

banking. The governor has not distinctly complied with their request. but his call for the special session is ambiguous enough in this respect to make room for a question, and a banker's lobby may try to take advantage of it.

In his inaugural address Gov. Cummins, of Iowa, disclosed a purpose and a grasp of political possibilities, which cannot be reassuring to the present occupant of the White House, who has taken into his cabinet an Iowa statesman whom Gov. Cummins "turned down" at the Republican convention last fall. It is evident both that Gov. Cummins has his eye on the Republican presidential nomination, and that this is game which he knows how to go gunning for. He has turned his attention to the question of trusts and the tariff. Much of what he says could be riddled full of holes, but not by anyone who is likely to loom up for the Republican presidential nomination. Economically it is pretty thin stuff, despite several sound but somewhat incongruous generalizations; but politically it is far and away ahead of anything that any Republican aspirant for national honors has yet put forth. A confusing hotch-potch of sense and nonsense, of competitive individualism and paternal state socialism, of dependence and independence, of equality and class interests, the ingredients seem, nevertheless, to be pretty well chosen and very judiciously mixed for the purpose of making the mess agreeable to the Republican palate.

It is difficult to realize the strides that Mayor Johnson has made within 12 months in injecting democracy into the Democratic party of Ohio, and bringing the party to life. It was a mere spoils-hunting machine, absolutely under the control of John R. McLean, when Johnson loomed above the political horizon, and now it has been rescued altogether from McLean's clutches. In the recent reorganization of the state committee all his henchmen were side-tracked,

and he is no longer capable of doing any more harm than can be done in cunning ways by the Cincinnati Enquirer, which he owns. Meanwhile, the street railroad agitation, with which Johnson began the Democratic fight against the monopoly corporations in Ohio, has taken a peculiar turn. On the one hand the three-cent fare proposition, on which Johnson was elected mayor, is being pushed. The city council of Cleveland has authorized bids in accordance with it, to be received on the 10th of February, and of at least one such bid Johnson declares that he is assured. On the other hand his municipal ownership proposition, petitioned for by the Cleveland council, is before the legislature. These two propositions, both of them promoted by Johnson, have thrown the opposition into the utmost confusion. They don't understand Johnson's play. Some of his adversaries, including the representatives of railroad interests, are yielding to the three-cent fare proposition to head off municipal ownership. But even these are in doubt. Johnson has played such an absolutely open game that it seems to them to be a densely mysterious and bewilderingly confusing game. They are more confounded by it than they could be by any amount of concealment, for they are expecting the unexpected to stun them at any moment. Nor are they wholly oblivious to the fact that Johnson's double-head street car movement is only a prelude to radical taxation measures for which it is preparing the legislative mind, and which the pro-monopoly people dreaded more than any other weapons in Johnson's apparently exhaustless collection.

What may prove to be an important political movement in Kansas is to begin at Topeka on the 21st of February. A delegate conference of the People's party of the state is to be held there at that time for the purpose of deciding a question of vital importance. It is to lay out a course for the party to pursue in the dilemma in which it has been

placed with reference to cooperative action with the Democratic party, by the enactment last winter of an obstructive election law by the Republican legislature. This law is intended to prevent temporary fusions of two or more political parties. Under it political parties cannot act together as separate organizations under distinctive names. Similar laws exist in other states, enacted through the influence of political rings in order to protect themselves by preventing combined action by two or more parties against the party in power. Three courses appear to be open to the Kansas conference. It can decide to advise the People's party to go en masse into the Democratic party; or to make no nominations this year, but, populists being nominated by the Democrats, to make the campaign under the Democratic banner and name; or to nominate a complete People's ticket and "go it alone" as a third party. Since the Democratic party of the state is part of a national party, completely organized and with a large following throughout the country, there is naturally no expectation of inducing it to abandon its name and go into the People's party. The third possible course, the "go-it-alone" policy, is wisely not favored. The plan of supporting the Democratic party upon its nominating some populists as its candidates is more popular. But clearly the best plan would be the first. If the populists of Kansas go en masse into the Democratic party of Kansas they can impregnate its somewhat withered tissues with Democratic vitality, can soon control its organization, and what is of most importance, can exert a powerful and beneficial influence upon the policy of the national Democracy and the selection of its national candidates. It is to be hoped that the Kansas conference will have the political acumen and the moral courage to advise this course.

Johnstown, Pennsylvania, furnishes an example of what an able Democratic paper can do if its Democracy is more than a label — if it is truly and aggressively democratic.

The paper to which we allude is the Johnstown Democrat, edited by Warren Worth Bailey. Its influence was felt and appreciated by the Democratic party of Cambria county last fall, which responded to its teachings with a good ticket on a radical platform, and in that Republican county won the election. The influence of this paper, excellent as well for its news service as for its sound democracy and editorial ability, is again to be observed in the platform which the Democrats of Johnstown adopted on the 17th upon nominating a ticket for the municipal election in February. After congratulating Mayor Woodruff for "calling public attention to the folly and injustice of permitting franchise corporations to escape the burdens of taxation for local purposes" this admirable platform pledges the Democratic candidates "to the support of the principle of the equal taxation of all property subject to taxation, especially denouncing "the taxation of homes and industry higher than unimproved property held out of use for speculative purposes," and declaring "there should be no fines upon industry or upon the building of homes." It pledges them further "to the advancement of the principle that franchises are to be considered as real estate values and taxed for local purposes as such," at the same time denouncing "the granting of free franchises for any period long or short," and declaring that "no franchise should be granted for a period longer than 21 years." In pledging them also "to the principle of local option in taxation," the platform proclaims the belief of the Democrats of Johnstown that "each community should be permitted to raise its revenues in its own way." And it concludes with a general declaration for "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," pledging the local Democracy "to do all in its power to promote good government along the lines of equal freedom." If the Democratic party everywhere gave out so true a ring, there would be comfort in suffering repeated defeats under its

banners, but there would be few defeats to suffer.

Whether or not Verestchagin's paintings, now on exhibition in Chicago, are works of art according to conventional art standards, is of secondary concern to spectators capable of appreciating the tremendous truths they reveal. To look upon the Napoleonic and Philippine war pictures is to get a glimpse of hell, and that is an experience which is sometimes wholesome for the conscience. Take, for instance, the hospital episode, told in a series of five pictures, which appear, by the catalogue to be only the sad story of an American sergeant, wounded by a Filipino bullet, who dies while dictating a letter to his nurse for his mother over the wide Pacific. To see these pictures is to stand in the presence of abnormal and gruesome death, and to feel the horror of war as an unspeakable reality. Yet these pictures alone might awaken only emotions of pity for the dying soldier and sympathy for the bereaved. Even a thrill of patriotic gratitude for the sacrifice is possible. But when after this the eye rests upon the "Spy," an intelligent Filipino youth, captured and bound, in the custody of American soldiers and awaiting the judgment of unsympathetic American officers in whose presence he stands—they in his country thousands of miles from their homes and he in his own country which they have invaded—different emotions are awakened. Then the hospital episode becomes more harrowing than a death scene. It can by no possibility appeal any longer to the patriotic sense, for it means that the American soldier has passed through the agonies of violent and untimely death not for a cause, not for his country, but for the wanton subjugation of a distant people. Visions of the execution of Capt. Hale as a spy by the British, spring up in the American imagination; and the Verestchagin series on the Napoleonic invasion of Russia becomes luminous with new meaning. To gratify the same lust of con-

quest for which the French suffered and died in Russia, Americans are suffering and dying in the Philippines. That is at least one lesson of these pictures.

#### THE TRUST AND THE SINGLE TAX.\*

The evil of the trust depends not upon the mere fact of a consolidation of business interests, but upon the nature of the business interests consolidated.

An illustration may be found in the hack service at any country railway station. I select a particular one for the sake of being definite. Hackettstown is a New Jersey station on the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western railway, where the station yard is large enough to accommodate many more hacks than are needed. Several hacks carry passengers between this station yard and any desired place in the town at the uniform charge of a dime. Were more exacted, competition would be stimulated. Realizing this possibility, the hack owners conform voluntarily to what is generally regarded as a fair toll. The business, therefore, is regulated by competition—if not actual, yet potential.

Consolidation of these interests might effect economies. If so, the consolidation would be beneficial to all concerned. Patrons would get better service and pay lower fares; and if displaced employes were hurt by it, their misfortune would be due, not to the labor-saving consolidation of Hackettstown hack interests, but, as is the case with labor-saving machines, to fundamental legal obstructions to business in general. The consolidation would be nothing but a union of interests in hacks and horses, a kind of property that is too easily produced in abundant quantities to be monopolized. Such unions are not in themselves harmful. If they were, all economizing devices would be harmful, and we should have to adopt Tolstoy's conceit and return to primitive methods of production.

But note the effect were the railroad company to confer upon those hack owners exclusive rights to enter the station yard with hacks. As the

\*By Louis F. Post. Reprinted from a symposium in *The Arena*, New York, for October, 1901, by special permission.