

will not do it, of course; their investigation will begin and end with a reading of Mr. Cleveland's lecture. But all admirers of Cleveland are not afflicted with grover-clevelanditis, and these will at least look into the matter impartially, including Altgeld's telegrams, and the evidence upon which they were based and which Cleveland ignores with a sneer. When the facts about this episode are sifted to the bottom, Mr. Cleveland's connection with the matter does not appear enviable.

His action regarding that strike was taken at the request of the managing committee of the railroad combine. This is the kernel fact of the whole affair. Nor does this fact lose any of its sinister significance because the request was made through a special counsel of the United States; for the special counsel of the United States for that occasion was also a counsel of the railroad combine, and his relations in that particular were known by the Cleveland administration at the time it selected him for special counsel of the United States. A plain partnership for plutocratic misrule and official disorder, between the combined railroads centering at Chicago and the Cleveland administration, is revealed by the documentary history of that railroad strike and of Cleveland's participation therein. Persons wishing to compare Mr. Cleveland's side of this story with Gov. Altgeld's, will be edified and instructed, after reading Cleveland's lecture, to read Altgeld's speech at Cooper Union, October 17, 1896, in which all the pertinent documents are quoted.

Mr. Cleveland makes a second bid this week for plutocratic support for the Presidency. It is in the form of a tract on his bond deal with J. Pierpont Morgan, and appears in the Saturday Evening Post of Philadelphia. In this tract Mr. Cleveland boasts of his arrangements with Morgan, whereby, he says, "the credit and fair fame of our nation were saved." This patriotic

boast is much like the pious ejaculation of the Eastern noodle who, upon seeing a reflection of the moon in the water at the bottom of a well and thinking it the moon itself, undertook to lift it back to the sky. In his strenuous efforts he was thrown sprawling upon the ground, which caused him much pain; but as he lay groaning there his upturned eyes observed the moon sailing through the heavens, and with becoming piety he exclaimed: "Allah be thanked! Though I suffer for my pains, I have restored the moon to her place."

Mr. Cleveland's Western organ, the Chicago Chronicle, owned and edited by John R. Walsh, the millionaire banker of Chicago, who expects to be secretary of the treasury in Mr. Cleveland's next cabinet, is entitled to full credit for openly advising the "reorganizers" to bolt wherever they lose in a party contest. It does so very frankly in the leading editorial of its issue of April 30. This is excellent advice. Bolting is one of the most wholesome exercises in the politics of a self-governing people. It means death to the boss, death to the caucus, death to the manipulator of conventions, and life to sound politics. Nor can any faction have a monopoly of it. Others as well as Cleveland's backers can bolt. And now that those who distrust Cleveland are so well advised, not only by Cleveland's bolt in 1896 and 1900 but also by the frank intimations of his principal Western organ, that his faction will bolt again if it loses at St. Louis, they need have no political scruples as to their course if it wins at St. Louis. This outlook is reassuring because it is in the nature of a prophecy that after the St. Louis convention the Democratic party will be either democratic or plutocratic without mixture.

In the soundness of its democratic principles the Nation, of New York, is without a superior in periodical literature. Take this, for example, on the labor

question in politics, quoted from the issue of April 21:

The real friend of labor, then, is not the forerunner of prosperity nor the vendor of social patent medicines, but simply the man who will stand for equal laws and the abolishment of special privileges. . . . The candidate who promises labor anything more than an even chance is not its friend, but its beguiler.

Those sentiments are as refreshing to the democratic soul as a new Declaration of Independence; they are so true, so direct, so fundamental. If the Nation could see its way clear to guiding its political policy in the concrete by these abstract principles, what a power for sound democracy it might be. But the trouble with the Nation is that it is too expert in compounding for the special privileges it "is inclined to by damning those it has no mind to."

The Emma Goldman (p. 55) and John Turner (p. 41) episodes ought to warn the over-officious Fouche's of our police to stop making asses of themselves and fools of their communities by their lawless interference with anarchist lecturers. Unless they want to propagate anarchist doctrines they will hereafter keep hands off. The absurd arrest of Turner, for merely thinking out of harmony with jacks-in-office, and the wanton suppression of Miss Goldman's Philadelphia meeting, have done more to advertise and propagate anarchist doctrines than ten thousand undisturbed lectures could have done; for these attempts to deport a thinker and to suppress a meeting have aroused to some extent the traditional believers in free speech in America, and that in turn has directed attention to the fact that anarchist lecturers do not preach violence but do preach education and peace.

Another incident confirms our contention that the feeling of hostility to Negroes is not confined to the South, but is as bitter and lawless at the North. This is no sectional question, not even superficially. It is a race question superficially, and a democratic

question fundamentally. It grows out of the satanic spirit that regards some men as having inferior natural rights to other men. This is not a race spirit. When it breaks out against races that is only a local or temporary manifestation. Leisure classes everywhere have the same feeling and resort to the same arguments with reference to the disinherited toilers of their own race. The incident regarding Negroes referred to at the beginning of this paragraph is the neglect of the grand jury at Springfield, Ohio, to indict any of the lynching mob (vol. vi, p. 810) for the murder they committed in connection with their hanging of a Negro prisoner and their savage assault upon the Negro quarter of Springfield. Thus the lynching is officially approved. The Mayor of Springfield is reported as saying of the work of the grand jury that it—

was a farce from beginning to end. The country was put to a great expense and nothing accomplished. To my mind the jury did not want to accomplish anything. There were some men of prominent connections in the mob. They were seen in the jail by the police. They are known by the county officials, including the prosecuting attorney. It seemed that nearly everybody was filled with the spirit of the mob. Why, a prominent county official said in the mayor's office on the night of the fire that, but for his position, he would in all probability have been down to help in the lynching.

Chicago newspapers tell of a personal property assessor who has been detected as a hold-up man. That seems quite consistent. The vocation of assessing personal property for taxation must be extremely well calculated to develop larcenous instincts. Personal property taxation is itself nothing but a hold-up.

An interesting tax exhibit was made by the Spokesman-Review, of Spokane, in its issue of April 20. It compared the assessments of railroad property in Spokane with those of other property, showing that enormous discriminations are made in favor of the Northern Pacific Railroad company. The extent of these discrim-

inations may be inferred from the following table, in which the first and third perpendicular columns represent building sites and the middle column represents the railroad right-of-way between them. The lines across the column state the assessed values between streets:

	Building Sites Owned by Individual Owners.....	Railroad Right of Way.....	Building Sites Owned by Railroad.....
	Per sq. ft.	Per sq. ft.	Per sq. ft.
First square.....	23c	1½c	15c
Second square.....	23c	1½c	17c
Third square.....	28c	14-10c	20c
Fourth square.....	44c	2c	23c
Fifth square.....	55c	2c	24c

This discrimination in the State of Washington is about like that which Mayor Johnson exposed in Ohio; but in Ohio Messrs. Hanna, Herrick and the other "business" politicians appear to have convinced the voters that it is generous and righteous.

Another protest against the police "sweat box" (vol. v, pp. 308, 312, 322, 434; vol. vi, p. 20) comes to our attention. It appears in American Medicine, a Philadelphia publication. "What have judges and lawyers been about to permit such barbaric anachronisms in the twentieth century?" asks the writer. Well may he ask it. The "sweat box" is a brutal and lawless device of detectives. Every policeman who uses it is a conscious criminal who ought to be indicted. Yet judges slyly wink at it and then gravely wonder at the growing disregard for law and contempt of courts.

**THE FICTITIOUS CENSUS INCREASE OF SMALL FARMS.**

According to the United States census there was, during the last decade, not only a stupendous increase in farm acreage, but also in the number of farms. As was shown by my editorial in the Public of April 16th (p. 21), this increase in farm acreage is chiefly due to the enumeration in 1900 of vast tracts of unimproved land that were excluded from enumeration at previous censuses as not properly constituting a part of the farming area of the country.

These unimproved tracts, though embracing an enormous area, are so comparatively few in number that their enumeration fails to explain the remarkable increase in the number of farms. Remarks regarding the number and the average size of farms found in the text of the census lead to the conclusion that the great increase in the number of farms in the older settled sections of the country is due to a decrease in the size of farms resulting from a subdivision of large farms. While it is likely that this is true to some extent in certain sections, it is not true to the extent that census figures seem to indicate and appears to have been more than offset by a general tendency toward larger farms.

That this tendency exists is admitted in the text of the census, where, after noting the decrease in the average size of farms in sections devoted to the cultivation of cotton the agricultural statistician remarks:

"Nowhere in the Northern States has there been a like decrease in the average size of farms. The average in Maine has increased from 97.2 acres in 1850 to 106.2 acres in 1900; in New Hampshire from 116.0 acres to 123.1 acres; and in Vermont from 138.6 acres to 142.7 acres. In most counties of these States the leading agricultural pursuit is dairying, and, owing to the fact that in this industry very small farms can not properly support a family, the farms are being sold and the land absorbed into larger holdings. This movement can be traced in all the dairy sections of the North Atlantic division. In such States as Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut this increase in the size of farms in the dairy sections has been more than counterbalanced by the subdivision of old farms near cities for use in the growing of fruits and vegetables, which accounts for the decrease in the average area of the farms of these States. The same conditions have been operative in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, diminishing the average size of all farms for those States, although not materially affecting that of farms devoted to diversified agriculture."

The trouble with this explanation of the increase in number of small farms is that it does not appear to be true.

It is reasonable to suppose that the causes which have resulted in the consolidation of dairy farms would lead to a like consolidation of fruit and vegetable farms.