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EDITORIAL

Is It Ignorance?

The press, the pulpit, and the lecture platform, are our means of education for civic righteousness. What the influence of their teaching in general has been is evidenced by economic conditions in this nation to-day. Great masses of the people lack the comforts of civilization, while Big Business strives to wrest the few remaining rights from their victims. And still the lying platitudes are dished out. "Our national prosperity" is heralded till it makes hungry people despair. Such ignorance (if ignorance it be) on the part of educational leaders, is either criminal or the blundering that is worse than criminal. They ought to be intelligent enough to know the true condition of society, and knowing it they ought to be brave enough to declare it.

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The Democratic Candidate for Vice President.

Rumors are circulating regarding the possibility of the nomination at Denver of John Mitchell for Vice President. The significance of this nomination would clearly be of great importance. Not only would Mitchell's nomination strengthen the Democratic party for the battle against privilege which is immediately pending; but, more important than that, it would definitely distinguish the Democratic party, in the democratic and the plutocratic mind alike, as the party of the people in coming struggles for democracy that are to

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be even more bitterly fought no doubt than the one now upon us. These struggles, which ought to be struggles for principle, struggles regardless of classes, struggles for right against privilege, may nevertheless develop into struggles of classes; for privilege is rapidly making classes in our country, as it always has in all countries, and arraying the rich class against the working poor. If these struggles should turn out to be struggles of classes, it is of the highest importance that the class cleavage shall as nearly as practicable coincide with a cleavage along the line of principle as to rights and privileges. When Bryan described "business" as more inclusive than Big Business interests regard it, as including farmer and working man, he pointed the way toward a goal in politics which John Mitchell's nomination this year, along with his own, would bring still more clearly within the general apprehension.

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Democratic Regeneration.

"There is no Democratic party," says ex-Governor David B. Hill of New York. He is right. The Democratic party as David B. Hill knew and loved it, only awaits burial. It has been growing into a new party since 1896, and when the convention at Denver adjourns it will have become a new party. Under the old name, and still handicapped in some degree with unholy traditions, and here and there still bedeviled with unholy bosses, it will nevertheless be no longer recognizable by such undemocratic Democrats as the David B. Hills. They will not be driven out. That won't be necessary, for they'll be neither prosperous nor happy within and will go out of their own accord. To them it will seem, as Hill says, that the Democratic party "has gone to hell." But in fact the party will have become regenerate, and their misapprehension of its new location will be due to confusion over the points of the spiritual compass. The day is now near when plutocratic Democracy will have been buried and gone—well, wherever ex-Governor Hill pleases; but by the same token democratic Democracy, relieved of the body of that death, will for the first time since Jackson's day be vigorous and aggressive in the pursuit of democratic ideals.

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Congressman Rainey of Illinois.

Congressman Rainey is through and through a democratic Democrat. He is one of the men who, in the interest of fundamental democracy, ought to be kept in Congress as long as he will consent to sit in that body. It is not strange, therefore, that a strenuous and not altogether open-and-above-board movement is under way in his district to head him off at the primaries. The candidate around whom the undemocratic elements of the party are expected to cluster to defeat Mr. Rainey, is quoted as saying that he is not prepared to state what Mr. Rainey has accomplished as a Congressman. If thereby this condidate means that he doesn't know, then he lacks political intelligence. The Waltham Watch Company is not so ill-informed. Neither is the Standard Oil Company. They know what Mr. Rainey has accomplished in Congress; and knowing, they are extremely anxious that he shall not be re-elected lest he accomplish more in the same direction.

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A Miscarriage of Justice Averted.

It is one of the great good fortunes of Roman Catholic ecclesiasticism, that beneath its hierarchy and spreading out over the world are its hosts of priests of the people—springing from the people, living for the people, and working with the people—who are to their time and their neighbors what the martyrs were in the early days of the church, essential Christians. And of this type of priest no country has been quite so prolific as Ireland. "Soggarth Aroon," beloved priest of the people, is one of the many poetic touches in Irish speech of deep significance. The name of one young priest of this type has suddenly become a household word in Chicago, not in Catholic families alone but in every heart that throbs with pity or revolts at injustice. We allude to Father P. J. O'Callaghan.

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A poor and friendless man (p. 241) had been condemned to death. Accused of wholesale murders by poison he had been convicted of one of these crimes. After his conviction, Father O'Callaghan became convinced of the man's innocence, and through this priest's efforts an appeal to the higher courts was secured—something that might otherwise have been denied; for the prisoner, being without friends, could not have met the heavy expense involved. But the appeal was unavailing; the upper court affirmed the judgment of death. Then Father O'Callaghan revealed the infamy of the conviction. One of the witnesses for the prosecution, a member of the poisoned family, confessed to having committed perjury under pressure of persecution in the police "sweat box." The intervention of the courts at first, and then

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the Governor's pardon through the pardon board, were sought. Ordinarily the case would have presented a difficult question, for the interposition of either the court or the pardoning authority would have set a possible poisoner free. But under the circumstances as they existed, the indictments in the other cases made it possible even after a pardon in this particular case into which perjury seems to have been injected, to try the prisoner again, and upon the same testimony minus that which had been confessed to have been perjury. But the court could not interfere for technical reasons, and the pardoning board would not; so the prisoner came literally into the very shadow of the gallows.

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For the Governor hesitated, although the case was not one to excuse hesitation. A Governor whose primary thought had been upon his official duty would not have hesitated in such a case. He would have argued with himself somewhat in this wise: "The courts and the pardoning board have thrust the whole burden of this responsibility upon me, and I shall not shirk it. This man can be tried again without the perjured testimony, and I will leave it to a jury to say whether without that testimony he was guilty of the crime. I therefore pardon him in this case in order that he may be fairly tried upon one of the other indictments." That is how a just Governor would have communed with himself. But Governor Deneen hesitated. The gallows was erected. The prisoner's neck was bared for the rope. The hour of his death was about to strike. Meanwhile, however, Father O'Callaghan, who had aroused public sentiment to the gross injustice and unfairness of the case, had discovered something which is not abundant any more in the legal profession anywhere. He had discovered the true lawyer's spirit not only in Mr. Francis E. Hinckley, who had borne the brunt of the fight on the legal side, and in ex-Mayor Dunne, who had appeared before the pardon board and at public meetings, but also in one of the most distinguished leaders of the Chicago bar. Mr. S. S. Gregory gave his service to the case. And partly because of Mr. Gregory's technical ingenuity, partly because of his commanding place at the bar and the forceful argument he made, a Federal judge interfered; and upon a technicality the case goes to the Supreme Court of the United States. Father O'Callaghan deplored the necessity for a technicality. But that, and only that, has saved from a felon's death a man whom he declares unequivocally to be innocent, and who at any rate was unfairly convicted. And as Mr. Gregory truly said, the criminal law is built upon technicalities, and technicalities must be observed in the interests of substantial justice. Father O'Callaghan and the lawyers, both junior and senior, who have served so successfully in this case thus far to prevent a miscarriage of justice, deserve the great popular commendation they are receiving. They deserve commendation from all fair minded citizens of public spirit.

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Revolting Police Methods.

New York policemen appear to be jealous of the reputation the Chicago police are craving and winning for revolting methods. One of their captains is reported to have made wholesale arrests of unfortunate women, to have brought them to a designated street corner, and then to have marched them in procession by a round-about way through the streets to the police station. This is called "an object lesson in moral cleansing." When one considers the economic conditions that drive, and the social environments that tempt, so many women into catering to the vices of men, "revolting" is a mild epithet for the cruel method of "moral cleansing" which that New York police captain adopted. Yet he solicits public approval, and he gets the approval of classes not unlike those who were once invited to cast the first stone at their adulterous sister.

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The Police and the Judiciary.

A stinging rebuke was administered last week by the Appellate Court at Chicago to one of the Municipal Court judges who had adopted the ordinary police justice method of standing by policemen upon the theory apparently that in the interest of social order it must be presumed that policemen can do no wrong. This judge—John G. Scovel by name, for the information of primary voters when he comes up for renomination—was nonplussed with a case before him. He himself is reported to have stated the problem in this wise: "Well, what can I do? The officer tells one story and is flatly contradicted by three reputable witnesses, who tell an entirely different story." So he solved the riddle by imposing a fine, saying: "Ten dollars and costs. I'll stand by our policemen every time. They have got to be supported." Fortunately the victim of this judicial farce had the public spirit to defend the rights of others by defending his own, and so the Appellate Court came in due time into the case.

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This is the truly refreshing manner in which the three judges of that court dealt with it: "It is a strange doctrine that the court shall support the policeman every time. If this pronouncement of the trial judge is sustainable, where are our boasted liberties? Are they at the mercy of policemen, right or wrong? Must the citizen be beholden to the whim and humor of the police for his freedom, and can that freedom be taken away without the citizen offending against the law? The doctrine announced by the trial judge is too dangerous to be tolerated for one moment in the temple of justice."

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British Tories and the Socialists.

Mr. Balfour, the Tory leader in British politics, is reported as having said in a speech at Glasgow last January that " it would be grossly unfair upon the socialists to confuse them with Mr. George's disciples, "for no socialist is such a fool as to draw a distinction between property in the land and any other form of capitalized wealth." He added: "There is no distinction, and the socialists draw no distinction." This is a little bit rough upon the socialists, for two reasons. First, because Mr. Balfour assumes to recognize them as at one with the Tories on a fundamental question; and, second, because the great prophet of socialism, Karl Marx, was a fool by Mr. Balfour's test. For Karl Marx made precisely the distinction that Henry George did, between land, and products drawn by labor from it. When Marx dealt with "exchange values," he seemed to lose sight of many economic effects of that fundamental difference. So do his followers. But when he wrote of "use values," by which he meant what George meant by "wealth," Marx distinguished the difference between land and the products of labor very clearly. In the first chapter of his "Capital," for instance, he wrote: "The use values, coal, linen, etc., i. e., the bodies of commodities, are combinations of two elements—matter and labor. If we take away the useful labor expended upon them, a material substratum is always left, which is furnished by Nature without the help of man. . . . Labor is not the only source of material wealth, of use values produced by labor. As William Petty puts it, 'labor is its father and the earth its mother.'" And in his annotations to the program of the German Labor party (International Socialist Review, vol. viii., pp. 643, 646) Marx is explicit with reference to this difference—a difference which Balfour assumes the Tories and the socialists to be agreed in denying the existence of—in its bearing upon questions of capitalism. Here Marx writes: "In the society of today the means of labor are monopolized by the landed proprietors; monoply of landed property is even the basis of monoply of capital and by capitalists." If Mr. Balfour would regard socialists as occupying the Tory position that land is wealth and its capitalization makes it identical with other forms of capitalized wealth, he will have to quote socialists who repudiate Marx in that respect. For on this point, at least, the disciples of Marx and the disciples of George are agreed, even though by that agreement they are all fools in the estimation of Mr. Balfour, the landlord leader of England.

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Interest and Wages.

Professor Taussig's comment in the Quarterly Journal of Economics for May, upon the controversy between Professor Clark and Böhm-Bawerk, affords a convenient basis for a discussion of the question of interest and capital. Incidentally it is to be observed that Professor Taussig still hankers after that "flesh-pot" of the old classical economics, the economic value of "abstinence" and "sacrifice." In his hands, however, this fallacious theory of production really simmers down in such manner as to be analogous to the abstinence and sacrifice of the kitchen, where potatoes must be peeled before they can be mashed, and the peeler "abstains" from eating them raw, so as to furnish capital for the cook to finish their preparation. In like manner, the potato-digger, the potato-planter, the knife-makers, the ploughmen and the plough makers, and all the makers of cooking utensils "deny" themselves by "abstaining" from eating those utensils (or gorging themselves perennially on wild berries and roots instead of making utensils for producing mashed potatoes), in order that by co-operative industry they may have mashed potatoes.

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While Dr. Taussig does not overlook the fact that all this is co-operative work, which in itself would require no sacrifice but would in fact lessen sacrifice, the element of time misleads him into the supposition that there must be "saving", although in fact there is no saving, but simply continuous co-operative work which yields a continuous supply of goods finished for consumption. On this point Dr. Taussig seems to be at a clear disadvantage as compared with Professor Clark; although he has as distinct an advantage over Professor Clark in insisting that the differences between land and capital are as fundamental and

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ineradicable in dynamic as in statical stages, and without the phenomenon of value as with it. It is probably the failure to hold this difference in mind in all economic relationships that evokes these illusory discussions of interest on capital. The essential distinction between interest and rent in political economy is forgotten in considering their customary confusion in commercial practice. In much the same way, the distinction between wages and both interest and rent was obscured in the South half a century ago, when slavery as well as land was capitalized.

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But there is an additional reason for this confusion among students of political economy. Professor Taussig touches upon it when he says: "That an increase of capital—the number of laborers and the state of the arts remaining the same—lowers interest and raises wages, has been laid down by all economists since the days of Adam Smith and Ricardo." This assumption of fact by all the economic cult, is probably a false assumption. Although the condition that the number of laborers and the state of the arts shall remain the same cannot be observed in dynamic society, all the indications seem to point the other way. They point, that is, to the conclusion that under all circumstances interest, unadulterated with rent, tends to rise and fall with wages. Possibly some light might be thrown upon the matter by a statistical investigation. What proportion, for instance, of the products of their own factories, would the wages of factory workmen have bought in 1850, in 1860, in 1870, in 1880, in 1890, in 1900? The census will show this; not correctly to be sure, but as correctly perhaps as it shows anything else in the industrial field. Our impression is that it would show a decreasing proportion of manufactures as within the purchasing power of the wages paid for their production. But whether this be the result or not let a comparison be made by putting the rate of commercial interest to the same statistical test with reference to the same manufactures for 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890 and 1900. How many units, that is, would the loan of 100 units of that product yield the lender in a year at the ascertained percentage? Of course, commercial interest is not pure interest. It has elements of rent, for land is capitalized; elements of risk, for there is speculation; and in the 50's it had even elements of wages, for men were capitalized. But pure interest may be approximated from the statistics of commercial interest. If this were done and it indicated that interest and wages had risen and fallen conversely, the case for that theory would not be proved; but it would be strengthened. On the other hand, if it indicated that they had risen and fallen together, that theory would not be proved; but it likewise would be strengthened. At all events, until some actual comparison of this kind is made, students of political economy seeking scientific explanations of economic phenomena had better be careful about taking for granted the assumptions of fact of former students. They had better read again the anecdote of the king who asked the scientists to explain why a pail of water weighs no more after you put a pound fish into it than it weighed before.

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Humorists.

New opportunities produce new humorists—sometimes. The latest of such opportunities is furnished by the coming into the fierce sisterhood of fighting nations of the aforetime secluded Japan; and the humorist who has identified himself with it is Wallace Irwin. Irwin's letters from "a Japanese school boy," which Collier's prints, are delightful specimens of a new species of humor of much the same order as Peter F. Dunne's Irishman, and James Russell Lowell's Yankee. They would have been as impossible without the advent of the Japanese type as the "Biglow Papers" without the Yankee, or "Dooley" without the Irish-American; and what is more to the point, as the Irish-American would have produced no "Dooley" without a Dunne, and the Yankee type would have produced no "Biglow Papers" without a Lowell, neither would the Americanistic Jap have produced a "school-boy" without an Irwin. These are instances in which the opportunity found its humorist, and the humorist his opportunity. Other opportunities are still open, but the competent humorist has not appeared. The German-American type, for instance, has found no humorous exponent since Charles Godfrey Leland with his "Hans Breitman"; and the genial Hans revealed little more than the genial side of the beer revelling German. The Negro type has produced the folk stories of Uncle Remus, but aside from these glimpses at the "good nigger" our literature is innocent of Negro character humor except in wickedly contemptuous caricature. There must be some explanation, and what are the probabilities?

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Is there not an explanation in Mark Twain's career as a humorist? He is a humorist, plus; a

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philosopher who touches our philosophic nerve centers through our sense of humor. The philosophy of human life, not mere fun-making, has been the mainspring of Twain's delicious humor; and he has consequently outlasted all our fun makers. So it was with Lowell. He photographed Yankee seriousness through the lenses of Yankee humor. So with Dunne. He gives us glimpses of the shrewd Irish-American mind through peep holes of Americanized Irish humor. And so with Irwin, who turns the yankeeistic Oriental into a humorous and candid but serious and discerning critic of affairs. The opportunity is still open for a German humorist who knows the German above his beer line, for a Negro humorist who knows the Negro off the vaudeville stage, for a Scandinavian humorist who will put wisdom into the quaintness of American-Scandinavian speech. There are abundant opportunities, but as yet most of them are without their competent humorist. With Lowell for the Yankee, Dunne for the Irish-American, Irwin for the Japanese-American, and Twain for the universal, we name them all—all but the ephemeral comics.

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SHOULD ANY NATIONAL DISPUTE BE RESERVED FROM ARBITRATION?*

A man presents himself at the portals of Ellis Island. Our laws, the justice or efficacy of which we do not discuss, require us to question him. "Do you believe in organized government?" He answers: "I believe in government, of course, but let it not interfere with me. I accept it so long as it does not affect my personal independence, so long as it leaves me master of whatever concerns mine honor and permits me to avenge myself upon all who infringe upon that honor. I believe in government so long as it allows me as sovereign over my own destiny, to determine for myself what interests are vital to me, and to slay those who in my opinion trench upon them." To the man who so replies, we say: "Your recognition of government is formal; your appreciation of right as between man and man is undeveloped. If admitted to our country, you would be a danger to our well-being. In very essence you are an anarchist and as such may not enter."

Let us suppose a new state has arisen demanding recognition and admission to the family of nations. Its representatives, when entering into treaty obligations with other nations, are permitted to withdraw from submission to the judgment of any tribunal formed to adjudicate international difficulties, all questions which affect its independence, its honor or its vital interests. Whether in fact a dispute involves any of these elements, it retains, and is recognized as having a right to retain, the privilege of determining for itself. At most today we ask—not insist—that it shall arbitrate pecuniary claims.

When such a position is taken in international law, is not anarchy grown large legitimatized? Little harm can the sentiments of one man do. His opinions and interests will be corrected and controlled by the opinions and interests of his neighbors. Perforce he must submit to the judgment of his fellows all the questions as to which theoretically he claims the right of self-determination. But when a million men calling themselves a state—which, after all, is but a collection of human units—determines without restraint its justification for war over such questions and even settles for itself their very existence, thus claiming the right governed only by its own sense of justice to steal from and to murder another million of human units who exercise a similar power, we have chaos unspeakable, chaos legitimatized. By international law, paradoxically speaking, thus we have regulated chaos. And yet analysis shows that after all there is presented to us but the simple problem with which we opened—the right of anarchy—a problem confused only by the indefinite multiplication of the participants.

And we will not lose sight of the fact that even as to pecuniary claims, in almost every case a nation may refuse arbitration, upon the pretense

*This signed editorial was delivered as a speech by Mr. Jackson H. Ralston on May 18th last, at the Conference on Arbitration and Peace held in Philadelphia. Its intrinsic excellence derives additional force from the high standing of its author as an international lawyer. In the course of his practice as such he represented Felipe Agoncillo of the Filipino Republic in 1899, and was the American agent and one of the American counsel in the case of the Pious Fund of the Californias against Mexico, the first international dispute submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague under The Hague Peace Convention of 1899. He was afterward named by the United States in 1903 as umpire for the Italian claims against Venezuela before the mixed tribunal at Caracas. The proceedings of all the mixed commissions at Caracas as well as the report of the French-Venezuelan Mixed Claims Commission of 1902, were edited by Mr. Ralston. He is also a Single Tax man of long standing and national prominence, especially distinguished for having brought on the first single tax experiment in the United States—that at Hyattsville, Md., where he was president at the time of the Board of Commissioners. This experiment was successful, but the courts terminated it as unconstitutional under the Maryland constitution. In 1878 Mr. Ralston was a delegate to France and Italy from the International Typographical Union of North America.—Editors of The Public.

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that the very advancement of such claims is a reflection upon its honor, perhaps because there is offered a suggestion deemed disgraceful to its administrative or judicial officers, to which suggestion it refuses to submit.

Must we not, then, conclude that our international law is but taking its first few feeble steps; that we are just entering upon a long and painful period of education, the end of which will be to assimilate international justice to national justice.

Taking a look into the future, we may recognize that the time must come when such a thing as international law relating to warfare will be as obsolete as is today common and statute law relating to the status of slaves. I remember as a boy reading a book, then old, laying down the rules of the Code Duello. Today such a work prescribing the amenities of private murder would seem as out of place in our civilization as, let us hope, in the future will seem the half of the volumes of international law which are now given over to the examination of the courtesies of public slaughter.

But our course seems clear. We must develop the idea of arbitration, insist that no question is too small, no interest too great, to be subjected to the judgment of disinterested and competent men, for, internationally as well as in our private lives, something on its face immaterial may lead to consequences coloring history. Tracing the causes of wars to their obscure beginnings, how often we find that foolish jealousies, accidental or intentional lack of observance of the smaller courtesies of life, have led on and on to the slaughter of thousands. But if apparently small things can with justice and advantage be settled between man and man, and nation and nation, by submission to impartial men, with how much more obvious reason should the larger and more dangerous matters take the same course. And after all, can those who take part in them best determine whether the matters in dispute be large or small, be great enough to justify the killing of thousands, or insignificant enough to be atoned for by the payment of a few dollars?

How needless does calm investigation show to have been even modern wars conducted by men priding themselves upon their civilization? Can anyone living tell beyond a peradventure what was the Schleswig-Holstein question, which involved a bloody conflict? Was there just and sufficient cause for the Franco-Prussian struggle? Does anyone attach large importance to the supposed questions leading to the Crimean War? And was the charge of the Light Brigade, immortalized in poetry, sufficient return to the world for thousands of deaths among the subjects of four nations?

When we look back at all these struggles, standing in the disinterested attitude of strangers to them, living as short a time as from thirty to fifty years after, and consider their doubtful or inadequate causes, can we not agree that the arbitrament of a group of cool and disinterested men living contemporaneously could, if asked, have afforded a peaceful and honorable solution? And if in any of these cases the causes were so slight or so involved and so difficult of reasonable statement as to preclude reference to arbitration, may we not think such fact to be sufficient to condemn those engaging in these wars as mere brawlers in the family of nations?

Visible advances toward the goal I have indicated have been made, and in the making America has taken an honorable and leading part. Repeatedly have we arbitrated boundary questions, questions of a nature which in a less civilized age or with less advanced participants would have led to frightful wars and have been regarded by the countries in dispute as affecting their honor and vital interests. Very many commissions to which we have been parties have settled claims disputes touching wrongs to individual citizens of a character which, under less happy circumstances, would have spelt war; and for even smaller aggravation than has been involved in them, less favored nations have with heartiness entered upon throat cutting and destruction. Can we not even to-day take pride in the Alabama Claims Commission, which satisfactorily solved questions which might be classified as of honor and vital interests, although ostensibly determining only pecuniary liability, and which made this settlement at a cost which, compared with that of a week of war, was infinitesimal?

Even in the small matter of claims of individual citizens, no nation can properly be a judge in its own cause. Many a time has this been illustrated, and I will refer but briefly to its latest demonstration with regard to Venezuela. When the ten commissions sat in Caracas in 1903 to determine the claims of as many nations against Venezuela, there were presented before them demands aggregating, in round numbers, thirty-six millions of dollars. The Commissioners and Umpires determined that but six and one-half millions should be paid or, roughly, eighteen per cent of the original amount of the demands. One nation, as a condition precedent to the execution of

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the protocol of arbitration of her remaining claims, demanded payment in full in advance of certain claims aggregating nearly three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. For precisely similar claims submitted to arbitration, she received twenty-eight per cent of her demands, indicating fallibility, as I believe, when she acted as her own judge, and demonstrating that the advance payment was largely unjustifiable. The experience of other nations before like tribunals was of the same general nature. And the history of claims arbitrations furnishes many similar instances.

But what is honor, about which nations hesitate to arbitrate? For theft, for murder, we have a definite measure, born of the universal conscience, the same yesterday, today and forever; but honor, as the term is applied, is a mental concept varying with the mood of the times. He who accuses my honor does not rob me. Honor is only to be lost by my personal act. The impeachment of my honor may call for self-examination to determine whether the accusation be well founded. The death of the offender does not adjudicate the falsehood of the accusation.

But if the delivery of an insult be considered to be an impeachment of honor, should the reply come in the shape of war? If a man or a nation is insulted, as we term it, is the insult extinguished by the death of the insulter? Does not his killing convict us rather of want of discretion and temper? Is not the best answer a well ordered life and established good reputation? Should not other resort be forbidden to us than declaration of further relations with the offender, who, individual or nation, has merely sinned against good manners?

A reservation of independence as not the subject of arbitration, seems, on analysis, meaningless though harmless. Arbitration postulates an agreement between equals. Questioning the independence of one party or the other involves a doubt as to their equality, and is foreign to the idea of arbitration.

When we treat of vital interests, we touch a subject never properly to be withdrawn from arbitration. What are vital interests? They are today whatever the nation declares to be such, and withdraws from arbitration. The so-called vital interests are matters of commerce, trade and politics. As to matters of trade and commerce, we shall submit that their advancement as a basis for vital interests is founded upon a misconception of the purposes of government. As I take it, governments are formed to preserve the true liberty of the individual, to protect him in his rights of person and, as subordinate to his rights of person, his rights of property. They are not formed to extend and develop commerce and trade as such. Properly speaking, no nation has political interests beyond it own borders, and, were we to enter upon the reign of arbitration, no question of political interest, as we shall attempt to demonstrate, could properly arise.

Politically speaking, vital interests are, when analyzed, found to be based upon either a desire to ultimately possess something now belonging to another, or a fear that a strong nation may violently so enlarge itself as to endanger us. With the thorough establishment of unrestricted arbitration, we will not be able to indulge our predatory instincts at the expense of our neighbors. With such condition, we will not fear lest another nation so aggrandize itself by violence as to be a source of danger to us. At one and the same time we would restrain our own unjust acquisitiveness and we would lose our fear. The thorough establishment, therefore, of arbitration means the cancellation of the term "vital interests" as applied to politics.

Can we hope for justice from arbitration? We might in view of the course of our discussion respond by asking—"Has justice been obtained through war?" Long ago legislators found that the wager of battle failed to secure justice as between man and man. Without lengthening the discussion, we may believe that armed conflict has not, on the whole, advanced the rule of right. When at one time war has served to check inordinate ambition, at as many others it has furthered its purposes.

We may concede that in private matters, justice has often gone forward with halting steps, has even at times seemed to go backward, yet who among us would dispense with the conclusions of judge and jury and revive the wager of battle?

From the beginning, with the advantage of national precedents and experiences, we may expect arbitration to bring us approximate justice. That always exact justice should be rendered may not be expected. The members of our Supreme Court, differing as they frequently do most vitally, will not say that this tribunal has never erred. But, despite the possibility of error, we find that order and the well-being of the community must be maintained even at the chance of individual injustice, a chance which no human skill can eliminate.

But arbitral history leads us to the conclusion that more than an approximation of right may

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be expected, that a tribunal which is the center of observation by the whole world will seek to give and will give a judgment as nearly righteous as may be.

In the whole history of arbitrations, but one has ever been suspected of corruption, and, by joint agreement, its findings were reviewed. Slight criticism may be made of the generality of other like tribunals. Today doubtless even the English will agree that the findings of the Alabama Joint High Commission were just.

Of the four arbitral sentences given by the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, but one—that in the Venezuelan Preferential Case—has received serious criticism. Even in this case, judicial settlement, though perhaps erroneous, was immensely valuable.

Let it not be said that the ideas to which I have sought to give expression are too advanced, are impractical. It is only by "hitching our wagon to a star" that we may progress. Let us not forget that there is nothing blinder and stupider, nothing less practical than the so-called practical man, that only among the dreamers of dreams of human advancement are to be found those who the flow of events demonstrates to have had the clearness of vision of the truly practical man.

JACKSON H. RALSTON.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., May 8.—At the beginning of the year, the New South Wales Local Government Act of 1906 (vol. ix, p. 1161) came fully into force in municipalities. General elections of aldermen, to hold office for three years, were held on February 1st.

The question of land value taxation versus taxing improvements was very much discussed during the elections, especially in the suburbs of Sydney, where the single taxers and other supporters of unimproved land value taxation were very active.

The Act provides that a municipal council must levy a tax for general purposes of not less than one penny in the pound on the unimproved value of all land in its area. If any further revenue is required, it may be raised by taxing either the improved or the unimproved value, at the option of the Council, but subject to the decision of a poll of taxpayers, if demanded.

There is a limit on the total amount of money which a Council may raise by taxation, but this amount is so large that the taxing power is practically unlimited.

Most of the new Councils have now levied their taxes; in the majority of cases on the unimproved value only; the rate varying from one penny to (in one instance) sixpence in the pound. Taxes of from threepence to fourpence are common, and there are several of fivepence. These high taxes may, however, cause reaction.

In some cases where Councils proposed to raise part of their revenue from taxes on the improved value, polls were demanded, and in nearly every instance the decision was that the unimproved value only should be taxed.

In many municipalities where the double system of taxation has been adopted, the tax on the unimproved value exceeds one penny in the pound; the taxes being twopence to threepence on the unimproved value and one-half penny to one penny on the improved value.

Altogether the taxes levied up to the present show that the feeling in favor of land value taxation for local government purposes is far more general than even the most sanguine supporters of that system imagined.

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In the Shires, which were constituted in 1906, revenue for general purposes must be raised by a tax on the unimproved value of the land only; the minimum tax is one penny, and the maximum, twopence in the pound. So that only in a minority of the municipalities, and in the city of Sydney, is there now any taxation of improvements in New South Wales. The suburbs of Sydney are municipalities. The State tax of one penny in the pound on the unimproved value of land, with exemptions, has been suspended in Shires and Municipalities. It is now in force only in the city of Sydney and in the "Western Division" of the State, where there is little population, and which is not under local government.

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In the Federal Parliament the Senate has discussed the tariff bill (vol. x, p. 1062) and returned it to the House of Representatives with a number of requests for amendments, most of them for higher duties. Being a taxation bill the Senate cannot amend it; it can only request the House to do so.

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The Queensland State parliament has passed an act providing that if a bill be twice passed by the Assembly (lower house) and twice rejected by the Council, it shall be submitted to a referendum of the electors, whose decision shall be final.

ERNEST BRAY.

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Better a wrong will than a wavering; better a steadfast enemy than an uncertain friend; better a false belief than no belief at all.—George Eliot, in "Daniel Deronda."

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A hunter accosted a peasant. "My good man," quoth he, "can you show me any lion's tracks?"

"Tracks!" rejoined the peasant. "Why, sir, I can show you the lion himself."

At this the hunter lost his temper and showed it plainly.

"Answer my question, caitiff!" he roared.

N. B.—Errata: For hunter read average reformer. For lion read graft. For peasant read almost anybody who has eyes to see.—Puck.

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NEWS NARRATIVE

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 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 Tuesday, June 16, 1908.

The Republican Convention.

On the 16th the Republican national convention formally assembled at Chicago in the Coliseum. The convention was called to order at 12:20 by the chairman of the national committee, Harry S. New, and the Catholic auxilliary bishop of Chicago, Peter J. Muldoon, made the opening prayer. After the roll call, Senator Burrows, of Michigan, who was announced as the temporary chairman selected by the national committee, addressed the convention.

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Prior to the assembling of the convention the national committee had for days been in session (p. 251) disposing of contested seats. Until the 9th all decisions on Southern contests were in favor of what is called the "Lily-white" faction, composed of white Republicans, and against what is called the "Black-and-tan" faction, composed of white and Negro Republicans without racial discrimination. But on the 9th each faction from Louisiana was seated with half a vote. Altogether, however, 36 votes were added to the Taft column on that day. When the committee completed its work on the 12th, the Taft manager announced that there would be 704 delegates for Taft on the first ballot, of whom 549 are instructed for him and 155 of the uninstructed have declared for him.

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The chief contest in the convention is expected over the question of labor planks in the platform, principally the plank on labor injunctions. The National Association of Manufacturers, represented by James W. Van Cleave, its president, is taking the aggressive against any plank acceptable to labor organizations, and The American Federation of Labor, represented by Samuel Gompers, its president, is urging the adoption of an anti-injunction plank and one putting labor organizations out of the category of unlawful combinations. Mr. Van Cleave was reported on the 12th as having said the day before regarding Mr. Gompers:

> Let such false prophets take their doctrine to Denver where it belongs. They will not support the Chicago candidate, no matter who is put up here. On this question of the writ of injunction and on all others which touch class interests, and which are intended to incite class divisions, the greater the divergence between the Chicago and the Denver platforms the better it will be for the Chicago ticket.

Other planks arousing controversy, besides the labor plank, are those relating to postal savings banks, currency and railroads.

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Democratic Presidential Politics.

The Democratic convention of Oregon instructed for Bryan on the 9th (p. 252), and Utah did the same on the 12th. At the Virginia convention on the 11th the opposition to Bryan made by Senator Daniel and Thomas F. Ryan came to nothing, although it had tremendously disturbed the State. Senator Daniel was not allowed to go to Denver as a delegate until, after instructions for Bryan had been voted, he had pledged himself to obey them. Colorado instructed for Bryan on the 16th.

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On the 14th it was announced by the Commoner that there were then instructed for Mr. Bryan 630 delegates, and pledged for him 67 more, making 697 in all, which is 25 more than the necessary two-thirds. The New York Herald on the 15th reckoned 631 as instructed for Bryan, and 145 uninstructed but for him and free to vote for him, making an assured total of 776, or 104 more than the necessary two-thirds.

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The Billik Case.

One of the spectacular cases of averted execution at the last moment, which seldom occur except in fiction, was that of Herman Billik (p. 241), whose execution was prevented by the Federal Court at Chicago on the 12th. Billik had been convicted of poisoning a member of a family of the name of Vrzal. He was accused on several indictments, resting upon the same set of facts, of poisoning other members of the same family. At his trial, a youthful member of the family, Jerry Vrzal, was a witness against him. Subsequently this youth confessed to Father P. J. O'Callaghan, a Roman Catholic priest, that his testimony had been false. He explained his perjury by saying that he acted under fear, a member of the State's Attorney's staff and a policeman of high position having threatened to prosecute him for the murder unless he would testify against Billik. The courts refusing to reopen the case, it was brought before the Governor who convened the Board of Pardons. After a hearing he reprieved the prisoner until June 12, to enable him to apply to the Supreme Court of the State. That body held that it was without jurisdiction, and therefore the Governor was again appealed to and again he convened the Board of

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Pardons, which refused, however, to advise a pardon, on the ground that in its judgment the omission of the perjured testimony would not have affected the verdict. This was in the face of the fact that the affidavits of six of the jurors were before the Board, and that these men testified that they would not have convicted without Jerry Vrzal's testimony. The case was therefore with the Governor without a recommendation of the Pardon Board, and up to 11 o'clock on the 12th, the hour announced for the execution, he had not acted. Meanwhile Father O'Callaghan had held large meetings to explain the injustice to the people, and had poured in upon the Governor thousands of appeals for pardon. Through Father O'Callaghan's intercession also, S. S. Gregory, one of the leaders of the Chicago bar, had gone into the Federal court upon application for a writ of habeas corpus. He based his application upon the fact that Billik had been sentenced without being asked whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be imposed, claiming this as a guaranteed right which is protected by the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. Judge Landis denied the writ, and Mr. Gregory asked an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, the effect of which would be to defer the execution pending decision by that court. After careful consideration, Judge Landis decided that the appeal was a matter of right and signed the necessary papers. In this manner, the hanging of Billik on the 12th of June was prevented. Governor Deneen has not yet acted.

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Woman Suffragists March in London.

From 12,000 to 15,000 woman suffragists (p. 203) paraded in London on the 13th, winding up with a monster mass meeting at Albert Hall, where Lady Henry Somerset and Lady Frances Balfour, and Dr. Anna Shaw from America, were among the speakers. Among the leaders of the march were Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Sarah Grand, Elizabeth Robins, Beatrice Harraden and Lady Onslow; and many visiting American suffragists, among them Lucy J. Anthony and Catherine Waugh McCulloch. One section of the procession was composed of girl graduates in the academic caps and gowns and colors of all the leading English universities. Suffrage societies in America, Austria, France, Russia, Canada, Australia and South Africa sent representatives to support the British women.

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More Unpopular International Visiting.

A visit to the Czar by the President of the French Republic, Mr. Fallieres, is impending, according to reports of the 14th, and is just as unpopular with the Socialist and Labor members of the French parliament as the visit of King Edward to the Czar, now in progress, is unpopular with the Labor and Socialist members of the English parliament, as reported last week (p. 252). Keir Hardie of the Labor party in the English parliament, gave on the 13th the following reason for King Edward's visit to Russia: "In two years the Black Hundred in Russia have butchered 19,200 women and men for seeking only a moderate degree of liberty. In the same period 3,255 political prisoners have been put to death in Russia. The creation of the first Douma enabled the Russian government to raise a loan of $450,000,000. Now the finances of Russia are bankrupt again. Early this year Russian war bonds stood at 89½. Two days before King Edward sailed the bonds had gone up to 97, which means an enhancement of $23,250,000 in bond values. It means, too, that if Russia is safe enough for King Edward to visit it is safe for the Rothschilds and the Barings to put money into Russian finances."

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The Russian Grand Dukes Denounced in the Douma.

The advance of the Douma (p. 253) in parliamentary freedom of speech was startlingly demonstrated by a fearless attack made by Mr. Guchkoff, the Octobrist leader, on the 9th, upon the intrusion into the military affairs of the government, of the Grand Dukes. The Grand Dukes hold their titles by virtue of being members of the reigning house of the Romanoffs, and Mr. Guchkoff charged that as by the circumstance of their birth they are not amenable to ordinary discipline, their usurpations of authority operate to block all necessary reforms of administration and reorganization. Mr. Guchkoff did not hesitate to give glaring examples of grand ducal maladministration, demanding the absolute retirement of such injurious leadership.

NEWS NOTES

—The Missouri and Kaw rivers are in flood, and are doing great damage.

—Official returns from the recent election in Oregon (p. 250) are not yet at hand. The official count is proceeding slowly.

—The Single Tax colony of Fairhope has become a public municipality under the laws of Alabama providing for municipal organization.

—The total net gain for Mr. Hearst in the recount of the mayoralty vote of New York in 1905 (p. 253) had amounted on the 13th to only 238 votes in 630 ballot boxes.

—Caleb Powers and James Howard, accused of conspiracy to murder Governor Goebel of Kentucky, eight years ago (vol. x, p. 974), were pardoned on the 13th by Governor Wilson.

—The elections of the little Republic of Panama (p. 39) will come off on July 11. A president is to

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be elected. The presidents are elected to serve four years, and are not eligible for succeeding terms. The present president, who was the first to hold the office, is Dr. Manuel Amador Guerrero.

—George Siler, the famous prize fight referee and pugilistic authority, died on the 13th at Chicago, at the age of 62 years. He had been a prize fight referee since 1871. In 1897 he acted in the Corbett-Fitzsimmons fight at Carson City, and in 1899 in the fight between Jeffries and Sharkey at Coney Island.

—An immense historical pageant paraded the streets of Vienna on the 12th, in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Emperor Franz Josef's accession to the throne. Every period of Austrian history, from the founding of the Habsbourg dynasty in the 13th century to the present day, was depicted, as far as possible with contemporaneous material.

—"Blind Tom," the Negro musician, died in Hoboken, N. J., on the 13th. Thomas Wiggins, as he was known, though he seems to have had no inherited patronymic, was born in slavery of Negro parents of full blood, in 1849, near Columbus, Ga. Though only very imperfectly mentally developed, he could play the most difficult music by ear, and with astonishing feeling.

—Colonel John F. Finerty, editor of the Chicago Citizen, and an Irish leader of national fame, died at Chicago on the 10th, at the age of 62. Colonel Finerty had been a soldier in the Civil War, a Fenian leader, a member of Congress, and a lecturer. At the time of his death he was a member of the Chicago board of public improvements, appointed by Mayor Dunne and retained by Mayor Busse.

—Governor Hughes of New York, won his anti-racing bill fight on the 11th. It was principally with reference to this that he had called a special session of the legislature (p. 159). The decisive vote for the bill, which makes small betting on horse races impossible, was cast by Senator Foelker, whose health was in such condition that he had to be carried to his seat for the purpose of voting. Under this law 14 arrests were made at Gravesend on the 13th.

—The monthly statement of the United States Treasury Department (p. 159) for May, 1908, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

Gold reserve fund	$150,000,000.00
Available cash	240,933,255.74
Total	$390,933,255.74
On hand at the close of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1907	418,581,437.51
Decrease	$ 27,648,181.77

—The Teachers' Federation of Chicago gave a banquet on the 13th at the Grand Pacific hotel, which was attended by so many public school teachers that two large dining rooms were required for the dinner, and one of them was closely packed for the speaking. The president of the Federation, Mrs. Anna G. Baer, presided; Catherine Goggin acted as toastmaster, and the speakers were John C. Harding, Wiley Wright Mills, John J. Sonsteby, Dr. John Guerin, Dr. Cornelia B. de Bey, Louis F. Post and Raymond Robins, members of the Board of Education. Between 800 and 900 people were present.

—A kitchen for school luncheons has been opened on the East Side, New York City, under the auspices of the Children's Relief Society and with the co-operation of the public school authorities. Luncheon is provided for all school children who apply with tickets. The tickets are sold for five cents, but pupils unable to pay are given tickets by their teachers. The tickets are all alike in appearance, so that the children are unable to tell from them who pays and who does not.

—Attendants in the State institutions for the insane and feeble minded in Illinois are to be given opportunity for special preparation for their difficult duties by courses in the School of Civics and Philanthropy. This new school is an offshoot of the Chicago Institute of Social Science, and is located in the Rand-McNally building. The training is to be under the direct supervision of Professor Graham Taylor, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Miss Sophronia P. Breckenridge, Allen T. Burns, Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Victor Elting, Judge Julian W. Mack, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, Miss Jane Addams and Miss Helen Burling of Hull House.

—The monthly Treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (p. 159) for May, 1908, shows the following for the fiscal year up to and including that month:

Receipts.		
Tariff	$262,848,878.05	
Internal revenue	226,937,988.65	
Miscellaneous	56,620,284.04	
		$546,407,150.74
Expenses.		
Civil and miscellaneous	$134,776,767.52	
War	102,676,189.25	
Navy	108,572,662.14	
Indians	13,179,653.91	
Pensions	142,399,537.93	
Public works	87,148,001.81	
Interest	21,257,943.05	
		$610,010,755.61
Deficit		$ 63,603,604.87

PRESS OPINIONS

A Full-Bearded Question.

The Commoner (Dem.), May 1.—What is the extent of the financial interest held by Joseph Pulitzer, owner of the New York World, in railroad companies and in great corporations commonly known as trusts? This is a pertinent question because an honest answer might uncover the special interests for which the New York World speaks in its present day attacks upon Democrats.

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Roosevelt and Taft.

New Haven (Conn.) Union (Dem.), June 7.—The Taft movement has gone too far to be defeated even by a Roosevelt stampede. To put it vulgarly, too much money has been spent on Taft for him to be thrown down at the Chicago convention. People do not spend three-quarters of a million dollars to accomplish the nomination of a man in order that

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a President who promised to keep out of the fight might slip in at the last moment and take away the prize. Mr. Roosevelt has allowed the Taft boom to progress too far, if he desired to slip in and become himself the nominee. He has gone to the limit in applause and approval of Taft, and now cannot honorably set aside his secretary of war. He has been so emphatic in declaring that under no circumstances would he be a candidate, that his acceptance of a nomination, even if thrust upon him by a unanimous convention, would be regarded as evidence of treachery and of hypocrisy. Mr. Roosevelt is neither a hypocrite nor a coward.

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The 2-Cent Passenger Rate.

The (Bloomington, Ill.) Daily Bulletin (ind.), May 28.—The enterprise and foresightedness of the management of the Chicago and Alton railway is the subject of general comment among men who travel much. With the introduction of the two cent law, most of the big railway companies seem to have decided to punish the traveling public by abbreviated or inferior service, in the hope of convincing the people that the two cent rate is not practicable. The Chicago & Alton management was as much opposed to the two cent rate as anybody, but with its adoption it accepted the inevitable and instead of pouting, set about to get the business. The result has been not abbreviated but greatly enlarged and improved train service. General Passenger Agent Charlton's department is the busiest and most aggressive and inventive in the country. The result of this enterprise is making itself felt in enormous passenger business. There is more and better train service to every point on the system than ever before in the history of the road, and the traveling public is by no means slow.

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The New Army Crime.

New York Nation (ind.), June 4.—For shaking hands in public with a woman anarchist—three years in jail. This is the fate of a soldier of fifteen years' excellent military service, including one war. No; this has not happened in Russia. It was not the decree of the Kaiser or Czar or of an aristocracy in deadly fear for its existence. It is a little incident in our American life, in the land of the brave and the home of the free. The soldier is Private William Buwalda of Company A of the Engineer Corps, and his offense consisted in going to an anarchist meeting in uniform and there shaking hands with Emma Goldman at the conclusion of her speech. . . Now, nobody is more opposed to anarchists than the Nation; but it is news to us that attending an anarchist meeting is a military crime. It is certainly not defined in the Articles of War; indeed, we doubt if it is specified anywhere as contrary to army regulations. If Buwalda had any knowledge that he was forbidden to attend certain meetings, we should be surprised. At most, he was guilty of an indiscretion; and the sentence is wholly disproportionate to the offense—unless the court wishes to make an anarchist of him. Meanwhile the case stands as another example of our national hysteria over what is a state of mind, and not in itself a crime.

Vested Interests and Poverty.

The (Philadelphia) Eastern Dealer (commercial), June 11.—Whenever the majority of the people seem to have a chance of getting favorable laws, the small minority, the few that Senator La Follette says control the country, rise up and talk about vested interests and property. This time, however, it is used by the Manufacturers' Association in a resolution passed at their recent meeting in New York City. The resolution says: "We have had excess agitation under the guise of moral crusades, such as child labor, railway reform and similar movements, which are excellent and desirable in reasonable measure, but not so when pressed to the hazard of vested interests and property." How the mind of any man of the least enlightenment and of even the vaguest morality could have evolved that resolution, is hard to imagine. How a great national organization could stamp it with its approval is inconceivable. But in the records of the National Association of Manufacturers stands that declaration of the principle that child-labor laws are not excellent nor desirable, "when pressed to the hazard of vested interests and property."

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The Significance of Divorce.

Life, May 28.—And why is not the country in danger of going to destruction if divorce is not checked? Chiefly, as we see it, because divorce is much more a symptom than a cause. It is usually a symptom of poor material; material that would still be poor and unfit for matrimonial uses if there were no divorce. There is no outside force that we ever heard of that can make a good marriage. It has to be done by the inside forces. If the inside forces are unfit, does it make so vast a difference whether the marriage holds or not? Moreover, marriage, continuous and constant, is so much better a thing than divorce that it is hard to see why it should have so much to fear from divorce in open competition. We don't get anything of value in this world for nothing. Marriage costs; monogamy costs immensely; but they are worth what they cost. * * * Divorce is part of the price we pay for monogamy. If we abolished it we should pay in some other way, and, probably, a worse way. It is a safety valve. When it increases unduly, it is a sign that something is the matter with society, with the conditions of life, with teaching, or with the influence of religion. You cannot cure these evils by abolishing divorce, but you can cut down divorce by mitigating these evils. Divorce does not increase because it is too easy, but because too many people are restless, irresponsible, inconstant. Divorce will not ruin a country, but a country in which divorces multiply and families decrease has something the matter with it, and had better get advice.

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The Great Naturalist: "Here is a specimen of something that I was sure would sooner or later be evolved."

The Reporter (examining it): "What is the creature—a new kind of horsefly?"

The Great Naturalist: "No, sir; it is a 'honkolocust,' or auto-fly."—Puck.

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RELATED THINGS
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LIFE!

For The Public.

Is not the body more than raiment?
The life of man, is it not more than meat?
Life? What is life? Go ask the slave of toil,
Whose waking view of morn inspects the sky—
The wondrous sky of morn, flaming in splendor—
Not with a lover's gaze, but dully craving
Assurance of his hope that wind nor rain
Shall interrupt the hard monotony
And drudging labor of the niggard fields!
Not his the fault, but his the unhappy fate
To plod the weary treadmill day by day,
That idle Luxury may steep his soul
In sordid surfeit. What is life to these?
Lo, yonder reeling, gibbering, grinning death,
Drowning his spirit in the mad'ning bowl,
Spurning the Godlike power of the mind
To leap the space which severs earth from sky,
To bend subservient nature to his will,
To build the earthly city in the guise
And splendor of the Father's Paradise!
Or shall the interpretation of the soul
Be sought from him whose brutish brain is clogged
By envious quest of gold, and selfish power
To play the tyrant o'er his fellowman?
Nay, wiser far than these the laughing child
That views in love the wayside violet,
Prattles familiar to the babbling brook
And makes companions of its simple toys.
Life? What is life? It is to climb the heights
Of infinite possibility in glorious being:
To explore creation on the wings of thought
In quest of knowledge—which alone can give
At once the zest and crown of life—dominion.
It is to climb the heights, but not alone,
Nor with the few; but (lest ye die!) with all
The teeming multitudes that people earth,
In helpful brotherhood and mutual joy!
He lives ignobly and dishonored dies
Whose base ambition robs the humblest soul;
Diverting thus the life-stream of the race
From its appointed course, while Virtue scorns
The tainted title to his spurious fame.
They only live in Heaven whose fame survives
On earth, embalmed in loving memory—
They only whose fair names wax fairer still
In the clear vision of advancing light.
Time writes the final epitaphs of men,
And Justice, stern, unerring, guides the pen.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

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A TEST OF THE REFERENDUM.

Herbert S. Bigelow in the Cleveland Press.

Last winter the initiative and referendum was urged before many legislatures. In Ohio the fight was especially bitter.

"Danger, dynamite and disaster," was the answer of politicians to the arguments for the new plan.

Oregon has just held a general election at which the initiative and referendum was given a thorough trial. The people of other States say what *men* shall make their laws. The people of Oregon say what *laws* shall or shall not be made.

The politicians urged that the people would vote blindly and without understanding on laws submitted to them, but the Oregon election disproved this and showed that the people of that State have outstripped us all in the actual realization of government of and by and for the people.

At the election Oregon voted upon nineteen different measures. The Ohio and other politicians have been busy all winter explaining what a mess the Oregon people would be sure to make of this. Let us see.

Of these nineteen measures nine were rejected. So much for their prediction that the people could not discriminate but would vote everything up or everything down at the behest of a political machine or a party press.

"But," said the politicians, "the people are chaff. They will take up with every new craze." And they never failed to remind the Ohio farmer that in Oregon the initiative had been used to bring the single tax to a vote.

But the people voted the single tax down, just as they voted woman suffrage down. *With the initiative and referendum you cannot get ahead of public opinion.*

"But the people of Oregon are already tired of their experiment." Do you believe that? Then how about this? There were four measures submitted which provided for a still further extension of popular control over government, and everyone of these was carried.

The "recall" was adopted. This is the power of the people to dismiss a public servant in the middle of his term. "Proportional representation" was adopted under which the old rule of everything or nothing will be abandoned and minority parties will be given due representation in state legislatures. An act was adopted which aims to give the poor man an equal chance with the rich man at primary elections. And also an act commanding representatives to vote for the candidate for United States senator receiving the highest number of votes at the primary election, even though he should be of one political faith and the legislature of another.

"But look at that university appropriation bill!" cried the politicians, "What if the people of Oregon should vote that down?"

But they didn't. The Oregon legislature had made an increased appropriation for the State university and also for the State militia. The people granted the former and denied the latter. "All the

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money you want for education, but no more for war." That was the answer of the people of Oregon to their legislature.

This legislature, by the way, tried to increase its own salary, but the people vetoed it. Three dollars a day was the stipend. Beggarly, no doubt. But the people are entitled to their own opinion as to what an Oregon lawmaker is worth.

"Well, it's unconstitutional, anyway." No doubt you hope so, Mr. Politician. But until the Supreme Court decides it we shall take the word of Supreme Justice David Brewer, who says:

"The initiative and referendum make public opinion the controlling factor in the government. The more promptly and fully public affairs carry into the effect such public opinion, the more truly is government of and by the people realized."

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UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed From the Original MS.

Dear John: Learnin' that La Follette of Wisconsin was puttin' in a word for me, I went yesterday into the Senate gallery—haven't been on the Senate floor for 40 year—and looked down on the scene. There was a scant fifty of Senators sittin' around, sullen like, and the galleries were crammed; and down below an under size, tough lookin', bull dog like little man was worryin' the sullen Senators. Literally. Of course it was La Follette who was alone—who had no backin' and no friends; but it was the Senate that looked it. They got away as far as they could. They were few, and wished they were fewer. They talked together; La Follette called for order, and paused till he got it. They walked out of the room; La Follette announced there was no quorum, and paused till a quorum was secured. There was no rest for the wicked, and their little master applied scorching liniment, and persistently and eternally rubbed it in.

"Wall street can get a bill advanced in its interests," he said, "any time. Why cannot the country get freight rates attended to? What do you say?" he called over to his bored and cowering colleagues.

Say? They said nothing, and looked small, and got out when they could.

You've heard, John, of the boasted "Senatorial presence," have you not? Well, with the Senate I have, the Senatorial absence is darned near as fine.

Seein' that La Follette was able to take care of himself, I went out also, and I hear this mornin' that he hammered the remnant all night.

I went in later today and saw Vice-President Fairbanks beat him by recognizing Aldrich, who addressed the chair later. That is, the papers think so; but the pint is that La Follette, and Gore of Oklahoma, caught my eye, which is goin' to count more than some people think. Throughout La Follette's address there was no sign of applause; and only one hiss, distinct, and from the Republican side, chamber or galleries, when the Senators were explaining their votes on the closure, and La Follette suggested that explanation of votes had best be left until after adjournment. The hiss was keen; but then, so was the cut.

When La Follette, advancing down the aisle, told the Senate if they continued to obstruct they would be swept from power, the Senate smiled sarcastically and read newspapers; but I said to myself: "Why not back the little man up? He is right. I used to back up the right." And you needn't be surprised, John, to see some Senators readin' their newspapers outside the Congress halls, and in corporation time, exclusively.

I rather guess Bryan may get in if nominated, as the habit of votin' for Bryan grows on a man with years; and then again, the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee is lettin' the cat out. It has offered a hundred and fifty dollars, for reasons why Republicans should win this Fall. They are rather scarce, and I guess will be worth the money if they can be found; and, dear me! the worry of the Republicans, and their interest in the Parker and Johnson Democrats is painful.

I don't hear much from the Panama Canal; and I am considering a proposition advanced by a chap the other day, to dig it with fox terriers.

There is mighty little going on here but Roosevelt. One day the Pope admires him, and the next he falls into Rock Creek. Every day he makes some splash in the advertising waters of the daily press. After all is said, he fits Washington pretty well. He is a President of magnificent distances and colossal contradictions, and never touches a place the second time. A patron of athletics, he pursues literature with tireless stenography. An advocate of warlike actions and methods, he addresses Christian conferences with unction and, be it said, with approval. A preacher of ethics, he does not hesitate to toss into the scales of justice without mercy, and without expressed regrets, against a workman fighting for his life, the weight of the influence of the President of the United States. A defender and upholder of war, he banishes the only actively fighting man in the United States army to the Arizona desert—for what? For fightin'. He is a consistent curiosity, at once an infliction, a menace, and a joke. Like Massachusetts, he needs no encomium. There he stands; one foot on the rising storm, and one on the Brownsville nigger. He can suppress the nigger all right, and have back of him my solid South, and my race

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prejudice; but the rising storm— I dunno, that is ridin' more than three horses. Too many people are paying high prices for things that cost little more to produce than they did when Republicans were Democrats in Lincoln's time. Too many are a little hungry. Too many are praying, "If this is Republican plenty, O Lord, let us have a little of the Democratic scarcity of years ago!"

The trouble with Roosevelt is, he is no fighter. He is a blank cartridge. A President with the Attorney General's office at command, who can't lick a meat trust in six years as bad as one Socialist novelist did in two weeks, should take a back seat, sing only with the chorus, and sing very small. That's my sentiment.

UNCLE SAM.

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THE PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

For The Public.

III.

Financial Aspect of Existing Systems.

One of the first questions regarding public ownership of railroads which an American is likely to ask himself is: Will it pay? Can the government conduct railways and make them self-supporting? Will there be any returns adequate to give a "decent" percentage of interest on the capital invested? We can answer these questions only by referring to the experiences of other countries which have applied the principle of public ownership.

We will then, again, first turn our attention to Germany. All considered, extent of system, organization, excellence of service, etc., this country undoubtedly has the most remarkable State railways in existence.

Examining the results obtained, financially, we find that the best paying State system is that of Prussia, being the largest, and embracing as it does more than 20,000 miles of railroad. The average percentage of earnings of the construction and equipment cost of this system is given in Table II for a period covering the past 50 years. For comparison it may be mentioned that the average earning capacity of the private German roads is 3.87 per cent., and that the average earnings of all European roads is 4 per cent. The financial returns in per cent of the actual cost of other State railway systems in Germany are given in Table III. The figures quoted for the Prussian State railways in particular, and for the other systems as well, do not indicate that these government owned systems have been failures financially, at least.

Of course, financial returns imply nothing until we have examined the rates charged for the service rendered. Upon such an examination, which we will make in another article, we shall see that favorable returns have been obtained in spite of low rates, which points towards high efficiency of management. Before referring to the rates, however, and comparing them with those in force in this country, it should be realized that a direct comparison between Germany and the United States is difficult on account of the varying factors to be considered.

TABLE II.

Financial Returns of Prussian State Railways, in Per Cent of Capital Expended on Construction and Equipment.

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1855	3.47	1882-83	5.21
1860	4.26	1883-84	4.83
1861	4 98	1884-85	5.11
1862	6.21	1885-86	4.88
1863	6.17	1886-87	5.22
1864	6.68	1887-88	5.77
1865	6.42	1888-89	6.02
1866	7.02	1889-90	6.26
1867	5.83	1890-91	5.26
1868	5.08	1891-92	4.90
1869	5.77	1892-93	5.15
1870	6.25	1893-94	5.68
1871	6.58	1894-95	5.66
1872	5.97	1895-96	6.75
1873	5.35	1896-97	7.15
1874	3.85	1897-98	7.14
1875	4.88	1898-99	7.07
1876	5.14	1899	7.28
1877-78	4.80	1900	7.14
1878-79	4.52	1901	6.14
1879-80	4.30	1902	6.54
1880-81	4.86	1903	7.12
1881-82	5.01	1904	7.17

TABLE III.

Financial Returns of the Various German Government Railway Systems, in Per Cent of Capital Expended on Construction and Equipment.

State railway system.	Length in miles.	Earnings per cent.
Baden	1.053[1]	2.72[5]
Bavaria	3.772[1]	3.1[4]
Oldenburg	354[2]	3.96[5]
Saxony	2,019[3]	5.2[3]
Mecklenburg-Schwerin	719[1]	4.13[5]
Württemberg	1,171[2]	3.54[3]
Prussian-Hessian system	20,750[1]	6.19[5]
Alsace-Lorraine	1.029[1]	4.3[3]

[1]In 1903.
[2]In 1901.
[3]In 1906.
[4]In 1902.
[5]Average earnings since opening of system.

Wages are lower in Germany; but working hours are shorter, employment more secure, holidays with pay more plentiful, and the old age of the employees cared for by a pension system. Thus, while the pay here is apparently higher, it may be, in some cases, at least, relatively as high in Germany.

Construction cost is probably as high in Germany as in this country, for, while the labor employed is cheaper, the permanent way is, as a rule, of a heavier and far more expensive con-

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struction than on most American roads, the leading great Eastern systems excepted.

The rolling stock, in general, is more expensive in Germany. At a time when American roads obtained a certain class of locomotives for about $11,000, the German State railways paid nearly $14,000 for theirs in Germany. Other European countries have even imported locomotives from America, because they could be had cheaper. This does not agree with what our tariff friends tell us of the pauper labor in Europe, but the facts remain.

The actual cost of construction and equipment of the German State railroads is about $104,000 per mile, or nearly double the average *capitalization* of American roads per mile. This indicates that European roads are not any cheaper to build. And the difference becomes even more pronounced when we remember that there is a vast gulf, in American railway practice, between *capitalization* and *actual cost.*

We have thus far seen that most of the necessary expenses of German and American roads may be fairly directly compared. We have seen that the Germa government-owned roads have been financially successful. Now, then, if the German State railways can carry passengers at a rate about one-half of the average American railway rate, carry them more safely, and land them at their destination more accurately as regards time of arrival, what then becomes of our alleged superior private management?

All it has accomplished, in way of superiority, is the creation of railway magnates, many of whom are, in the last analysis, little better than gamblers, and, sometimes worse.

As far as freight rates are concerned we will find on close examination, that, although it is constantly claimed that these are higher in Germany than in the United States, this difference is more apparent than real; and in spite of all the figures quoted to the contrary, a thorough examination of all the conditions connected with this question point, as we shall presently see, without much doubt, to the fact that even freight rates are, at least to the general public, considerably higher in the United States than in Germany.

The foregoing presentation applies not only to the German State railways, but to European government railways in general, so that it will be necessary to give only in outlines the figures relating to financial returns in other countries.

Examining the conditions of railway transportation in Sweden we find that we have here a country where the possibilities of public ownership are exhibited in their best light. For here we deal with a country with a comparatively sparse population, and with business activity and industries as yet not developed like those of Germany or the United States, with a traffic amounting to only half the European average, with a railway mileage greater in proportion to the population than in any European country, and with service not surpassed, except, perhaps, as regards speed, anywhere. Here, therefore, the "experiment" of public ownership would prove a failure, if it failed anywhere; here, if anywhere, the financial outcome would be, at best, uncertain.

Yet, we find that the Swedish State railroads have always been self-supporting, and that they have returned a reasonable, if not a high, percentage on the capital invested. Table IV gives the figures for a number of years.

TABLE IV.

Average Earnings of Swedish State Railways, in Per Cent of Capital Invested.

Year.	Per cent.	Year.	Per cent.
1866-1870	2.99	1896	3.99
1871-1875	4.25	1897	4.74
1876-1880	3.04	1898	4.40
1881-1885	3.56	1899	3.77
1886-1890	2.63	1900	3.05
1891-1895	2.64		

The national debt of Sweden has all been contracted for the purpose of building government railroads, and the interest on this debt, which is contracted at an average of 3.5 per cent, is nearly always covered by the net proceeds from the railway system. It is a remarkable thing to find a nation whose whole indebtedness is covered by actual tangible assets, the earning powers of which pay the interest.

The remaining European State railway systems do not all show as good returns as the Swedish and German systems, but they are *all paying propositions,* that is, they do not entail a loss to the taxpayers.

The percentage returned on the capital invested was 4.17 in Belgium in 1903. The Austrian State railways in 1901 returned 2.47 per cent. Hungary's State railways in 1900 returned 4.68 per cent; in 1901, 4.42; in 1902, 4.60; in 1903, 4.69; and in 1904, 4.75 per cent. Those of Switzerland returned in 1904 over 3.65 per cent, and those of Roumania 3.40 per cent in 1903-1904.

Turning to the Australian railroads we find the following figures:

New South Wales (1906-07)	4.96
New Zealand (1906-07)	3.45
Queensland (1904)	2.6
South Australia (1904)	3.5
Tasmania (1904)	4.65
Victoria (1904)	3.44
Western Australia (1904-1905)	4.56

Summarizing our previous investigation, we find that public ownership of railways has not proved a failure from the financial point of view. We find that in countries where the State systems have reached a high development by virtue of a strict adherence to the policy of public owner-

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ship, as in Germany, the returns have been exceptionally favorable; and that in countries where natural limitations and a sparse population prevent exceptional results, the outcome has still been far from discouraging. Without fear of exaggeration we may therefore say that from the point of view of the State treasury public ownership has, wherever consistently applied, proved a success, sometimes a very decided success.

ERIK OBERG.

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IMMORTAL MARS.

For The Public.

The gods of old are gone, save one,
Of all the twelve who sate
On high Olympus' snowy crest
To ponder deeds of fate.

But one still rears his horrid head
And wields a might untold,
The dread god Mars hath power yet,
E'en as he had of old.

And every year a tribute votes
Unto our war-god grim,
While every nation gives its best
To be the priests for him.

SIMON PURE.

BOOKS

AN APPRECIATION OF ROOSEVELT

Roosevelt and the Public. By John W. Bennett. Published by the Broadway Publishing Co., 835 Broadway, New York. Price, $1.50.

Readers of The Public who saw Mr. Bennett's frank but fair and able criticism of the American newspaper in its relation to democratic institutions, which appeared in these columns six months ago (vol. x, p. 725), will want to know about, and most of them will doubtless be glad to read, the views of the same writer on the relation of President Roosevelt to the same institutions. Mr. Bennett is especially well qualified for this work, as he was for the other, by extended experiences as a Washington correspondent. Although his picture of Mr. Roosevelt is not altogether that of an attractive public functionary, we fail to find a single instance of deliberate unfairness or any indications of warped judgment.

Inasmuch, however, as the author handles his subject without gloves, he prudently shows in his Introduction how frank Mr. Roosevelt himself has been in characterizing historical persons whose careers he has discussed. The friends of a man who has described Thomas Jefferson as Mr. Roosevelt has, as "constitutionally unable to put a proper value upon truthfulness," who has denounced Thomas Paine as "a filthy little atheist," and Wendell Phillips as "either mischievous or ridiculous and usually both," and who has regarded men who object to government by injunction as being, "as regards essential principles of our government, in hearty sympathy with their remote skin-clad ancestors who lived in caves, fought one another with stone-headed axes, and ate the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros"—the friends of such a reckless writer can hardly complain if other writers, without recklessness but with fitting words, characterize their idol as the provable facts warrant.

Mr. Bennett's account of Roosevelt begins with the latter's political alliance with "Joe" Murray, of the old 21st legislative district of New York, where Roosevelt's public career had its roots, and follows him through the New York legislature, where he flourished in the early '80s, and which he left "a wiser man than when he entered, and with fewer and different ideals."

From the New York legislature Mr. Roosevelt stepped into national politics. Here he distinguished himself by fighting valiantly against Blaine by the side of George William Curtis and Carl Schurz, whom he promptly abandoned after the nomination in order to fight by the side of Blaine himself. "As every partisan on occasion must do, he placed partisan regularity above country, above public good, above convictions, above clean ideals, above civic integrity;" and "never a Bogan, a McCarren or a Murphy, or a follower of a Bogan, a McCarren or a Murphy has shown more narrow or hide bound partisanship than did he."

As a civil-service commissioner "he was an efficient officer, despite his bluster and his grandstand posing;" but "aside from the clamor of it his record is in no sense extraordinary." In the Spanish war he did most of the fighting and gave the really important orders at San Juan, but with a "mighty pen" afterwards and "a robust imagination." Incidentally in this connection the author avails himself of the opportunity which Mr. Roosevelt's war record affords, to rescue the reputation of the Seventy-first New York from imputations of cowardice. "It is," he says, "a vile aspersion. With their black powder Springfields, worse than useless, and their inefficient officers, they were put to a test to which no other soldiers even there submitted. They were not cowards who scaled San Juan heights with Rafferty—who kept step with their comrades without firing a shot, for that was the only condition upon which the separated companies and groups were permitted to participate."

Mr. Roosevelt's career as Governor certainly lacks in this book the brilliant beauty in which it appears to "Teddyolators;" but Mr. Bennett sticks to the facts and characterizes with judicial restraint. Regarding Roosevelt's Vice Presidential candidacy, the reader is left to infer whether it was "consciously or unconsciously that he "lent

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himself to the plans of Platt and Quay;" but going to the convention "in Rough Rider hat and the rakish dash and swagger of the regiment, so well-advertised a man as he naturally attracted attention," and Platt and Quay did the rest. The author so well appreciates what he calls "Roosevelt's marvelous skill as a politician," that in his judgment "it must always remain a question whether Platt and Quay in this matter of the Vice Presidency made Roosevelt their unwilling but lucky victim or were really his unconscious tools."

After following Mr. Roosevelt's career down to the present time, the author predicts his historical magnitude with discernment and discrimination. It will depend, he writes, "upon the future course of the Republic. This none but a prophet can foresee. . . . If this nation should become a great imperialistic military power, inspiring admiration by its splendor, and fear by its momentary strength; if after a hectic, feverish course of apparent brilliancy should ensue the palsied inefficiency of bureaucracy, with the inevitable death and disintegration, some future Gibbon, telling some future people, lusty in the strength of young manhood, the story of its decline and fall, would designate the time of the Spanish war as the day upon which the seeds of the white death had been sown. Theodore Roosevelt would be written down as the President who had seen to it that these seeds had taken root. And Roosevelt would be remembered. . . . On the other hand, should the bright sunlight and pure air of life-giving freedom strengthen our Republic to throw off the menace of this white death—destroy this cankering germ which imperial ambition has planted in its bosom; if, defying time, our Republic should live a democratic sanctuary through the ages, then the period of Roosevelt will be but a feverish, unsubstantial dream. He shall then be counted as one of the evanescent, inconsequent incidents of our national life."

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THOUGHTS WHILE TRAVELING.

The Disinherited. Observations in Travel, Giving New Views and Descriptions of Old Routes and Scenes. By George Wallace. New York: J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, 57 Rose street. Price, $1.00.

A further supplementary title to this book indicates that it is more than a collection of travel jottings. It is also a book in which conditions of old world people are observed and depicted, and the cause of the poverty which afflicts so many is individually studied and timely comments on home topics are made.

About to go upon a European journey, the author promised the editor of his local paper on Long Island, the South Side Observer, to make notes of his observations on the way, and the letters composing this volume, republished from the Observer, are the result. They are characterized by the freedom of thought of one writing from abroad to neighbors at home, and by the simplicity of expression which comes from utterance without self-consciousness. It is the author himself and not a guide book, who does the observing and reflecting.

In Ireland he notes the fact, not especially just but altogether human, that while the Irish leaders denounce absentee landlords they are quite reconciled to the idea of being landlords. Yet, as the author says, "if all the Irish landlords were Irishmen and lived in Ireland, rankling poverty would still exist."

Among his reflections upon the two thousand years of Christianity, regarding which so many of us are prone to think that it has had opportunity all those years to improve social conditions and has failed, the author impressively insists that Christianity has not had this opportunity, because humanity has never accepted Christianity. When men really obey the Golden Rule and find that it doesn't work, then and not till then can we say that Christianity is a failure. In this connection the author puts a searching question to the official leaders of Christianity: "Does the church today believe," he asks, "that enforced poverty is right and just? Does it believe that unearned wealth is in accordance with God's will?"

The countries visited and written about by the author are France, England, Scotland and Ireland.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Early New England Towns. A Comparative Study of Their Development. By Anne Bush Maclear, Ph. D. Published by Columbia University, through Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

—Private Freight Cars and American Railways. By L. D. H. Weld, Ph. D., Garth Fellow in Political Economy. Published by Columbia University, through Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

—Prophet of Peace. Revised by Asenath Carver Coolidge, author of "The Independence Day Horror at Killsbury," etc. Pictured by Cassius M. Coolidge. Published by Hungerford-Holbrook Company, Watertown, N. Y. Price $1.00.

—Preliminary Report on the Soils and Agricultural Conditions of North Central Wisconsin. By Samuel Weidman, Ph. D., Geologist, Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey. From State Board of Immigration, Madison, Wis.

PAMPHLETS

The Union Square Tragedy.

Robert Hunter has written an open letter, published in pamphlet form (New York), to the Commissioner of Police of New York and to the Mayor, in which he gives a detailed account of the recent police outrage in Union Square (p. 110) which culminated in

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the bursting of a bomb. The account, which is accompanied with important quotations, is authenticated in every particular, and constitutes a convenient as well as valuable record of a significant event.

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Why the Sacrifice?

George Wallace's "Industrial Peace" (Freeport, N. Y.), an address to the members of the Methodist Church, is a highly important document on the relation of the churches to labor questions. Its spirit may be inferred from the writer's comment on a remarkable clergyman whom he had heard declare a willingness "to see poverty and distress abolished," but "was not willing to see anything put into our laws and institutions which would interfere with what he termed 'the sacred rights of property.'" Of this the author of the pamphlet says: "This respected clergyman, who spoke for 'the sacred rights of property,' had at various times in his ministry drawn vivid pictures of the Christ's sufferings and of his death upon the cross. He had told of his agony in the garden, of his buffetings before Pilate, his carrying of the cross, the nails piercing his hands and feet, the veil of the temple being rent, the convulsions of nature in witness of the immortal event, and of how the Son of God, uttering the words 'It is finished' gave up the ghost. The question flashed through my mind: Was all this to secure the 'sacred rights of property?' Or was the sacrifice made to secure the 'sacred rights of man'?"

PERIODICALS

"Prayer is not words. Prayer is touching God in the Silence. That is all, and that is enough. Windy prayers in prayer meetings don't do much good, except to keep the flies off. No great harm in them, but they are but 'sounding brass and tinkling cym-

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bals' "—so says The New Theology Magazine for July. This magazine is an unusually wide-open exponent of the newer aspects of religious teaching of the theosophical type, with much religion and little "ism." An exposition of "discrete degrees," by L. G. Landenberger, and "What is Real Religion," are among the longer articles.

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"Pshaw!" she exclaimed, disgustedly, as she came to the most interesting part only to read "to be continued." "I don't see why they call these things 'continued stories.'"

"No?" queried her husband, politely.

"No, they should be called 'discontinued stories.'" —Philadelphia Press.

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The baby was slow about talking, and his aunt was deploring that fact. Four-year-old Elizabeth listened anxiously.

"Oh, mother," she ventured at length, "do you think

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is too short
to do useless work.

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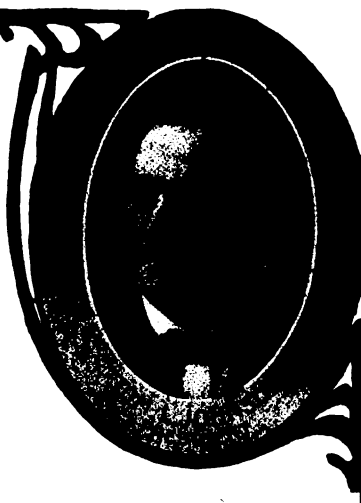

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