellows bit the dust. A funny thing happened at the time. The American gunboat started to take part in the fight. There was a little sea on and, as the boat kept bobbing up and down, some chump fired. Instead of shooting on top of the hill he shot clean through the American Consul's house and killed his native servant."

The joke was on the servant.

As we went father up the street we saw more evidence of "war." The Hotel Tivoli had been shot full of holes. There was a gatling gun out in the road ready to shoot some more. This was as far as we were permitted to go. An \$18 a month private was walking back and forth with a gun over his shoulder. How seriously he took himself! I suppose he was looking forward to the time when he would be quartermaster.

On the way back I interviewed a native. He was a tall, slender, intelligent looking fellow of about 25 years.

"What is the war about?" I asked.

"War is about London Christians no mind own business," he answered. "Before he come we live happy; Chris-

tians' society tell us pray about Jesus; then Malletoa die, we ask for Mataafa. Christians say we must have Tanus. We say none your business, you only here pray about Jesus. Then they send for soldiers. Now is everything like hell?"

"I hope you don't think all white people are as bad as these missionaries," I pleaded.

"Maybe some better, but we live good enough by ourselves," was the reply.

M. J. FOYER.

TOLL.

One fashions beauty into form, to shapes most wondrous fair—
There comes a stranger to his door and claims an equal share.

Another plants the seed and sees the harvest spring—that day
Comes one whose face he does not know, and takes a third away.

A little child, whose plaintive mouth has never learned to laugh,
Sits stringing beads—to her appears the man who claims his half.

A woman with her needle sits—and one stitch out of three
She takes for him whose face perhaps her eyes shall never see.

And where the mighty merchant ships in the great harbors wait—
His is the service of the crews and his the share of freight.

—Joseph Dana Miller, in Tom Watson's Magazine.

BOOKS

SOME RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

This booklet, printed by the Chicago Literary Club, is one of the most earnest and significant publications of a religious character that I have seen in many a day. It consists of four papers read before this club, and is, in a way, an epitome of the ranges of religious thought of the day.

The brief introduction by the president of the club tells at once the catholic spirit which animates the writers however divergent their views. "It is hard to see," he says, "how one of ordinary intelligence can express himself intolerantly of the religious beliefs of another when these are honestly held and uprightly lived." Certainly a tolerant spirit breathes through all four papers. The first, by Judge Edward Osgood Brown, entitled a "Catholic's Contribution," dwells particularly on the claim he makes for the tolerant attitude of his own church—in spite of the common belief to the contrary. The same spirit of liberality, along with deep conviction, runs through the book.

I say deep conviction, for the reader feels that these four representative thinkers all earnestly believe something. They all recognize the unesi-

ness of the past quarter of a century, and through this uneasiness they have come to believe that which they now tell. What they have to say would be worth little, if they had now no positive belief. Heaven knows we have had enough of telling what is not believed. These men have something to tell that they do believe; and they tell it in an honest fashion, recalling Carlyle's fine saying that "Belief is the healthy state of a man's mind."

To those who believe in religion, who believe that the sad state is lack of any positive belief and acquiescence in the center of indifference, this little book is a welcome manifestation. It is one of the indications that we are working back again to the realization of sin and of man's need of faith in the unseen. "I may say," says one of the speakers, "that I feel once more that I am a miserable sinner; though now it is when I wrong a brother or drift away from the principles of absolute right as I perceive them, and never because I miss a prayer-meeting or amuse myself on a Sunday."

This sentence, I may say in conclusion, suggests a thought which is not explicit in any of the papers. They all imply the need of man's coming into union with God, and keeping himself in this union. One would like to ask each of them to state specifically his views as to what man shall do to bring and hold himself in this harmony? Can he let himself depart entirely from the religious ordinances which have for their object to awaken and constantly remind him of the need of harmony with the divine? "Once more," says the writer quoted above, "I try to pray, but in my work rather than on my knees." The question is, can any revival of faith dispense with either kind?

J. H. DILLARD.

ON THOUGHTS OF A FOOL.

"The fool thinketh himself to be wise, but the wise man knoweth himself to be a fool." A good exemplification of this proverb is, "Thoughts of a Fool," by "Evelyn Gladys" (E. P. Rosenthal & Co., Chicago and London), the fact of the knowing being the determining factor in this case. The author is an iconoclast, but as to economic evils there are evidences here and there of a dim perception of a remedy. But it is dim, as might be expected of an author who indiscriminately couples the names of Henry George and John Alexander Dowie thus: "There be socialists, anarchists, disciples of Henry George, of John Alexander Dowie, and of Ella Wheeler Wilcox, who have prescriptions warranted to transplant one from Rag Alley to the desirable side of Easy Street." Against this loose statement, however, we have in another chapter the

following: "There is not a land title in all this world that is free from taint of force and fraud. For no one can claim title from the Maker, and there is no other valid title to ownership, and they who defend land titles are accessory to fraud. This is a stern indictment though writ by a fool."

The author is no admirer of eleemosynary institutions of any kind. Under existing monopolistic conditions they only serve in their ultimate effect to draw the economic lines tighter. And capital punishment is justly condemned on the ground that killing by legal process is more reprehensible than in anger, because deliberate. Satire, irony and humor abound throughout, and aside from antagonism to conventionalities, such, for example, as those declaratory of marriage, which, even if warranted, would seem trivial in comparison with real evils, the book cannot fail to furnish entertainment.

JOSIAH EDSON.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"A short Constitutional History of the United States," by Francis Newton Thorpe, A. M., Ph. D., author of "A (State) Constitutional History of the American People, 1776-1850," "The Constitutional History of the United States, 1765-1865," "The Government of the people of the United States." etc. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

Edward B. Whitney's paper on trusts, read before the American Political Science Association last December and now printed in pamphlet form (E. B. Whitney, 69 Wall St., New York), is a brief but characteristically strong and democratic contribution to one of the legal phases of this subject. In brushing away the fallacies that have resulted from substituting names for things, Mr. Whitney is especially happy. "It is common," he writes, "and in a sense proper, to say that a corporation is a person; but really, as our courts realize, it is a number of persons who have received from Congress or from some other legislative body, a license to act together in a certain way. It is common and in a sense proper to say that a share of stock in a business corporation is a piece of property; but really, it is the evidence of membership in a common enterprise. When an ordinary partnership incorporates itself, the world's valuation is nominally increased by the amount of the capital stock; but really there is no more property in the world than there was before." Mr. Whitney regards incorporation as essential to the trust system; and, irrespective of indirect remedies, which he excludes from this particular discussion, he advocates Federal control.

PERIODICALS

The New Church Messenger, which has for 50 years been the organ of the Swendenborgians of the United States,

and of which the Rev. S. C. Eby has for three years been the editor, has passed under the editorial control of the Rev. John L. Saul and the publication office has been removed from St. Louis to Chicago.

Under the editorship of T. P. Quinn (Unity building, Chicago) a new labor paper, The Forum, began publication on the 2d. It opens with a timely exposure and deserved castigation of what it calls "labor banditti," a gang of professed labor unionists who, as The Forum charges, are trying to secure control of the Chicago Federation of Labor in order to establish a clearing house for graft.

The first number of the Municipal Ownership News, an advocate of government ownership of public utilities, and published by the executive committee of the Brooklyn Municipal Ownership League (59 Court street, Brooklyn, N. Y.) appeared on the 22d. It draws the "deadly parallel" on the New York Times by publishing that paper's editorial on Mayor Dunne's "abandonment" of municipal ownership, side by side with Mayor Dunne's message recommending the "contract plan" short cut to municipal ownership. The contrast makes a bad showing for the New York Times.

The date of the first issue of the Nation was July 6, 1865. On its fortieth birthday, Mr. Wendell Phillips Garrison was presented by his collaborators with an inscribed vase and a note of congratulation. The note was signed by some 200 names, which are given in the issue of July 13 and make a roll of which the editor may well be proud. Mr. Garrison's notice of the occasion is in the best possible taste, and is altogether worthy of the Nation's rare departure from privacy. It is indeed a question whether such a paper does not owe it to its readers to have more of its articles and reviews signed by the writers, but this is a large question. Signed or not, the writing in the Nation is sure to have two good qualities. It is good English and it is fearless. There are few intelligent readers who would not feel that the cause of good government and good literature would suffer much for the loss of it. Nunc cum maxime floreat.—J. H. D.

One of the greatest of living men is Bjornson, the Norwegian. He is a great author, and a great leader, and he has always seemed to be a great democrat. Why he has let go the present opportunity of declaring for, and insisting upon a republican Norway, is hard to understand and to pardon. Had the crisis come ten years ago, it might have been different. It seems that he, too, must have felt the influence of the reaction. We can see, in his article in the Independent of July 13, that he is still republican, but there is no note of hearty radicalism, such as we had a right to expect from him. Yet he does



VICE VERSA.
Western methods are being adopted in China.

say this, that "the spirit of the Norwegian nation is indubitably republican."—J. H. D.

No matter what may be the particular point involved in the fight which Miss Margaret Haley is making against the National Educational Association, the country owes her a debt of gratitude for the brave manner in which she has told certain truths about the centralizing tendency in our educational systems. "There has been afoot," she says, "for several years a powerful, persistent, silent and largely successful conspiracy

to make a despotism of our entire public school system." Whether or not there is a concerted conspiracy, the fact is that the independence of the individual teacher has been constantly diminishing in recent years. The Independent makes the comment that teachers will not "consent to be terrorized," but the need of a job is a powerful narcotic.—J. H. D.

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