

# The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and  
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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**LOUIS F. POST**  
EDITOR

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# The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII Number 411

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, FEB. 17, 1906.

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## EDITORIAL

### Mr. Balfour's alarm.

Mr. Balfour has been heard from for the first time since the overwhelming defeat of his party, and the defeat even of himself for reelection to Parliament. He is reported, and it is really not strange, to be viewing industrial

conditions with the greatest alarm!

### A significant contrast.

"No longer the first club in Europe, but the workshop of the nation," said Keir Hardie at a public meeting on the 13th, in allusion to the British Parliament. Could the sting of criticism be sharper or more deserved. The "upper classes," having monopolized Parliamentary seats, have themselves so little respected their responsibility as to think the House of Commons their best "club;" the "lower classes" turn them out and forthwith lift it in thought to the dignity of the civic "workshop" of the nation.

### Roosevelt explained by Roosevelt.

A Republican county chairman, a Mr. Parsons, was quite unintentionally severe upon President Roosevelt at a New York banquet last week. "Some time ago," he said, as reported by the New York Times of the 9th, "a party of men who have been active in politics were talking together, and the question asked was: 'Why did you go into politics?' About the most interesting answer was given by a man who said he wanted to become one of the governing class. I guess he was successful, for he is now in the White House." This was apparently a candid confession. Mr. Roosevelt's entire career in public life has testified to his ambition to govern men, and to his indisposition to serve them except by governing them. It is the ambition of the self-centered tyrant, not of the democratic citizen.

### Tillman's useful pitchfork.

Senator Tillman punctured President Roosevelt's pretentious railroad policy when in the Senate on the 12th he said:

Who denies that the Pennsylvania and the New York Central control every railroad line east of the Mississippi river? The President knows that this is true. The Attorney General knows that this situation exists. He could take the matter into the courts at any time and ask relief for

the people. And yet the people are led to believe that they have no protection unless they cling to the coat-tails of the President. I would rather have less protection and more action.

### Mr. Bryan's failure.

Mr. Bryan and two of his associates—Judge Thompson and M. F. Dunlap, have been obliged to resign their trusteeship of Illinois College because a majority of the trustees insist upon soliciting money from tainted sources. Mr. Bryan accepted this trusteeship with hope (vol. vii, p. 691); but his task was really hopeless. Plutocratic donations to public institutions have had a pauperizing effect. Their magnitude has on the one hand discouraged legitimate moderate giving, and the custom has on the other excited a collegiate appetite for this species of graft. In resigning, Mr. Bryan warns the eager bootleggers on the board that the institution whose affairs they have administered together "cannot be a college for the people and at the same time commend itself to commercial highwaymen who are now subsidizing the colleges to prevent the teaching of economic truth."

### George Foster Peabody as a radical.

The Chicago Chronicle, a plutocratic Republican paper, has been strangely affected by George Foster Peabody's letter (p. 675) on safe and sane Democracy. This letter has impressed the Chronicle with a sort of fear that if Mr. Bryan does not come home more radical than he went away, "he is likely to feel very lonesome as about the only 'conservative' man left in the Democratic party." The Chronicle's summary of Mr. Peabody's letter, which is for the most part quite fair, forms the basis of its remarks regarding Mr. Bryan. For it observes that Mr. Peabody proposes:

First, municipal ownership of all street railways, lighting, water and other "public utilities" in their limits, together with government ownership of all railroads not owned by the mu-

municipalities; secondly, abrogation of all tariff provisions which may be suspected of "fostering the trusts;" and, thirdly, the adoption of the Henry George single tax theory.

Such a bill of fare is naturally not appetizing to a plutocratic organ, and the Chronicle is duly surprised and a little bit disgusted. But that which disgusts the plutocrats of either party ought to gratify the democrat of every party.

#### The inalienable right to suspect.

When William J. Bryan, at the last national Democratic convention, drew a parallel between a band of highwaymen and the Chicago gas ring, which had corruptly controlled the State convention of Illinois, his picture was instantly recognized as true to the life and his parallel as perfect. That same gas ring has now been at work in the City Council and with some of the newspapers of Chicago, and 57 out of 67 aldermen have voted it the financial and other benefits of as rotten a specimen of legislation as ever came from the pen of a corporation lawyer or got the vote of a bribed legislator. Whether the aldermen who voted for this gas ring job,—not deliberately, not thoughtfully, not in ignorance, but hurriedly, recklessly, in the face of weighty objections calmly presented by the Mayor, and altogether as men usually do when they have disagreeable medicine to take—whether these aldermen were corrupted by money, or political coercion, or political promises, the people cannot know. They may have been innocent of all guile. But the right to be suspicious is inalienable, and the circumstances of this case are not reassuring. Some of the aldermen who voted so hurriedly to override Mayor Dunne's veto of the gas job have been recommended for reelection by the Municipal Ownership Advisory Committee. The recommendations ought to be promptly withdrawn. Men who are either so guileless or so corrupt, as the case may be, in dealing with the gas ring, cannot be trusted to deal with the traction ring.

#### Congressman Baker again unique.

When Congressman Baker of New York refused railroad passes, and refused them with a voice so loud that the whole country awoke to the fact that this was a regularly established species of graft, the grafters and the grantees and their chorus of newspapers laughed till their sides ached. But it has long since been Baker's turn to laugh on this score. Railroad passes have never been quite as respectable since Baker wrote the word "graft" across the face of the one that had been offered him. They have now become so disreputable, indeed, that only the other day in the lower house of Congress the Republican ring was unable to keep an anti-pass clause out of the railroad rate bill except by the narrowest and most arbitrary kind of parliamentary tactics. On the railway pass question Baker comes out ahead. And now this same Baker has done another unique and comical thing, and once more the sides of the grafters are aching with laughter. He has resigned a \$4,000 office rather than resign his rights of citizenship! Was ever there the like of that for humor?

We pass no judgment upon the wisdom of Mr. Baker's act in this case; but the comments upon it have been so numerous and widespread, and the spirit of the act is of such a wholesome character, that the facts call for publicity. Mr. Baker was among the most prominent men in the municipal ownership movement in Greater New York, of which Mr. Hearst was the candidate for mayor; it was he who nominated Mr. Bird S. Coler as the candidate of that movement for president of the Borough of Brooklyn; and he was one of the most effective speakers in the campaign. As Mr. Coler was elected, it was expected that he would appoint Mr. Baker to the office of commissioner of public works. Instead, however, of making this appointment, or one equally representative of municipal ownership sentiment, Mr.

Coler appointed a man who was opposed to the municipal ownership movement and policy. For reasons not reported, Mayor McClellan thereupon caused Mr. Baker to be appointed secretary of the department of docks and ferries, an office with a salary of \$4,000. It was immediately rumored that Mr. Coler had secured the appointment of Mr. Baker, and in denying that rumor in a newspaper interview, after taking the office, Mr. Baker severely criticised Mr. Coler. For doing so he was called to account by the head of the department, a Tammany official, who forbade his giving out interviews or making speeches of any kind without authority from the head of the department. Thereupon and three days after accepting this lucrative office, Mr. Baker formally resigned it, in a letter to the head of the department in which he said:

Your action strikes at the very essence of American citizenship—the right to free speech and an equal voice in the affairs of the government. No one who values his self-respect could for one moment submit to such assumption of autocratic power by you, or any other official. To do so is not merely to passively submit to tyranny, but would be to undo much that the fathers fought for. For you, or any other official, to arrogate the right to prohibit anyone's political activity, is to strike a blow at the genesis of our institutions. Those who are willing to serve their fellow men in public office, do not thereby sacrifice their right to an equal free and untrammelled voice in governmental affairs. An attempt to deny this equal right is an attempt to establish despotism, a despotism of the most odious kind, against which all self-respecting men must revolt. Because of this, I must refuse to longer serve as secretary of the department of docks and ferries.

While we pass no judgment upon the wisdom of Mr. Baker's act, about which there may be honest differences of opinion depending upon temperament, habits, associations, general purpose or other subtle influences, we cannot ignore the American spirit that prompted it nor the old-fashioned courage that gave it effect. Superficial writers who ridicule Baker's resignation and his reasons for it, are, by any reasonable

civic standards, objects of pity or contempt. No matter whether his reasons justify the act or not, the act itself should be its own justification in the eyes of high-minded citizens. Men who throw away \$4,000 jobs for liberty to maintain rights of American citizenship are not so useless nor so plentiful that they can be despised for their costly patriotism. It were better to recognize men like Baker, as did Lowell when he sang:

And I honor the man who is willing  
to sink  
Half his present repute for the free-  
dom to think,  
And, when he has thought, be his cause  
strong or weak,  
Will risk t'other half for the freedom  
to speak,  
Caring naught for what vengeance the  
mob has in store,  
Let that mob be the upper ten thou-  
sand or lower.

#### Temperance crusades.

The anti-saloon fight, as a method of side-tracking movements that menace the interests of plutocratic grafters, is not new. At present it is to the fore on a large scale only in Cleveland and Chicago, where alone these grafting interests are menaced on a large scale. The same tactics were adopted to baffle Mayor Jones of Toledo, when he served that city for the people instead of the grafters. We are reminded of this by the Rev. George Candee, a Congregational clergyman of Toledo, who observes that Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, is having "the same trouble with the hypocrites that Mayor Jones used to have in Toledo." Of these surface reformers, he shrewdly writes that they are trying with Dunne as with Jones, "to jam him into a gimlet hole in a whisky barrel while they leave the bunghole wide open."

Mr. Candee illustrates the motive of the present anti-saloon crusade against Dunne in Chicago and Johnson in Cleveland, with an essay which he wrote when the big grafters of Toledo were trying to play upon the temperance sentiment there in order to defeat Mayor Jones by crowding him into a fight with the Toledo saloons.

This little essay on "Jones and Sunday Closing" fits so snug that we reproduce it:

Who want Mayor Jones to close the saloons on Sunday, and why? The preachers and other good temperance people want him to close the saloons on Sunday. Why? Because they want the saloons closed. The Toledo Blade, the Rail-Light company, the political ringsters and all kinds of contract grafters want him to close the Sunday saloons even more than the preachers do. Why? Not because they want the saloons closed on Sunday, or any other day, but because they want to close Mayor Jones.

For this purpose they would undoubtedly vote to have him close the saloons. If he would only close the Sunday saloons they could then unite with the saloon forces and knock him out, and elect a mayor who would do as all their other mayors have done—let the saloons and all other grafters "go Gallagher."

Mayor Jones stands for a great deal more for the people of Toledo than the temporary closing of the Sunday saloons. He is opposed to the contract system, which allows private contractors to win personal profits from the hard earnings of their employes. He wants those profits to go to the laborers in better wages and shorter hours. The shorter hours give employment to more men. He is opposed to giving away public franchises to enrich private corporations at the expense of the people who patronize those corporations. He is opposed to political ring rule, by which a few sharpers can manipulate the election of tools which they can handle in the interest of grafters, with which they can sell public franchises for big pay—to themselves—for their "legal (?) services." He is in favor of giving—returning to the people the power, by majority vote, to veto any graft measures which political tools may be hired to enact into State laws or city ordinances. He stands for the right of all the people to an equal opportunity to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In his personal character, life and habits he stands for temperance and for all other forms of moral living. Religiously he believes that the Kingdom of Heaven is a kingdom of love and righteousness to all men. He believes that men must be regenerated, born again, to get into that kingdom. They must be regenerated from mammon worship, from covetousness, from envy, from hatred and the spirit of war to get into that kingdom. He teaches, by precept and example, that men can get into that kingdom, here and now. The position of mayor of Toledo is a high pulpit from which he can preach, and in which he can exemplify all these

good principles. Then why turn him down and elect some political ring tool who will do no more to keep the saloons closed than he is doing, and who will perhaps do more wrong to the people of Toledo than the open Sunday saloon can do?

Now let me suggest to the Blade & Co. that if they are anxious to have the saloons closed on Sunday, the way is wide open. They have a Columbus-appointed safety board, who have the appointment of the entire police force, which they can use at will. This board is sworn to enforce the law just as much as Mayor Jones is. It can't be that they take the same view of what constitutes law that Mayor Jones does! The Sunday closing law was made in Columbus, just where their appointment came from. They can't shield their consciences as the Mayor does, by pleading the higher law. Surely, if the Blade and the ring bosses and the traction company will try as hard to get these high officials to enforce the law as they do to get Jones to do it, they can succeed in having the saloons closed on Sunday. The Mayor will not stand in their way any more than the other preachers of righteousness will.

I am in favor of closing the saloons, but I am not in favor of closing Mayor Jones. We can't spare him yet. Not till the people get the veto power.

Another Congregational clergyman, Graham Taylor, of the Chicago Commons, also speaks with sanity on the present significant anti-saloon agitation in Chicago, which takes the form of a demand for a high license. In a contribution to the Chicago Record-Herald, Mr. Taylor properly recognizes the underlying genuineness of anti-saloon sentiment, and approves it. But he does not conceal his surprise at the zeal of some of the new converts to it, and the care with which the present agitation has been timed to influence the municipal election for other than temperance purposes. This admonition of his deserves conscientious consideration: "Whatever we think of either issue, we cannot hope to be manly or successful in trying to defeat municipal ownership or to promote temperance, by playing the one off against the other."

The destruction of the poor is their poverty.

George A. Schilling, a member of the Board of Local Improve-

ments of Chicago, has come under slashing criticism from the local press for protesting against extreme punishment by the Civil Service Board, of a subordinate in his department, one of unblemished record for faithfulness and efficiency, for having weakly fabricated a denial when questioned by the latter board as to a trivial civil-service offense—selling picnic tickets to fellow employes. Mr. Schilling's protest was obviously inspired by good feeling and common sense, and the newspaper attacks upon him would be inexplicable but for one thing. He contrasted this man's comparatively venial offense with like offenses of infinitely greater magnitude by insurance grafters, corporation senators and the like, who escape not only the extremity of punishment but all punishment. This comparison seems to have hurt, and Mr. Schilling is criticised in long editorials for apologizing for perjury and defending perjurers. It is almost fair to say that more editorial ink and space have been devoted in one week to the excoriation of Mr. Schilling by Chicago newspapers for his humely sensible words in behalf of a minnow-offender, than they have expended in a dozen years in condemning any respectable leviathan of crime.

#### THE PRICE OF GAS IN CHICAGO.

It is noteworthy that in the aldermanic investigation into the cost of producing gas in Chicago, but little attention has been paid to the question of capitalization. The aldermanic committee was either more solicitous for the welfare of gas stockholders than for the welfare of gas consumers, or it was of the opinion that the courts will consider unreasonable any price that fails to provide for payment of interest on the company's bonded indebtedness and capital stock regardless of the unquestionable fact that to a very large extent they represent no actual investment.

That it has been the policy of the gas trust to pay for capital ex-

tensions to a large extent if not entirely from profits over and above dividends of six per cent. on its outstanding capital, stock, is shown by the annual reports of the People's Gas Light and Coke company, as published in Moody's Manual. From the report for 1904 it appears that the accumulated profits on December 31 of that year amounted to \$7,505,786.63. The figures for 1905 are not yet published, but estimating the surplus of that year as the same as in 1904, we have accumulated profits since the organization of the trust in August, 1897, of \$8,661,784.

This is probably considerably more than one-fourth of the entire value of the tangible property of the company; though as to that no very reliable estimate is possible in the absence of an accurate inventory. Regarding this phase of the question the committee's expert accountants who have been investigating the books of the People's company of Chicago have made no report, though without question an accurate inventory of the company's property may be found among its records. Evidently this inventory is among those records to which these experts were denied access.

What that inventory would show we may perhaps surmise from the company's statement to the assessors, which gives the value of all its tangible property, both real and personal, as \$20,907,420. On one-fifth of this the company pays taxes. That valuation was declared too high by ex-Judge Sears, representing the company before the Board of Review, this being given as a reason why there should be no increase in the company's franchise assessment.

And yet this company has a bonded indebtedness of \$35,000,000 and outstanding capital stock to the amount of \$32,969,100—a total capitalization of \$67,969,100.

Testifying as an expert before the aldermanic committee of the Chicago Council, Prof. E. W. Bemis told that committee that at the figures furnished him by the gas company as to the cost of manufacturing and distributing gas in Chicago, gas could be sold at even less than 75 cents, and pay a fair return over the capital actually invested.

Prof. Bemis estimated the cost of a plant to furnish the service given by the company's plant at \$35,000,000. Judging by the company's estimate of the value of their property in their report to the assessors, this appears too high; but we must consider that in the absence of an inventory any close estimate is impossible and that Dr. Bemis deemed it advisable to be above rather than below the mark. We must also consider that his estimate was for a new plant, which would be worth more than that of the company.

Whatever the original cost of the company's property, its present cost is much less because of the fact that a large amount has been annually charged off for depreciation. The amount taken for depreciation in 1904 was \$704,818.96. This amount, it should be understood, is in addition to the cost of renewals, which expense is included in operating expenses and as an item in the cost of manufacturing and distributing gas.

The gas company has maintained that this cost of manufacture and distribution amounts to 53½ cents per thousand feet, but the committee's experts found the accounts padded and reported the cost as shown by the company's books 45½ cents. On the basis of the latter figures Prof. Bemis has revised his estimate and is of the opinion that 65 cents would be a fair price for gas in Chicago.

As the committee's accountants were permitted to make but a partial investigation of the company's records it is not unreasonable to suppose that they failed to get at the bottom facts and that the actual cost of gas is less than appears from the accounts which they were permitted to inspect. But on the assumption that it costs 45½ cents for manufacture and distribution it is apparent that any price considerably less than that fixed by the committee would be insufficient for the payment of dividends on fictitious capital. The questions of the actual value of the gas property, and also of the company's right to exact dividends on fictitious capital, are all important in determining a reasonable price for gas.

Regarding the right to exact

dividends on fictitious capital, a committee of the New York legislature which had investigated the gas companies of New York City says in its report:

The fact that the company, by rendering competition impossible, has been able to earn large dividends, does not justify it in adding to the value of its plant an additional amount of good will or earning capacity, and thereby justify a continuance of excessive charges. If this were permitted it would be able to secure in perpetuity the maintenance of exorbitant rates. Extortion for a series of years would be a sufficient excuse for further extortion. Indeed, there would seem to be no escape from the conclusion that successful imposition upon the public would warrant increased charges upon the ground of enhanced good will. The company is entitled to a fair return upon its capital actually invested, but it is not entitled to capitalize its grip upon the public. The fact that it may be proper to value good will due to efficient organization and the securing of public esteem through good service under ordinary conditions of competition furnishes no reason for an addition to capital in order to maintain high charges of an amount, which, while termed good will, is really an estimate of earning capacity due to a monopolization of public service.

Unlike the committee of the Chicago Council this New York committee considered it worth while to investigate not only the cost of manufacturing gas, but also the actual value of the gas company's investment.

Such an investigation might be made in Chicago at slight cost, for we have in the engineering bureau of the department of public works officials entirely competent to make an accurate inventory of the property of the gas companies. As nothing of this kind was done, it is not unreasonable to infer that the committee's solicitude for the gas companies was, for some reason, greater than its sense of duty toward the people of Chicago.

HENRY L. BLISS.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NEW YORK (See p. 659.)

New York, Feb. 13, 1906.—Had Mr. Hearst been declared elected as mayor of the city of New York, the logical candidate for governor of the State would have been Bird S. Coler, who was elected as a coadjutor of Hearst on the Municipal Ownership ticket to the office of president of the Borough of Brooklyn. It is now claimed by a

faction of the most active workers in the new party, that while Mr. Coler was strenuous at first to have Mr. Hearst seated as mayor, yet ever since McClellan was declared the victor he has been using the patronage of his office to build up a machine with the intention of controlling the Democratic organization in his own interests. Owing to Mr. Coler's alleged change of attitude, Hearst supporters are being talked of for the gubernatorial nomination. Among the strongest of these are John Ford, the Hearst candidate last Fall for comptroller, and Samuel Seabury, a judge of the City Court, who was a Hearst candidate for Supreme Court judge. Mr. Ford, a Republican, has won distinction in the legislature as a general reformer; Judge Seabury has always been a radical Democrat of the Jeffersonian type, and is regarded as on the whole the best gubernatorial material of all the candidates on the Hearst ticket of last Fall.

Activity in the independent organization of reform forces throughout the State is very great; but there is a prevalent opinion, even among municipal ownership people, that Hearst and Tammany will soon be working together.

So far as this can be traced it seems to be a matter of mere speculation, due to Mayor McClellan's attitude toward Tammany's chief, and Hearst's well-known ambition to be President. The inference seems to be drawn from the fact that the support of the Democratic organization in New York and the electoral vote of the Southern States are necessary to him unless there is a general break-up of party lines.

In Brooklyn there are two elements in the reform movement. The recent election brought into office two aggressive, popular representatives of organized labor. Alfred J. Boulton, who was candidate for governor in the State of New York on the Watson ticket in 1904, was elected register of Kings county, and M. J. Flaherty, who for many years has been secretary of the Brooklyn Central Labor union, was elected sheriff. While elected on the Municipal Ownership platform, both are well known as disciples of Henry George.

Boulton is bitterly opposed to any affiliation with the Democratic party and insists that the Municipal Ownership League shall stand for independent organization. He maintains that 40 per cent. of the Municipal Ownership vote came from the Republican party, and if there is any coquetting with the Democratic party this vote will drop back into the Republican party. Boulton is an out and out Hearst man.

Sheriff Flaherty is also a Hearst

man, but he thinks Hearst will be stronger by making a fight at the primaries for the control of the Democratic machine. He advocates nominating Hearst and then having the independents indorse him. Flaherty believes it will be an easy task to thrust the corruptionists now dominating the Democratic machine out of politics, and that the time for making the fight is while the people are alive to party corruption. He urges that it is incumbent upon all radical Democrats not only to support Hearst as the logical candidate for governor, but to utilize conditions for the permanent overthrow of the bossism of such men as Murphy and McCarren, of whom the latter is accused by Lawson of being in the pay of the Standard Oil company, which controls the public service corporations. The Brooklyn Municipal Ownership League, of which Flaherty is president, will in all probability enter the Democratic primaries to dislodge McCarren from the leadership of the Brooklyn Democracy. Flaherty is encouraged to such action by the voluntary proffer of several influential local Democratic leaders to join hands with him in making a fight against McCarren. Not that they are especially interested in the radical movement, but they realize the growing strength of the radical movement and anticipate its increasing influence and power.

Allied with Flaherty is ex-Congressman Baker, who is perhaps his closest and most confidential adviser. If Flaherty succeeds in his fight at the primaries, Baker will again be a candidate for Congress under conditions very favorable to success. It is on the slate to nominate several candidates from among the radicals for Congress and for the State legislature. If the radical Democrats win at the primaries then Brooklyn is assured of having a genuine Democratic party, instantly responsive to the people's will; a party that will stand for democratic principles and which will exert no little influence in favor of a radical platform with a radical candidate at the next Democratic national convention.

D. S. LUTHER.

## NEWS NARRATIVE

How to use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives: Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article and turn back as before; continue so until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Thursday, Feb. 15.

The new British Parliament.

At London on the 13th the new-

ly elected House of Commons (p. 748) assembled, and after a joint meeting with the Lords, at which the King's commission was read, the members reelected as speaker James William Lowther. As the speakership is a judicial rather than a political office, the speaker having no political power, it is customary to reelect regardless of party affiliations. The formal opening of Parliament will occur on the 19th, when the King's speech will be read. Meanwhile the members, of whom nearly 300 are entirely new to Parliamentary life, will be sworn in.

It is now known that the Liberal leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, has behind him a clear Liberal majority of 85 over all other parties and factions. Of the 50 Labor members, 30 have organized on the Parliamentary platform of the Trades Union Congress, by which their candidacies were endorsed, and have chosen Keir Hardie for their leader. He has announced that this group will sit in opposition to the Liberal party. The Irish Nationalists have reelected John E. Redmond as their Parliamentary leader, and unanimously adopted a resolution reiterating the Nationalist demand for self-government and declaring that the party cannot support any English party which does not favor the extension of home rule to Ireland.

#### Labor unionism in the British civil service.

Under Lord Stanley, the Conservative postmaster general of the Balfour ministry, employes of the post office department were not allowed to organize in labor unions; but under the new ministry, they are accorded full right to form unions for the betterment of their condition and wages, and to confer with the Postmaster General through delegates from their various unions.

#### Church and state in France.

Reports from Paris regarding disturbances over the new laws requiring inventories of the property of Roman Catholic churches (p. 748), are to the effect that disorders have almost completely subsided.

#### The Moroccan conference.

There are indications in the dis-

patches that the conference at Algieras over Moroccan questions raised by France and Germany (p. 692) is approaching a crisis. The crucial question appears to relate to the policing of Morocco. Since there is a vast territory in Morocco without roads and overrun by insurgent tribes, the police in Morocco are not those guardians of municipal peace which we understand by the term. To be effective they must be an army of regular troops. Now, the power that controls a standing army in any country is the real master of that country, and Morocco is no exception. Consequently France, having a common frontier with Morocco, insists, according to Paris dispatches of the 10th, upon having control of the policing of Morocco; but Germany objects to this arrangement. On that issue the Moroccan conference was reported on the 10th from Berlin to be practically at a deadlock, the French claiming exclusive rights to control the police, and the Germans insisting upon international control. Dispatches of the same date direct from Algieras stated that France would make—

a demand that she be allowed to police all the regions of Morocco except those contiguous to Spain, being willing that the policing shall be watched by the Powers with the assistance of officers directing it, but claiming practically a free hand in the suppression of the anarchy which is regarded at the present moment as threatening every foreigner and foreign interest in Morocco.

No adjustment of the difference in this respect between France and Germany has been reported.

#### Native demands in Africa.

Dispatches of the 9th from Pietermaritzburg, Natal, told of troubles growing out of attempts to collect poll taxes from natives near Richmond. Fears were expressed of a widespread and "ugly native rising." The poll tax has long been a favorite method with white men in South Africa for compelling natives to sell their labor. Indifferent to the luxuries and even to most of the necessities of the white man's civilization, and having access to sufficient wild land for the supply of their wants, native workers could not be readily employed. It was to overcome this disinclination to hire out that the white man resort-

ed to poll taxes; for poll taxes had to be paid in money, and the native's opportunity for getting money was as a hired laborer. When, therefore, we read of native uprisings in South Africa in opposition to poll taxes, we should suspect more exasperating conditions as incentives to revolt than the words "poll tax" commonly convey to the American mind.

That native discontent in South Africa does go deeper than is to be inferred from the reports of resistance to poll tax collection is evident from the following newspaper dispatch of the 9th from Cape Town, Cape Colony:

The demands of the colored inhabitants of the Transvaal and the Orange river colonies for full political rights are becoming more insistent. The African colored political association, representing all South Africa, is preparing a monster petition to King Edward, asking for all the political rights enjoyed by the whites, which will be presented in London by a deputation of colored men from South Africa.

The native sentiment underlying this movement may be inferred from an editorial quotation from Izwi Labantu (Voice of the People), of January 9. This paper, published at East London, South Africa, is edited by Mr. A. Kirkland Soga, a Kaffir leader; is printed partly in English, but mostly in Kaffir; and is the authorized medium for the publication of British government notices addressed to the natives throughout Cape Colony and the territories. Following is the significant quotation:

As South Africa has certainly become more democratic in feeling owing to the conduct of those men (chiefly on the Rand) whose god is gold and who have monopolized the chief sources of the country's prosperity, it would be well for the people to thoroughly understand who they are fighting and for what. The plain issues before the country are briefly three, and they should not be obscured by any side issues drawn across the track. (1) We want the mines to revert to the people, constitutionally if possible. (2) Equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi without respect to race, nationality or color. (3) The abolition of all special privileges, monopolies, or trusts injurious to the public interests. . . . The "black peril" is becoming metamorphosed into a distinctly menacing white peril in South

Africa, and its name is—Plutocracy and Special Privilege.

#### Revival of the anti-foreign movement in China.

Outbreaks against foreigners, similar to the "boxer" outbreaks (vol. v, p. 312) are reported from China, especially in the central and southern provinces. They are said to have begun with a boycott against American goods, caused by ill-treatment of Chinese arriving in the United States, but to have gradually expanded into a movement against all foreigners. The cry of "China for the Chinese" has been raised, it is added, and is popular everywhere. An explanation by the Chinese minister to Germany, Lieut. Gen. Ying Tchang, was reported from Berlin on the 8th, according to which the outbreaks in China are—

evidences of the awakening of a new national spirit. China no longer will tolerate foreign aggressions, and will not allow the Chinese abroad to be treated as an inferior race. I think a repetition of united action on the part of the Powers against China would be impossible, in consequence of the political situation, and no power is likely to risk the danger of single-handed action. Moreover, China now is in position to place in the field a modern army of 200,000 men, and this number is steadily increasing. China will now at least try to stand up for her rights.

It appears that American troops to the number of some 30,000 men are mobilizing at Manila in readiness for emergent service in China, and this movement was defended on the 9th at the War Department in Washington where—

It was declared that conditions in China, according to reports received from all sources, private as well as diplomatic and consular, indicated a state of feeling which was analogous to that in 1900 preceding the "boxer" outbreak. Had there not been in that year a sufficient force of officers and men in the Philippines which could be rushed to China, the members of the legations in Peking would have been murdered in the most cruel manner. Only the American contingent forced the expedition overland, it was said, and only American insistence brought the allied troops there in time to prevent the massacre. In the Navy Department officers returning from the Asiatic station without exception have brought reports of anti-foreign feeling and statements that the Americans

were the foreigners against whom this feeling was directed most bitterly.

#### In the United States Congress.

Senator Foraker of Ohio, has placed himself in opposition to the bills for the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as one State (p. 741), as President Roosevelt and the lower house have formulated them, by proposing an amendment requiring a referendum to the people of both Territories.

On the 8th the Hepburn bill for regulating railroad rates (vol. vii, pp. 711, 730) was adopted by the lower house, it having been reported favorably the day before by the committee of the whole, where more than 40 amendments were voted down. No change was made in the bill as it had been reported by the House committee on interstate and foreign commerce. Among the proposed amendments was one to bring the express companies under the regulations of the bill; it was defeated. Another forbade passes, and it also was defeated. Another proposed imprisonment as a penalty for violations, and it too was defeated.

The ship subsidy bill was passed by the Senate on the 14th by 38 to 27. All the affirmative votes were Republican; but 5 Republicans, La Follette, Burkett, Doliver, Spooner and Warner, voted against the bill.

Attempts were made in the House on the 13th by Representative Gillespie, of Pennsylvania, to get into the records of the House a petition of Frank C. Drane as secretary of the Bituminous Coal Trades League of Pennsylvania; but Representative Payne of New York, the Republican floor leader, interposed objections. The petition showed that—

(1) Coal has increased 30 per cent to the consumer since the strike of 1902; (2) that the Pennsylvania railroad enforces arbitrary market rules; (3) that the soft coal trust fixes excessive prices; (4) that the hard and soft coal trust own or control nearly all the fields in Pennsylvania and Maryland; (5 and 6) that independent operators are frozen out by the railroads; (7) that the hard coal railroads are miners and shippers as well as carriers, and that by pooling they regulate prices.

The petitioner adds that not one of his associates in the Bituminous

League would be able to give sworn testimony before an investigating committee of Congress, as—

we have never been able to get evidence sufficiently strong to enter suit at law, nor have we been able to get the independent operators united so as to test the Elkins law, many fearing the consequences the Pennsylvania railroad officials know so well how to inflict upon any operator who dares openly complain.

Senator Gorman of Maryland, Senator Elkins of West Virginia and ex-Senator Henry G. Davis of West Virginia, who was Democratic candidate for Vice President, are charged with causing most of the trouble for the independent operators in West Virginia fields. The petition asserts that they are joint owners of an enormous acreage of West Virginia soft coal and operate about all the mines along the West Virginia Central railroad. The independent operators along that road are compelled to sell their product to one or the other of the operating companies. To form the soft-coal trust the petition says it was found necessary not only to combine the soft-coal-carrying railroads, but to obtain the ownership of all the desirable soft-coal properties. It charges that the Pennsylvania and New York Central railroads now indirectly own the vast acreage of the Pocahontas coal fields in Virginia and all or nearly all of the stock of the Norfolk & Western railroad. They also own the New River coal field of West Virginia, and all or nearly all of the stock of the Chesapeake & Ohio.

In the Senate the purpose of the above petition was better served. On the 12th Senator Tillman, at the request of Gov. Dawson of West Virginia, introduced and the Senate adopted a joint resolution directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to report:

(1) Whether any one or more Interstate railroads have any interest by stock ownership or otherwise in any coal or other products carried over their lines. (2) Whether any railroad officials are in any way interested in any coal mines, coal properties, or in any other traffic carried by railroads. (3) Whether any railroad is violating the law prohibiting conspiracy in restraint of trade and to what extent such railroads control the output of

coal mines and the price of coal. (4) To what extent present arrangements injure persons engaged independently in coal mining, and the general public as consumers of coal. (5) The systems of car distribution in effect and whether the systems are fair and equitable; whether any discrimination is practiced between shippers. (6) A remedy for the evils found to exist.

#### The impending coal strike.

An arrangement regarding the impending coal strike (p. 745) was made on the 8th by President Mitchell with the representatives of the anthracite coal interests for a conference in New York on the 15th.

The scale committee of the anthracite miners and President Mitchell went into session on the 13th at New York to discuss terms to be presented to the anthracite joint conference on the 15th. It is understood that the demands the miners have agreed upon are an 8-hour day for daily wages, recognition of the union, and alterations regarding the board of conciliation.

At a meeting of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association held at Chicago on the 9th, about 200 present, it was unanimously decided to refuse the demands of the Indianapolis convention (p. 746).

Threatened with expulsion from office as president of the Pittsburg district of the United Mine Workers of America, Patrick Dolan (p. 746) has brought suit against the district delegates, and obtained an injunction restraining them from interfering with him as president. He bases his action upon the ground that as he was elected by the direct vote of the members he can be removed only by their direct vote. His contention regarding the strike is that it is to be called because the Illinois miners could not get satisfaction in their demands that the operators pay the wages of the "shot firers" required by the laws of Illinois; and that this would make it possible for any little group of miners to force a general strike on the whole body of mine employes of the national coal fields. On the other hand it is contended that "shot firers" are necessary for the safety of miners, that the laws of all States should make their employ-

ment compulsory, and that the expense should be borne by the operators as a safety condition. Hearing in the Dolan suit was set for the 14th, but no result is yet reported.

#### Two-cent railroad fares in Ohio.

Through an oversight it was stated in these columns last week (p. 746) that no decisive action had been taken by the lower house of the Ohio legislature on the 2-cent fare bill for railroads. This was a mistake. The Freiner bill passed the House on the 6th, was concurred in by the Senate on the 8th, and having been signed by the Governor on the 8th, will be in force on the 10th of March.

#### State politics in New York.

Following up his phenomenal municipal campaign in New York last Fall (p. 659) William Randolph Hearst's supporters are arranging for a State campaign next Fall. On the 10th Mr. Hearst returned to New York City from an extended western trip, and met his supporters for conference. Reports from every county in the State were considered, and it was decided to hold a conference at Albany late in February or early in March, to be composed of delegates from clubs. It is expected that a State committee will be formed at this conference for the purpose of perfecting local organizations and urging the adoption of the programme presented to the legislature at the opening of the session by the executive committee of the Municipal Ownership League. This programme includes a direct nomination law somewhat similar to the law of Wisconsin; a home rule and municipal ownership bill, authorizing the cities of the State by condemnation proceedings to own and operate gas, electric lighting and street railway plants; a bill providing that subway contracts for construction shall be separated from contracts for operation, making provision for short time leases of subways when built, taking away the power of the Rapid Transit Commission to grant franchises in perpetuity and permitting the city itself to operate, if, in the judgment of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, public operation is for the best interests of the city; a bill giving effect to the recently adopted

amendment to the State Constitution providing that the prevailing rate of wages shall be paid and the eight-hour day adopted on all public works; a ballot reform law establishing the genuine Australian ballot and providing for an expeditious and easy method of judicial review of decisions of election inspectors. Minor legislative objects are embodied in this programme, but the above are the essential features.

#### The traction question in Chicago

Having been advised that in order to refer the question of issuing certificates under the Mueller law for traction ownership to referendum (p. 729), it may be necessary for the City Council to pass a separate ordinance formulating the question for submission, Mayor Dunne prepared a draft of such an ordinance and submitted it to the Council on the 5th. Consideration of it was on motion deferred, and on the 14th it was adopted, 45 to 22.

#### The gas question in Chicago.

Pretty closely coupled with the traction question, politically at least, is the gas question (pp. 565, 574; 593), which has been before the Chicago City Council since last Fall under Mayor Dunne's recommendation that the price be reduced from \$1 per thousand feet to 75 cents. The committee to which the Mayor's message was referred took the testimony of voluntary experts, but as it had no power to compel the production of testimony or records it could not inquire into the actual cost in Chicago, as shown by the companies' records, without the companies' consent, and the companies refused their consent. Upon this condition of facts the committee reported favorably an ordinance, drafted by the attorney for the gas companies, which fixed the price at 85 cents and made important franchise concessions to the gas companies. The City Council on the 8th adopted this ordinance by a vote of 58 to 9, refusing to allow any material amendments. Upon scrutinizing the ordinance Mayor Dunne decided to veto it, and this he did at the meeting of the Council on the 14th. His message was comprehensive and minute in criticism of details and consequently lengthy. Among the

larger objections of general interest he pointed out that—

the Standard Oil company, or any company organized under the liberal laws of New Jersey, Delaware or any other State would be empowered to take possession of the gas plants now being operated in the city of Chicago and conduct them without limitation as to time in the same manner that domestic corporations of this city could conduct them; but in so doing they would have the right to have all questions arising between the city of Chicago and themselves determined exclusively in the Federal courts instead of in our local State courts.

I can discover no good reason why the public utilities of this city, as long as they are allowed to remain in the hands of private companies, should not be administered by corporations which are subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the State courts.

Mayor Dunne also laid stress upon the fact that the companies refuse to show their books, saying:

It is possible that there are certain good reasons arising out of the price of coal, oil, labor and the other constituents which enter into the manufacture of gas, that might make the manufacture of gas in Chicago more costly than in these other cities. The only way to determine this question is to examine into the actual price of gas as manufactured in Chicago. The companies that are manufacturing gas within the city of Chicago have peculiarly within their knowledge the actual cost of the manufacture and distribution of gas in the city and this cost can be ascertained accurately and reliably from the books of the companies if the books are correctly and honestly kept. For the purpose of getting the actual cost of gas in Chicago I requested these companies to permit their books to be examined by the representatives of the city. This request was met with a refusal. A firm of accountants was permitted to examine certain books and papers which were selected by the People's Gas Light and Coke company and the Ogden Gas company and submitted to these accountants. In making their report to the committee on gas, oil and electric light, this firm of accountants declares: "We should have been accorded an opportunity of more fully examining several of the distributing and other accounts in the ledgers that bear directly on this investigation, but this was denied us. Had we had access to these accounts the cost of manufacturing and distributing might have been somewhat modified." From this report of these accountants it is apparent that the actual cost of gas manufactured in Chicago within recent years has not been ascertained, although

that actual cost must be and is known to the People's Gas Light and Coke company and the Ogden Gas company.

Until these companies will permit a thorough and exhaustive examination of their books for the purpose of enabling the city of Chicago to ascertain the actual cost of gas as manufactured by them during recent years, I cannot be convinced that the city of Chicago and its citizens ought not to be furnished with gas as cheaply as the gas sold in Cleveland, Cincinnati and other cities in the United States, irrespective of the valuable privileges to these companies in the ordinance.

In concluding his veto message Mayor Dunne recommended that—

the subject matter of fixing the price and quality of gas to be furnished by the gas companies of this city to the city and the gas consumers of the city be recommended to the committee on gas, oil and electric light, with instructions that that committee demand from the gas companies of Chicago an opportunity to examine fully and thoroughly the books of said companies to ascertain the true and actual cost of the manufacture and distribution of gas in the city of Chicago, and that in default of that opportunity being given to it within 30 days, that it fix the price of gas at 75 cents per 1,000 cubic feet for the next ensuing five years.

Without considering the Mayor's objections, a motion to pass the ordinance over his veto was immediately made and rushed to a vote. The motion was carried by 57 to 10.

#### Tax reform in Missouri.

Gov. Folk of Missouri has appointed F. N. Judson, a distinguished lawyer; Frederick M. Crunden, librarian of the St. Louis public library, and Isidor Loeb, professor of political science at the State University, as three of the seven members of a Tax Commission which is to investigate the revenue laws of Missouri and report to the next legislature. One of the first questions to be considered by this commission is the repeal of laws taxing personal property. On that question the three commissioners named are understood to be agreed in favor of repeal, and Gov. Folk is reported to be of the same mind. He issued a statement on the 11th in which he said:

It is asserted by some persons that the removal of State taxes from personal property, thus placing upon real

estate and corporate monopolies the burden of government, would benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. On the contrary, in proportion to property, the personal property tax (and by personal property is not meant corporate franchises and privileges) falls heaviest on the poor and the honest. The abolition of this tax and putting it on corporate privileges cannot be to the advantage of the rich as against the poor, for the poor man has no monopoly privileges and no corporate holdings. Every farmer, under the present system, pays on every cow, horse and hog; every widow or orphan whose estate must go through the probate court must pay in full, while too often the man of wealth, having his personalty in such shape it cannot be reached, pays practically nothing. The tax-dodger naturally objects to any change in the revenue laws that will reach his property, for if he manages to dodge now he is content.

#### Assailing land monopoly in Mexico.

From Monterey on the 7th, through the San Antonio (Tex.) Daily Express of the 8th, it was reported that a heavy tax is to be levied on uncultivated land. This, it is said, will have the most salutary effect on the conditions of the middle classes in Mexico. Concerning the rumored reform a prominent but unnamed Mexico City business man is reported to have said:

The much talked of tax on untitled land will be one of the greatest reforms that has ever been made in this country. So far as the rumor goes it will be a high tax, while that on tilled lands will be less. This will force the big hacendados who till a small part of their vast lands and let the rest lie idle, either to sell it or put it under cultivation. In either case it will act as a blessing to the middle class. If the hacendados will sell, it will give the middle class a chance to buy land in small quantities and farm it for themselves, thus making themselves self-supporting and eventually prosperous citizens. However, if the big land owners prefer to keep their land and pay the smaller tax for cultivated property it will create a greater demand for labor, thus giving people who now live on next to nothing a steady employment at a fair rate of wages. It will also tend to create villages.

#### NEWS NOTES

—The League of American Municipalities is to meet at Chicago in September.

—Paul Laurence Dunbar, the famous Negro poet, whose father and mother

were slaves, died of consumption at his home in Dayton, O., on the 9th, at the age of 34.

—The lower house of the Iowa legislature defeated on the 13th a resolution for submitting a woman suffrage amendment to the people. The vote was 37 for to 53 against.

—Delegates from forty-two States have been appointed by the governors to attend the uniform divorce law convention which is to be held in Washington, beginning on the 19th.

—Mayor Johnson of Cleveland is reported to have appointed Wm. H. Boyd, his Republican adversary in the mayoralty contest, to an important professional position as a lawyer for the city government.

—Ernest Grosby will lecture on William Lloyd Garrison, under the auspices of the Woman's Auxiliary of the Henry George Association, at Lecture Hall, Fine Arts Building, 203 Michigan avenue, Chicago, on the 17th, at 8 o'clock.

—A memorial meeting in honor of the late Murray F. Tuley (p. 749), as jurist, citizen and man, was held at the Auditorium, Chicago, on the 11th. Mayor Dunne presided, and Judge Gary, Judge Adams, Arthur J. Eddy, and Luther Laffin Mills made addresses.

—The Supreme Court of Nebraska, holding the Nebraska anti-trust law to be constitutional, decided on the 8th that the Nebraska Grain Dealers' Association, comprising all the larger grain companies of the State, is an illegal combination. Its dissolution was ordered.

—A change of cabinet in Italy was effected on the 8th, the Fortis ministry having resigned, and Baron Sonnino becoming premier. The majority of the new cabinet are conservatives, though one member, Pantano (minister of agriculture), is a republican, and one, Sacchi (minister of justice), is the radical leader.

—A corporation to control the output of lead and copper ores was reported from New York on the 10th to have been effected with an underwritten capitalization of at least \$600,000. It includes the interests of Amalgamated Copper, Anaconda, United Copper, Bingham Copper, Utah Copper, American Smelting, Federal Mining and Smelting, National Lead and United Lead.

—The 38th annual convention of the Woman's National Suffrage Association (p. 749) adjourned on the 13th, after adopting among other resolutions one recommending the initiative and referendum. Susan B. Anthony had been elected honorary and the Rev. Anna H. Shaw active president. The other officers are Florence Kelly, of New York, vice president; Kate M.

Gordon, of New Orleans, corresponding secretary; Alice Stone Blackwell, of Boston, recording secretary; and Harriet Taylor Upton, of Warren, O., treasurer.

## PRESS OPINIONS

### THE BRITISH LAND POLICY.

(Windsor, Ont.) Evening Record (Lib.), Feb. 10.—There is enough good land in Great Britain, fenced in for speculation and pleasure, to maintain in comfort a large proportion of its population. Under the law there, land that brings no rent pays no taxes. If this land were assessed according to its value, leaving out improvements arising from the application of labor, that is to say on the unimproved value of the land, two good results would follow—public taxes would be vastly increased, and land, would be forced into use or on the market, because taxation would render the holding of it unprofitable, while tens of thousands who have been driven to the cities by this land monopoly and now swell the ranks of the distressed would find employment. This is clearly the policy of land-reform that the British Premier and the most enlightened of his colleagues have in view.

Toronto (Ont.) Globe (Lib.).—It is clear that the government intends to discourage the holding of large tracts of idle land, and to promote use and cultivation by taxing the value of unimproved property. The power has so long rested in the hands of the territorial landlords in Britain that they have ordered the laws to their own special advantage. There is now the promise of a change, and the prospect of a system under which the man who builds or cultivates will not be taxed for the benefit of the idle land-holder. It is fortunate for the Empire at large that the people have endorsed a policy of colonization at home, in preference to the delusion of improving their condition by taxing their food. The men who have covered up the productive soil with title deeds, and rendered it useless, are now seen in the light of a clearer economic understanding. The old rhyme that contrasts the man who steals the goose from the common with the man who steals the common from the goose has a homely wisdom that the people are at last appreciating.

### THE CHICAGO GAS JOBBERY.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), Feb. 15.—With conditions as they were, the settlement was advisable both because it was a good, practical settlement for the great army of gas consumers and also because it was in accord with good public policy.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Feb. 9.—The Chronicle takes pleasure in saying that the position of Mayor Dunne in regard to cheap gas has been creditable to him from the first. . . . Chicago has been imposed on in this matter too long already. . . . The Chronicle has not always found itself in sympathy with the ideas of Mayor Dunne, but in this instance it believes that he is in the right, and it does not hesitate to say so.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Feb. 13.—The big gas men have taken advantage of the public pressure for a lower gas rate. They have seized the opportunity to voluntarily reduce the price of gas 15 cents per thousand cubic feet in order to secure advantages to themselves worth \$25,000,000. As soon as the 85-cent ordinance passed the Council certain newspapers—in milk-and-water editorials—began to talk about the 85-cent ordinance being a compromise ordinance. The impression sought to be conveyed is that the city and the companies have each given up certain valuable claims, that each has received some valu-

able concessions and that this ordinance is an all-around good business bargain. . . . To call this a compromise ordinance is simply playing with the English language. The ordinance is not a compromise. It is a grant of valuable privileges to the gas companies of Chicago. If the gas committee believed, as its report shows, that 85 cents is a fair price, why did the committee not recommend an 85-cent ordinance, without giving millions of dollars' worth of additional rights to the gas companies?—(Feb. 15).—The Mayor pointed out in his veto, with convincing logic, that the 85-cent ordinance was so loaded with new privileges and concessions to the gas companies as to more than nullify the benefits to gas consumers. The 15 cents reduction was an acknowledged bait to fasten more firmly the hold of the gas trust upon the city. Fifty-seven aldermen took advantage of this bait to aid the gas trust in its plot to hold Chicago gas consumers at its mercy.

### ROBERT BAKER'S RESIGNATION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Feb. 12.—Evidently the purpose of appointing Mr. Baker to the office he so quickly resigned was to bottle him up. The Brooklyn bosses manifestly calculated that with a sugar test in his mouth he could be kept silent. But they reckoned without their host. Mr. Baker was just as ready after his appointment as he had ever been before to challenge any man or anything which seemed to invite a challenge, and when his superior advised him that he would have to quit talking, he made short work of the whole business by resigning his office and preserving his rights as a man and his independence as a citizen. There are too few Robert Bakers in this country.

### POSTAL CENSORSHIP.

Dubuque (Ia.) Telegraph-Herald (Dem.). The American Banker is seriously alarmed at the revelation that, under a clause in our postal laws, "it is possible at any time for a perfectly solvent bank, whether organized under State or Federal laws, it matters not, to be instantly and utterly destroyed by the officials of the post office department, and this without right of appeal to any court of law; in short, without any mode of redress; the statute as it stands reposing this sinister and plenary power absolutely in the hands of that department." . . . The fear is not groundless. The power of the post office department conferred by this section of the postal laws has been employed to check many notable frauds. So employed, it is a beneficent weapon. But it has also been used tyrannously, as the Banker promises to prove by citing a particular case. The question of whether it will be used only against the guilty is not, however, a pertinent one. The point is that it admits despotic power, without recourse in appeal, without redress. For that reason it is foreign to the spirit of all our other laws and an outrage on justice.

## IN CONGRESS.

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, Feb. 5-10.

### Senate.

Consideration of the ship subsidy bill was resumed on the 5th (p. 2031), but nothing of general interest was done on the 6th and 7th. The urgent deficiency bill being finally considered on the 9th (p. 2253), Senator Patterson moved to strike out the clause allowing more than an eight-hour day for alien labor on the Panama canal (p. 2257), but his motion was defeated (p.

2257) and the bill was passed. Adjournment was then taken to the 12th.

#### House.

The consideration in committee of the whole of the Hepburn railroad rate bill continued on the 5th (p. 2041), 6th (p. 2087); and 7th (p. 2116). On the latter date it was reported back by committee of the whole (pp. 2137-2138), and on the 8th was adopted by 346 ayes to 7 noes (p. 2207). The pension appropriation bill was then taken up (p. 2208) and passed (p. 2220). On the 9th the House passed a bill amending the tariff laws of the Philippines, and adjourned to the 12th.

**Record Notes.**—Speech of Representative Williams, of Mississippi, on railroad rates (p. 2175); text of Senator Patterson's Democratic caucus resolution (p. 2025); speech of Representative Burton on railroad rates (p. 2108).

## RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

### VANITY FAIR.

For The Public.

Fair ladies walk in brave array,  
Ab blaze with jewels empire-prized;  
And gallants beau them through the play  
At half a kingdom's cost devised.  
In pleasure's quest they may not flinch,  
Though pleasure stales and rest comes not,  
While lands are valued by the inch,  
And men are reckoned by the lot.

In silken weariness they pass  
The trivial hours of lagging days;  
Still others wrestle to amass  
Such weight of wealth as makes men gaze,  
To gild a cage wherein some finch  
May twitter joyless polyglot,  
While lands are valued by the inch,  
And men are reckoned by the lot.

See, too, the throngs in throbbing streets,  
Emaciate, in hunger's gripe,  
Too poor to dream what sun-kissed sweets  
Beneath life's summer skies grow ripe;  
Yet oft with hands that vainly clinch,  
Stir up foul strife or sullen plot,  
While lands are valued by the inch,  
And men are reckoned by the lot.

Prince, 'ware the future's awful pinch—  
The past has known the like, God wot—  
When lands were valued by the inch,  
And men were reckoned by the lot.

JOHN STONE PARDEE.

### MARSHALL FIELD'S "EARNINGS."

One of the monthly magazines has been propounding the question: "Can a man honestly earn \$100,000,000?" Marshall Field, of Chicago, is said to have amassed more than that amount and no one has ever assailed his reputation for honesty and fair dealing.—Exchange.

Fourteen years ago last autumn, Alzina Parsons-Stevens, then deputy factory inspector by Gov. Altgeld's appointment, found it in her line of duty to order the burning bale after bale of women's cheap coats and jackets in one of the worst infected smallpox sweatshop huddles in darkest Chicago. Mrs. Stevens took the Marshall

Field label from a number of the bunches and, accompanied by Lester Hubbard (author of "The Coming Climax"—which, by the way, is coming fast enough), went directly and confronted the merchant prince with proof of the thing he had denied. He did not attempt to explain nor excuse. Pale with wrath and choking with rage, he called Mrs. Stevens very bad names, like "termagant," "no-lady," "unsexed woman," and others not so excellent for print, advising her to go home and hold her tongue or he would have her arrested for disturbing the (his) peace.

Mr. Hubbard reported to the one paper that cared or dared to print, that never before in the history of the whole labor struggle did a guilty man take such a magnificent scorching of sarcasm and denunciation (and those who knew Mrs. Stevens' gift of language can well believe it) with no rebuttal but threats, if she dared to make public the proof of his duplicity and criminality.

When Mrs. Parsons-Stevens died some four years ago, she had to her credit the establishment of the juvenile court in Chicago; the organization of the first working woman's union, and so great record of work along "Hull House" lines, the new truant school building was named in her honor. And Marshall Field died "worth a hundred million dollars!" Incidentally, Marshall Field was a shareholder and director in the United States Steel Trust. He "earned" money in various other corporations.—San Francisco Star.

### A GOOD EXAMPLE.

Franklin H. Giddings, LL. D., Professor of Sociology in Columbia University, in the New York Independent of Feb. 1, 1906.

The newspapers and other monitors of the public conscience, including the Independent, are finding pleasant occupation in holding up to view the late Mr. Marshall Field, of Chicago, as a good example of many praiseworthy qualities and of honorable business success. He was.

He was a good example also of something else that was not set forth in the Independent's interesting editorial a week ago—a something else really significant, and at the present moment deserving of particular consideration. The career of Mr. Field is being exploited by the organs of capitalism as a triumphant demonstration that a "right smart" poor boy by enterprise, honesty and attention to business may amass an enormous fortune without drawing it from any other source than

that wealth which he himself by his productive activity contributes to mankind. As usual, the organs of capitalism in their over-conscientious desire to walk in the narrow path of truth have inadvertently stumbled into error. The career of the estimable Mr. Field was a convincing demonstration that no man on earth can possibly amass in his own lifetime as much as \$100,000,000 without freely tapping the reservoirs of that wealth which is created by the brain-sweat and the muscle-tension of mankind, rather than by his own individual productivity.

This correction of the record I beg to submit is important, so let us look at the facts.

And first, the contention of capitalistic apologetics. "Here is a man," says one of our bravest organs, "the largest tax-payer in America, whose estate is variously estimated at \$100,000,000 up, that owned no franchises, was aided by no invention, sought no especial privileges, attempted to establish no monopoly, was protected by no tariff, and, wonderful to relate, was no tax-dodger." The last item in this statement I understand is strictly true, and it shall be counted to Mr. Field's everlasting credit. Some other items in the list are not strictly true.

Mr. Field was aided by one of the biggest inventions ever made. In fact, it was the foundation of his fortune. I refer, of course, to the invention of the department store, and it happens that it was not made by Mr. Marshall Field nor even by one of his salaried employes, who could have turned it over to him in exchange for a reward of merit, as many clever inventors, employed by millionaires and corporations, turn over their ideas to appreciative masters. This particular contrivance was invented in France, and was carried to its highest practical exploitation in the famous Bon Marche of Paris. There didn't happen to be any tariff on the idea, so Mr. Field imported it.

Having started out with this excellent nest egg, Mr. Field did, contrary to the assertion of our apologist, proceed to profit mightily by our American tariff. On almost everything that he imported, subsequently to the original invoice of idea, he, like other honest merchants, paid heavy duties, and like other honest merchants he thereupon charged prices for his goods which included a pretty percentage of profit upon the duties paid, as well as upon the original purchase cost.

Now let us turn to certain incidents in Mr. Field's career, about which the apologist has failed to enlighten us, but which have been fully set forth in the news columns of the public prints.

Mr. Field made a great deal of money out of his department store, but not a fortune of \$100,000,000 or more. Many years ago his sagacious mind began to reflect upon that item of wealth which the political economist calls "unearned increment." It so happens that the really desirable parts of the earth's surface are limited in area, and as population grows the demand for them increases. The narrow island of Manhattan, for example, is advantageously situated for commercial purposes, and a large number of human beings may be observed here carrying on various industries and trades. Little strips of land on the main thoroughfares have in consequence become so valuable that they are now sold not by the acre or even by the rood, but as so much a front foot, in certain instances even at so much an inch. The men that own these parcels of land do not themselves, as individuals, create its value, they only take it. Quite honestly, to be sure, they take it, because the community, which collectively creates it, in its wisdom permits any smart man with a taste for speculation to appropriate it.

To the alert mind of Mr. Marshall Field unearned increment, growing like a banyan tree on Manhattan Island, appealed as a source of private revenue not to be despised. Ten or 12 years ago he began picking up a few good things on Fifth avenue. Little by little he acquired adjoining parcels, until he controlled a frontage of 164 feet on Thirtieth street and 254 on Thirty-first street. This property, it is understood, he leased to Benjamin Altman for 99 years. In like manner, and on a yet larger scale, he bought in his own town. Of the \$40,000,000 worth of Chicago property on which he paid taxes, \$30,000,000 was in real estate. In addition to these investments, Mr. Field had real estate holdings in various other States, and he owned large blocks of stocks and bonds in corporations holding valuable franchises conferred by the public.

This correction of the record of Mr. Field's honorable career is, I wish to repeat, important from the point of view of those who maintain that a man starting with nothing can in the United States amass a fortune of many

millions by his own productive effort. This contention, I venture to submit, holds out wrong impressions and false hopes to the American boy who is "poor but honest." It may lead him into commercial error. If his purpose is to get together a little competence of a hundred million dollars or so, he should not rely upon his own wealth-creating powers. He will find it much safer to look about him for wealth created by the enterprise of the community, and with the assistance of trustworthy legal counsel find ways of tapping it, through franchises and other privileges created by competent legislative authority, and through advantages offered by our perfectly legal real estate system.

#### UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: Did you ever hear of the hazing of Billy Mason? By the United States' Senate? I know nothing about it myself. Man alive! I hain't hardly been in the Senate since the Civil War, but the boys tell it this way: Several years back Billy Mason went down to the Senate from the great State of Illinois. He had some reputation as a talker, Billy had, and he ran bunt up agin the Senate rule that freshmen must keep quiet the first year.

You see, my early Senate claimed some big men, like Webster and Hayne, and some with lofty ideals, like Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois. They cast a halo over the buildin', so you could see the dome of the capitol on a dark night. I guess they rely on electricity now.

Well, the result is that a senator once elected feels as fine as a brass box. He's a Webster, a Benton, a Sumner and a railroad company, all in one. He takes on the pomp of a college senior and—hazes the freshmen. The first year the newly elected senator must worship in silence. If he speaks to business, the senators lay up their things and seek the cloakroom. He has no audience. That fetches the most of 'em. The Senate laid it out for Billy. They hadn't met Billy Mason yet. Now Billy Mason is a portly man, the papers say, genial and kindly in manner, modest as a locomotive headlight and retirin' as the cowcatcher. Some men talk easiest when they stand; Billy stands easiest when he talks, but he is an amiable man and has no objection to

others speakin' in the chinks of time ne is not usin' himself.

Well, the great hay-doors of the Senate were opened, and Illinois, in the person of William E. Mason (his real name is Billy), passed in. Wide, woolly and western, and walkin' with a cane, he paced down the Senate aisles, and liked it. He glanced at the galleries, saw it was good and took possession.

Finally the time came. Mason of Illinois arose to address the Senate. Had the doomed man not heard the rule? The senators began to rid up their desks to leave.

Now, where the rest of the Senate was, made really mighty little difference to Billy, for there never was a Senate yet in this world that Billy Mason couldn't run himself. Give him the reporters and he'd ask no favors, but he hated to see the senators take on airs and lose his jokes. So he threw them one as a sample:

"You all know how we got here?" says Billy, grinning around; and that one sentence knocked the pins from under the entire Senate of the United States. How they got there! Was there a man of them who had got there without bribery and corruption or fraud? Why, the glow of the hell fires was yet on the wings of those radiant ones, fresh minted into senatorial angels at the forge-heats of legislative barter and sale of graft and the people's perquisites. Should they condition him—him, Billy Mason?

"You all know how we got here?" says Billy, pleasantly.

In awe of that Senate? He was the big, jovial schoolmaster who had caught the boys naughty, and was enjoying their discomfiture before he "licked the hide off'n 'em." "You all know how we got here," says Billy, genially—and they never denied it.

The cloakroom! Well, it had lost its charm. Here was a man telling jokes, and where was the good of stirring a speaker to particulars who as yet had only dealt in generalities? Anyhow, what could affect a man of such serene confidence that he could jeer the holy Senate, punch its royal ribs and joke it on how it got there? The Senate remained.

William the Silent? No, that was another man, dead 400 years. This one talked. I don't know if he was sincere. Billy was elected a Republican, but, like the minister's wayward son gone wrong, he knew of holy things and he talked them into that devoted band. The Senate was Repub-

ican, and the Republicans had left the narrow way and were on the broad road to imperialism. They had taken the job of overthrowin' the Boer and Philippine republics. Billy threw in hot shot and heavy, and called the sinners home. Lincoln Republicanism, Jeffersonian democracy, Declaration of Independence, and the beatitudes of Christ, he talked them all; but nothin' was so fetchin' to that Senate as the Mephistophelean leer, "You all know how we got here."

We've been havin' a new song in this country. Don't know as you ever heard it. "Everybody works at our house but father"—"but my old man." It can't be sung or whistled any more now, they tell me, for the old man's got a job; but thinkin' ain't barred, I guess. I mind the time well when everybody didn't have to keep scratchin' so close to pile up these great fortunes, for that is all this stir amounts to. That's all we get, a bare livin' for all, and a fortune for a few. The old Egyptians built big pyramids for their kings; the Americans build big fortunes for theirs, and neither ever had sense enough to say: "We'll allow no more big pyramids built and no more big fortunes gathered, but all live along comfortable and even-like. 'Tisn't necessary that thousands should toil years to haul a mile of stones to build a tomb for a king, when a cartload will do; nor for thousands to slave for years to build a fortune that some gambler will use against them in boosting real estate, or wheat, or railroads, that the same people must buy." When people all catch on, it will be as hard to build up a modern big fortune as it would be now to build an Egyptian big pyramid. People won't stand for it. It's obstructive to comfort. It'll be another lost art.

Yes, in the old days we didn't work so close, we didn't work the children so much. They had time to play and go to school. Law me, how I laughed 40 year ago at that Irish song a-ratin' pigs above the children:

But, childer are not pigs, you know;  
They cannot pay the rint.

'Tain't so blame funny, come to think about it, neither. American children do it now! They do! They have reached the level of the Irish pig of 40 years ago; they pay the rent. Have to stay home from school to do it. Many a father couldn't pay his rent but for what his children bring in. 'Tain't fair to the child! Do you suppose, John, the great Republican

party could have really gone wrong? It's the party of Lincoln, John. It freed the slaves, and I've stood by it for many a year; but sometimes—sometimes I have misgivin's. Either so, or that blame poetry machine puts things into my head. When you get one, John, get a plute machine, you'll like the sentiments better. They stuck me with one with democratic wheels in it, I'm most sure. I chucked the general subject in for enlightenment, and it churned out this:

#### UNDER THE UPAS TREE.

Under the Upas tree, under the G. O. P.,  
Everybody works for father, under the  
G. O. P.,

Tommy and Lilly, and Sadie and Billy,  
The cat ran away or she,  
Too, would have to work for father,  
Under the G. O. P.

#### UNCLE SAM.

#### REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

William Lloyd Garrison was born in Newburyport, Mass., December, 1805, and the one hundredth anniversary of his birth was commemorated in New York by the People's Institute, Charities and Commons for January 6, from which we reprint Dr. Conway's article, says that "it was fitting that this meeting should be held in the Cooper Union Hall, a traditional platform, whence Lincoln as well as Garrison spoke during the Civil War, and it was a privilege for those present to be able to hear the contemporary and friend of Garrison, Moncure D. Conway. Dr. Conway, now nearly 74, tall, slightly stooping, with full white beard and hair, made an impressive figure upon the platform. Whatever may be one's estimate of the cause with which Garrison threw in his lot, there was much of interest in Dr. Conway's graphic description of the personality of this reformer in the fifties. The accompanying article by Dr. Conway embodies his address, and contains some points not in it."

Fifty-six years ago, living with my father, a large slaveholder in Virginia, I was at 18 appointed to the proud position of secretary to a Southern Rights association—the earliest in that region. Our object was to resent and resist the attacks of one William Lloyd Garrison and his allies on Southern institutions. We did not object much to disunionism; we rather inclined to that ourselves, but Garrison was denouncing slavery itself—the immediate jewel of our soul. But also I had been brought up to believe in the Declaration of Independence, which says, "all men are created equal,"—which so many people twist into "all men are born free and equal," which is nonsense. I found it necessary to reconcile slavery with the Declaration of Independence, and wrote an essay on that subject. That essay is now

in my house, and I am here. That essay was never printed, but it was so convincing that I had no more to do with Southern rights associations, but found my way to Boston and to the side of William Lloyd Garrison—whose diabolical horns, once so visible to my Virginia eyes, had turned to a halo. In my small way I worked at his side, and it is because I am one of the few left of those who served the anti-slavery cause at that time that I am summoned from my retreat to give you some memories and impressions of the man.

It was on May 5, 1853, that I first met Garrison. It was at a grand banquet in Boston, given to John P. Hale, who had just lost his seat in the United States Senate through his courage in resisting the aggressions of slavery. The chief representatives of the radical movement which afterward developed the Republican party were on the stage. I remember there were Senators Sumner and Wilson, Anson Burlingame (who afterward married Hale's daughter), Cassius M. Clay, John Jay, Horace Mann, J. G. Palfrey, the historian, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.

After some speeches were made the large assembly clamored for Garrison, and Dr. Palfrey, who presided, with evident delight asked Garrison to speak. Then Garrison arose—tall, slender, blonde, and though nearing 50 years, youthful in appearance. Politically Garrison was alone in the hall, but he was there because of his respect for the courage with which Hale had confronted slavery in the Senate. The crowd of men and women welcomed Garrison with loud applause as he arose, and I remarked that all of those distinguished constitutional reformers looked on the disunionist with eyes beaming with gratitude. Garrison was their pioneer!

Garrison felt the cordiality around him, and spoke in a sympathetic way. Turning to Senator Hale, he said: "We are this evening all Hale fellows well met. We have it our own way. I do not believe there is in this vast assembly a single pro-slavery person—indeed I will put it to vote: all who are in favor of the immediate and everlasting overthrow of slavery will say 'aye.'" There was a universal shout of "ayes," but when he called for the "noes" one or two responded, not understanding amid the laughter the question put. Garrison said: "If those noes are from Democrats, they will come over and make the decision

unanimous, as the Democrats must always be on the popular side." He afterwards in a more serious vein, but still humorous tone, said: "Gentlemen, if you have been so fortunate as to find a Union worth preserving, cling to it with all your souls. I have not been so fortunate. With a price set upon my head in one State, outlawed in the South for my hatred of slavery, you will pardon me if I am somewhat lacking in loyalty to the existing Union."

One day I was conversing with Emerson about the anti-slavery leaders, and he remarked on Garrison's unconsciousness. "Wendell Phillips," said Emerson, "knows the value of every word he utters, but Garrison doesn't seem to think of style or effect."

On reflection I was not quite certain whether Emerson referred to Garrison's self-effacement before his cause, or to the extreme vehemence of his censures, or to both. Some one spoke to Emerson disparagingly of Garrison, saying: "He is a man of one idea." Emerson replied: "It isn't everybody that has one."

However severe Garrison's language might be, his voice was not stormy; his calmness was indeed impressive, especially in those days of outrage on freedom in Kansas and of slave hunting in the North, when pious people were uttering oaths, not sham damns, but solemn ones. Parker Pillsbury, once an orthodox preacher, in one of his powerful speeches lifted his hand and his face toward Heaven, and declared: "The Democratic party is the God-damndest party that ever existed."

All who heard this or heard of it felt like saying to Parker Pillsbury: "Thank you!" There was a genuine feeling that the recording angel would leave that oath till it was blotted out by Democratic tears.

About that time Garrison enraged people far and wide by publicly burning the United States Constitution at Framingham Grove. That was on July 4, 1854. After burning the Boston court judgment that had just returned Anthony Burns to slavery he held up the Constitution, read from it the pro-slavery clauses, struck a match and burned it to ashes. Then he said: "Let all the people say amen." There were hisses mingled with the amens, but there stood Garrison beaming upon us, not excited in face, word or gesture. It was the most picturesque thing I ever saw. It was Jeremiah the Prophet breaking the earthen bot-

tle, and saying: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts: even so will I break this people!"

I was occasionally troubled by the severity of Garrison's language concerning the guilt of slavery, feeling that the slave-holders were as much the victims of slavery as their slaves. I knew well that the Southern whites were as good-hearted as people elsewhere. But Rev. Samuel J. May told me that Garrison's wrath was meant only for the Northern abettors of slavery. May said that many years before when Garrison could speak only on Boston Common, he had himself gone up to him and said: "Mr. Garrison, you are too violent—you are on fire!" and Garrison had replied: "I have reason to be on fire, for I have icebergs around me to melt!"

I have my own theory of Garrison's wrathful language. In the outset he was an orthodox preacher, and when he became himself a prophet he often used the language of the Biblical prophets. It was in Scriptural phrases, "the wrath of the lamb," the "fierceness of the dove." In such phrases as "covenant with Death and agreement with Hell," his constant description of the Constitution, and in other quotations from the Bible, he was transferring ancient denunciations of stiff-necked Jews to stiff-necked American oppressors. Garrison became unorthodox, even defending Paine, but the prophetic fire remained in him until the Union War broke out. In that he recognized the fulfillment of all the prophecies. Garrison was a non-resistant; if Jefferson Davis had slapped him personally upon one cheek, he would certainly have turned the other rather than have personally injured Davis. But the non-resistant doctrine of that day was mainly a personal principle; it did not hold that Almighty God was a non-resistant, and Garrison saw in that war a Divine day of judgment.

There never was a happier agitator than Garrison. His home was beautiful; his sympathetic wife and children were always outdoing the mobs that tried to make him a martyr. He was musical, and they were all singers. I remembered their voices just now when the young people were singing the old hymn, "Christmas," which he so much loved, and to the words he loved (Doddridge's) "Awake my soul, stretch every nerve," but which I always associate with one of the original verses of that Christmas carol:

Fear not, the angel cried (for dread  
Had seized their troubled mind),  
Glad tidings of great joy I bring  
To you and all mankind!

For myself I could not see with Garrison any Divine judgment in the war. War is the sum of all villainies. In that dreadful four years with its half million slaughtered men—chiefly the young flower of our nation—war surpassed a century of slavery in cruelties and horrors from which we have never recovered.

On January 14, 1862, Garrison spoke from Cooper Union and said:

Slavery is a thunderbolt in the hands of the traitors to smite the government to the dust. That thunderbolt might be seized and turned against the rebellion with fatal effects, and at the same time without injury to the South. . . . I am as much interested in the safety and welfare of the slave-holders, as brother men, as I am in the liberation of their poor slaves; for we are all the children of God, and should strive to promote the happiness of all.

Soon after he appealed to Abraham Lincoln:

Sir, the power is in your hands as President of the United States and commander-in-chief of the army and navy. Do your duty; give to the slaves their liberty by proclamation, as far as that can give it; and if the North shall betray you, and prefer the success of the rebellion to the preservation of the Union, let the dread responsibility be hers, but stand with God and freedom on your side, come what may!

Had Garrison's plea been heeded there would have been no cemetery of slaughtered soldiers at Gettysburg or anywhere else. Had the gun fired on Sumter been replied to by a proclamation of freedom to every slave, carrying the land of refuge from Canada to the Ohio river and the Potomac, every "rebel" would have been chained to his home, and even then that could not have prevented the end of slavery. As if on our knees we entreated the president to save the confederates by sacrificing slavery. But there was revealed then the astounding fact that such a divinity hedged about property in man that it must be the last thing touched. For nearly two years our generals were sent South with the virtual order—Kill the Southerners, burn their homes and towns, their cotton and crops; desolate their lands, but beware—O beware—of liberating a Negro! Slavery was still a giant, liberty a child, and what we witnessed was:

Blind Authority beating with his staff  
The child that would have led him.

After the war Garrison entered upon peaceful years. Toward the close of his life he visited England, and it was delightful to see all who remained

of the old tollers for emancipation gathered around him, and listening to his charming speeches. We had the happiness of receiving him in our home in London, and of introducing to him a company of young people. He was then past his three-score-and-ten years, but his form was erect and an immortal youth shone in his eyes.

Never did we forget that picture of the "happy warrior" out in the garden amid the flowers, with the English maidens clustered around him, the roses in their cheeks flushing as they listened to his memories. He told us then that the highest compliment he ever received came from the eminent English anti-slavery leader, Buxton, who said: "What! You are William Lloyd Garrison? Why, I always supposed you were a black man."

That was the last I ever saw of William Lloyd Garrison. He was happy even in his death. He never lived to witness the rise of race hatred and lynchings and burnings of Negroes alive in the South, attesting once more that the sword never has done—never can do—clean and noble work. It did not do that in our so-called war of independence, which began the work of lynching, and made more than 200,000 citizens seek refuge from violence in Canada and Europe, and which was the cause of those concessions to slavery in our Constitution which led to the slaughter of half a million of our best men. Garrison never lived to see the Cult of the Sword bequeathed by the Union war, nor to suffer the heartbreak of seeing the nation he supposed identified with liberty and peace purchasing twice as many colored people as Lincoln proclaimed free and holding them in virtual slavery by military power. That which is done by violence is but half done, said Milton, and today he would add that they who commit and those that suffer the violence are undone, in a sense. Every war must have its sequel of deterioration.

Previous to women's voting, polling places were often located in untidy and most unsuitable places. Since the advent of women in politics, polling-booths are erected in cleaner and respectable localities, and profanity in and near the booths has disappeared. This improved environment we believe to be an external expression of cleaner political methods, for primaries, conventions, and legislative halls

are more orderly, personal abuse of opposing candidates is less frequent, and the machine politician is far less in evidence than formerly.—Mrs. Susan Riley Ashley, Denver, Col.

Gen. Grant records a good story that used to amuse him greatly of a certain rough carpenter who accompanied "Stonewall" Jackson in many of his marches.

On one occasion, when he was making a rapid movement, he came to a deep stream; the bridge had been burned, and it was necessary it should be restored as soon as possible.

Jackson sent for his engineers and the carpenter, telling them what was required, and the engineers retired to their tents to prepare their plans.

Two hours later the carpenter reported:

"General, that bridge is finished, but them picters ain't come yet."—Exchange.

Little Mary's big sister was engaged to Mr. Brown, who was away on an outing trip with Mary's brother. Her father was writing to his son and prospective son-in-law, and asked the little girl if she had a message to send to Mr. Brown.

"What shall I say, papa," asked she.

"Why," said the father, "I believe it is the fashion to send your love."

Some minutes later her father inquired: "And what shall I say to Brother Tom?"

"Well," replied the little miss, with a sigh, "you may send my fashionable love to Mr. Brown and my real love to Brother Tom."—Philadelphia Ledger.

The telephone company's lost lots of money  
And though the wolf howls at its door.  
It's after a franchise—you may think it  
funny—

To give it a chance to lose more.  
—Chicago Daily News.

## BOOKS

### A PEACE PROPOSITION.

Autobiography of Moncure D. Conway,  
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.  
Boston—Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

At the conclusion of his two-volume autobiography, issued some time ago by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Moncure D. Conway offers this plan for ending war:

"That the friends of peace and justice shall insist on the demand that every declaration of war shall be regarded as a sentence of death by one people on another, and shall be made only after a full and formal judicial inquiry and trial at which the accused people shall be fair-

ly represented. This was suggested to me by my old friend Professor Newman, who remarked that no war in history had been preceded by a judicial trial of the issue. A declaration of war is the most terrible of sentences; it sentences a people to be slain and mutilated, their women to be widowed, their children to be orphaned, their cities burned, their commerce destroyed. The real motives of every war are unavowed and unavowable: let them be dragged into the light! No war would ever occur after a fair judicial trial by a tribunal in any country open to its citizens."

And the author withdraws with the final invocation: "Implore peace, O my reader, from whom I now part. Implore peace, not of deified thunder clouds, but of every man, woman and child thou shalt meet. Do not merely offer the prayer: 'Give peace in our time,' but do thy part to answer it. Then, at least, though the world be at strife, there shall be peace in thee."

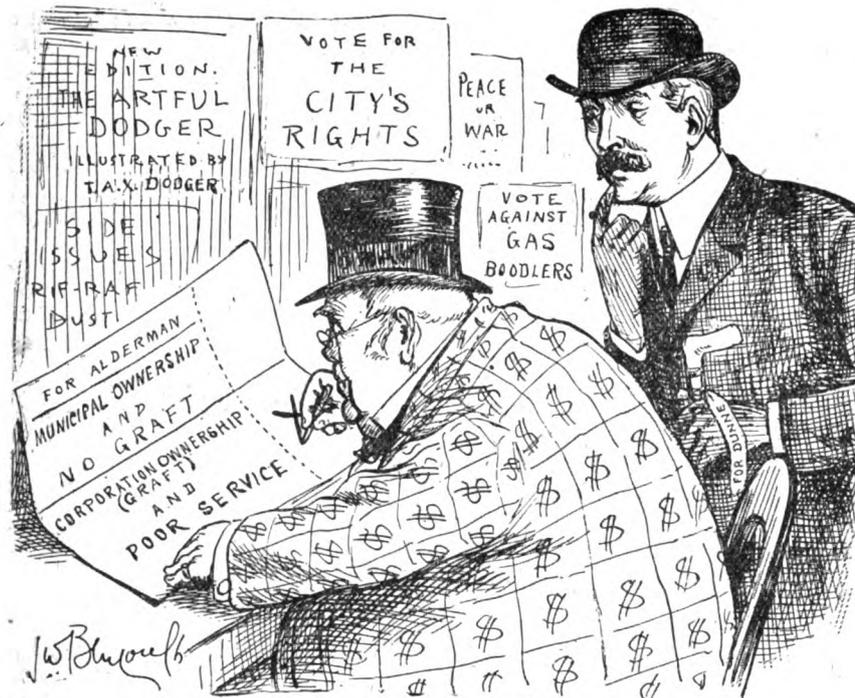
The action of Conway himself, whose career, begun in the stormy days preceding the civil war, was influenced more or less by this spirit. A strong anti-slavery man, though a Virginian born of a slave-holding ancestry, he worked strenuously for the peaceful emancipation which he believed possible. In the belief that evil could be conquered only by the regeneration of the evil-doer, he saw in the raid of John Brown but an insane challenge and bloody sacrifice to the God of War. He criticises freely the delay of the administration in proclaiming freedom to the slaves, who, held in bondage, were supplying the rebellion its chief power and substance. Even the purchase of every man, woman and child in slavery would have cost in money far less than our long, wretched conflict from whose heart-breaking losses and moral degrada-

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A POLICY IS KNOWN BY ITS SUPPORTERS.

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tions we are suffering yet. Difficult as it may be for the passionate man of war, believing in the sacredness of his so-called battles for freedom, to re-just himself to a new point of view, it is none the less good for him to coolly go over the facts and arguments of the peace man in the light of subsequent events.

Equally helpful to the growth of charity may it be for the churchman and religiousist to follow Conway's frank recital of his evolution from Methodism to Unitarianism, rationalism and free thought, where, in seeming unconsciousness to himself, he bowed his learned head before the blank wall that impeded his deeper, fuller vision into the mysteries of life. He appears to be waiting yet the opening of a spiritual sense to things that have struck his rational mind as unverifiable superstitions and human misrepresentations of a just and perfect God. There remains for him yet an advance which shall open to his large, liberal, brilliant mind the celestial vistas of a life at whose portal he already stands. Whoever has cleared away the rubbish of religious falsities must soon or late come into the glory of the true light.

But however the reader of Moncure D. Conway's autobiography may cavil at his heresies, declining, perhaps, to take him always at his own valuation, the absorbing interest of his 900 octavo pages must be conceded. His close relations with the galaxy of shining lights in literature and science, and his keen analysis of character as he freely discusses the movements of his time, all together constitute a charm which tends rather to stimulate one's own judgment, than to subject it to the opinions of the strong, sincere writer.

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**PERIODICALS**

The Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor (Washington) for November opens with a story of labor conditions in Porto Rico, by Walter E. Weyl; and this is followed by a documentary history of the early organizations of printers, by Ethelbert Stewart.

The World To-Day (Chicago) a magazine which has been greatly improved, gives place in the February number to a brief paper by H. Charlton Bastian, the biologist, on spontaneous generation. It is somewhat significant of a narrow scientific horizon that a scientist who acknowledges so idealistic a concept as the universality of law, should see no other explanation of the origin of life than miraculous creation on the one hand or materialistic evolution on the other.

In the February To-Morrow (Chicago), Herman Kuehn writes pleasantly of the doctrine that no one has rights, which isn't so startling as it sounds; for what he seems to imply is that while a right to life or liberty does not exist, neither does a right to take away life or liberty. Thus by denying all rights, an ideal condition of life would result. Other contributors are Dr. Allen A. Wesley, with an excellent paper on the "Niagara Movement" among Negroes; and J. J. McManaman writes with genuine common sense of the "bad boy" problem.

Frederic Trevor Hill, continuing in the February Century his account of Lincoln the Lawyer, tells some very interesting characteristics of the great man. "He disliked," writes Mr. Hill, "everything connected with the drudgery of legal routine; hated drawing the declarations and pleas, despised the artificialities and refinements which were even then beginning to creep into the pleadings, and disregarded forms whenever it was possible." The only attempt he ever made to relieve the disorder of his papers, Mr. Hill tells us, was to write on one of the bundles: "When you can't find it anywhere else, look in this."—J. H. D.

The Winter number of the Single Tax Review (New York) is a symposium issue. Among the contributors are such single tax names as William Lloyd Garrison, Lawson Purdy, Frank C. Mills, Henry George, Jr., Louis F. Post, Ernest H. Crosby, ex-Congressman Baker, O. R. Trowbridge, W. A. Douglass and Charles H. Ingersoll. The opening

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paper, by Oliver R. Trowbridge, author of Bi-Socialism, is a strong and timely suggestion for a frank acknowledgment by single taxers that the single tax is not wholly an individualistic philosophy, but that while individualistic as to private functions, it is socialist as to the land and public utilities.

Ernest Crosby contributes to the American Federationist for February a rebuke, kindly, though severe, of District Attorney Jerome for urging that judges be appointed, and for life. Incidentally, Mr. Jerome himself comes in for the well-merited criticism that his "admirable activities have disported themselves upon the surface," he having never shown "the slightest inclination to strike at the real root of our social and political evils." Mr. Crosby thinks it a great pity that Mr. Jerome's "fine executive abilities are not guided by a deeper insight into things as they are." And so it is a pity.

Dan Beard is making of Recreation (New York), a magazine that is well adapted, we should suppose, to exciting the interest of sportsmen. Anyone would be interested, were there not so much to suggest the satirical anecdote about its being a "fine day, let's go out and kill something." But in the February number there is a fine sketch, only a paragraph in length, but with three illustrations true to life, entitled "Photographing Prairie Dogs," by Charles Turpin, which shows by suggestion, rather than precept, how much more fun there must be in getting acquainted with wild animals and shooting them with a camera than in pursuing them with dogs and shooting them with guns.

The Arena is making such rapid strides forward that one might say of each number that it is better than the one before. This is strictly true of ever number since Albert Brandt took over its publication and B. O. Flower resumed his original place in editorial charge. An especially interesting, as well as valuable paper in the February number, is a conversation, from Mr. Flower's pen, between himself and Markham, the poet, on "Democracy's Call to Statesmanship." Allan L. Benson contributes "A Socialist's Reply to John Moody." It is a thoughtful paper, in which we are pleased to recognize the writer's acceptance of the idea that the antithesis of competition is monopoly. To most socialists co-operation seems the opposite of competition, but the true antithesis is, as Mr. Benson makes it, monopoly. Co-operation may operate through monopoly, as in slavery, or through competition, as in free trade; but the less the monopoly the less the slavery, and the freer the trade the greater the equality.

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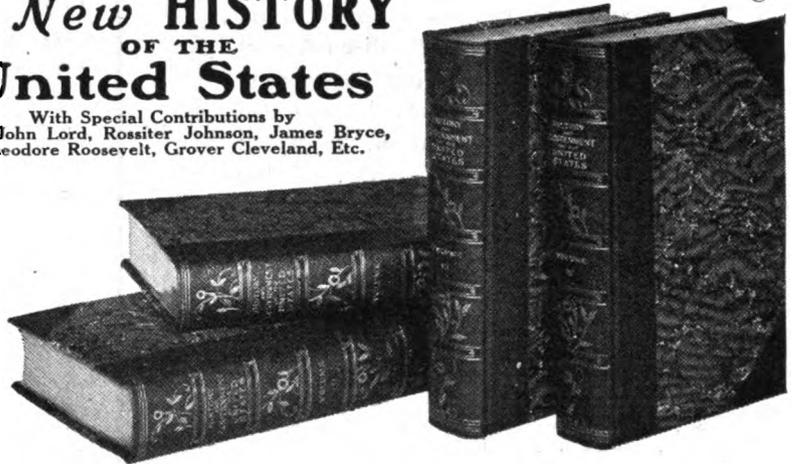
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