The Public

Sixth Year. CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 22, 1903. Number 281.

LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post Office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last page.

Prof. Goldwin Smith, in his recently published essays on "Questions of the Day," regards the proposition that we all have a right to live upon the land as absurd, unless cities are to be abandoned. Yet it is really no more absurd than the idea that the people of cities live anywhere else than upon the land.

If it is true that Charles M. Schwab has undertaken the formation of a tailors' trust, he must have lost his head along with his steel trust job. The days are numbered of that trust which has no powerful monopoly to rest upon. Mr. Morgan has learned this lesson in trying to organize a shipping trust. Mr. Schwab ought not to need the same kind of lesson, but if he tries to form a tailors' trust he will get it.

The highest salaried man in the world has been discovered. He is the manager of the Waldorf-Astoria hotel, and his salary is reported to be half a million. Yet, say the press dispatches, he "was once a waiter." Now let the waiters stop complaining. With such prizes in their line of work, what more do they want? All they need is industry and fidelity — their own or somebody else's—and half million salaries are at their command. This is a wonderful age and a wonderful country.

It is reported from Washington that the Post Office Department intends to make every railroad train a mail train and to commission railroad conductors, baggagemasters, and other trainmen as employes of the United States postal service. The avowed object is to stop railroad strikes by making them subjects for Federal interference, through the Federal courts and the Federal army. The much more probable effect will be to give greater opportunity and added vitality to the movement for government ownership and operation of railways. When all railway operators become postal officials it will be a comparatively easy step to make all railways part of the postal establishment.

There is no doubt, we are obliged to admit, that the Wall street coteries are opposed to Roosevelt's return next year to the White House. They are evidently sincere enough in wanting to get him out of the way. It seems that they are afraid of him. But why should they be? Roosevelt is with them in interest and sympathies, and they ought to have sense enough to wink at his spectacular grand stand plays. Have they overlooked the story of old Zack Taylor, who, when a candidate for the presidency, received from a slaveowner a request for his opinion concerning the "peculiar institution"? The slave owner gave as his reason for writing that he was solicitous for the security of his "property." Old Rough and Ready replied: "I, too, am the owner of fifty slaves. Yours, Z. Taylor." When Roosevelt gets frisky in public over the necessity for "shackling cunning," cannot these Wall street fellows imagine him as writing to them: "I, too, am, etc., etc. Yours, T. Roosevelt," and be content?

In the best interests of the Democratic party of Ohio it is to be hoped that the contesting delegation from Cincinnati to the approaching State convention will be unconditionally seated. The technical right exists, and the party necessity is manifest. Bernard, who manipulated the county convention so as to "gag" delegates and falsify the result, is nothing but the Democratic lieutenant of the Republican boss of Cincinnati. He manipulated the county convention in Republican interests; and whether the State convention acknowledges his local leadership or repudiates it, will make no difference either to him or to the party. In either event he will maneuver against the party at the election, just as he did last Fall and again last Spring. Yes, it will make a difference, too, whether he is recognized or repudiated. He and his ring can do the Democratic party less harm out of it than in it.

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That Bernard is a Republican "heeler," operating in the Democratic party because he can serve Boss Coxe better there than elsewhere, is evident from the peculiar friendliness the Republican papers exhibit toward him. With an unerring instinct they support him faithfully from primary to county convention and from county convention to State convention contest. In all Democratic politics Bernard is the Cincinnati favorite with the Republican press and managers.

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The activity of Republican managers in the Democratic politics of the whole State of Ohio has become extremely noticeable. They are exhibiting as much concern for the nomination by the Ohio Democracy of Zimmerman for governor, the adoption of a reactionary platform, and the nomination of legislators of easy virtue, as if it were their own party. All the corporation-fed war horses whom Tom L. Johnson has

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induced the rank and file of the party to discipline for corruption and treachery, are working like nailers, with Republican campaign funds, to defeat the Democratic party at its own convention. When Johnson said, after two years' experience at fighting plutocracy in politics, that no one need expect the plutocrats to "lie down" until they are "whipped to a finish," he said something worth remembering. The war upon plutocracy is neither child's play nor fool's play.

While the working people are wondering where all that prosperity is which they are gravely assured that they are enjoying, but of which they see but little except in the prosperity-boasting newspapers, the Cincinnati Evening Post comes forward to prove with figures that they are prosperous with at least a figurable prosity. It gets its figures from the report of the comptroller of the treasury upon the condition of savings banks. According to this report, says the jubilant Evening Post—

> There are in the United States 6,666,672 individual depositors, with an aggregate accumulation of $2,750,177,000 on deposit. Taking the year 1896 as a point of comparison, it appears that since that time there has been an increase in the number of depositors of 1,601,672, and an increase in the total deposits of $843,177,000. This exhibit shows the remarkable increase in seven years of 30 per cent. in depositors and 40 per cent. in total deposits. There is no dream about all these cold millions in the banks, mostly placed there by and belonging to the working people. The total deposits in all the banks amount to about $5,000,000,000, of which the savings funds, the money of the common people, make $2,750,000,000—more than half. Clearly, not all the money in the country is owned by the great financiers. This showing of money saved by the working people of the country becomes all the more remarkable when we take into consideration the prevailing high prices. Wages have not gone up in proportion to the universal increase in prices. With only a little more money to buy with, labor pays far more for all the comforts of life. Yet the savings report shows that their share in the benefits of prosperity is no small one.

There is something suspicious about that last observation. It seems like a suggestion that readers must beware of placing too much confidence in what has preceded. Well may the writer have wondered, well may workingmen wonder, well may we all wonder, how laborers could have only a little more to buy with, could pay much more for the comforts of life, and yet could largely increase their savings.

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Only one of two explanations of that riddle is possible. Either laborers have lowered their scale of living or they have not increased their savings. Both explanations are probably true to some extent. At any rate the savings banks reports, with their averages of depositors and deposits, prove nothing. Workingmen should be as cautious of "averages" as Sam Weller was advised to be of "vidders." The story is told of a traveler who, coming to a stream he desired to cross, but not knowing its depth, asked a wise man, who informed him that the average depth was three feet, whereupon the traveler started to wade across and was drowned. Savings bank averages are as dangerous in another way. If 200 people had savings bank deposits amounting to $2,000, the report would show for them an average deposit of $10 apiece; although 199 of them might have a deposit of less than $6 while one had over $1,000. This trick of savings bank averages becomes very deceptive when the well-to-do and even the rich use savings banks for their uninvested surpluses. One person, being allowed only $1,000 in each bank, might deposit that much in each of several banks. Suppose he distributed $5,000 among six banks. Then he would count for six individuals in the averaging process. If for example, he were one of 200 with $6,000 amongst them, the reports would show 205 depositors with an average deposit of nearly $30 each. Yet in fact there would be only 200 depositors, one of whom would have deposits amounting to $5,000, while the other 199 would have an average of less than $5.03.

That savings bank averages are distorted in this way, so as falsely to show a great increase of the average wealth of working men, is an actual fact. It has been several times exposed. The Massachusetts statistics have exposed it, and so, more recently, have those of Connecticut. Upon the Connecticut exposure, the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post of December 31, 1901, had this to say:

> The savings banks reports are deceptive in that they are being used for investment purposes by rich people, rather than by the wageworkers. The Connecticut savings banks increased their deposits the past year by $9,500,000, bringing the total up to $193,000,000 in round numbers. But of this sum only $76,000,000 belongs to depositors who have less than $1,000 each to their credit. One bank reports an individual account of $60,000, to which was added $4,850 during the year, although the law forbids any bank receiving more than $1,000 from any depositor during the year.

In the instance mentioned the limitation law of Connecticut seems to have been violated openly. That such laws are extensively and systematically evaded is evident from the following extract from a circular letter from the City Trust Co., of 36 Wall street, New York, seeking to draw away from savings banks some of the patronage of their rich clients:

> Savings banks' depositors will find this company's facilities in many ways of greater advantage than the savings bank. This is especially true of those who are now using savings banks as a species of investment, and who are compelled to arrange their deposits so that the lawful maximum amount which is permitted to an individual account shall not be exceeded, and to accomplish which it is necessary to use different titles and patronize different banks.

A little intelligent reflection upon this aspect of the matter may explain to the jubilant though somewhat mystified editor of the Cincinnati Evening Post, why workingmen whose living expenses are much increased without a corresponding increase in their wages, nevertheless appear to have "salted away" a much larger "average" of savings bank deposits than ever before.

When the Tory government of Great Britain was prosecuting its

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war of conquest against the Boers, a very large proportion of Americans who were indignant at this British aggression saw nothing wrong about the American conquest in the Philippines. "That was different." So, on the other hand, with British jingoes who condemned our "benevolent assimilation" of the Filipinos. They saw nothing wrong about their "benevolent assimilation" of the Boers. "That was different." Similar self-centered distinctions are made in a multitude of relationships. What I do may be beneficent, though if you do the same thing it may be malevolent. "There is a difference." With many employers, for instance, it is right for employers to combine against some workingmen and blacklist them, but wrong for workingmen to combine against some employers and boycott them. "There is a difference." With many workingmen, on the other hand, it is right for workingmen to boycott employers, but wrong for employers to blacklist workingmen. "There is a difference." The only real difference in all these self-centered distinctions is that on the one side my ox is gored while on the other side it is yours. It is a different ox, that's all. The most recent and one of the most sorrowful of the manifestations of this combination of jealousy for our own rights with indifference to the corresponding rights of others, has to do with the persecution of Negroes and of Jews, of which some spectacular instances have occurred within the year.

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Both these peoples are persecuted peoples. The Jews became slaves. They escaped from bondage. The nation they set up was conquered by pagans and they were subjugated and despised by their conquerors. With the Christian dispensation, the element of religion came in to intensify the persecution of which they have been victims as a race for centuries. In some places and at some times they have suffered more than at others. They have risen up and they have been crushed down. They have found freedom and equality of rights and have been divested of them again. Even where legal rights are accorded them, the race, as a race, is irrationally despised by the dominant race; not so generally nor so relentlessly as is the Negro race, but despised nevertheless. Where legal rights are withheld, or have been taken away from them, they are terrorized by mob violence and are now and again the victims of wholesale massacre. From a homogeneous people with their sorrowful history, who have found in this country a safe asylum for their rights at least, it is only reasonable to expect sympathy for another race with a history not dissimilar on its sorrowful side, whose rights still are withheld and whose persons are at the mercy of infuriated mobs when the cry of a nameless crime is raised against them. But "that is different." Some American Jews do speak out for the rights of the Negro—not many, but some. More are silently sympathetic — not a great many, perhaps, but not a few. Yet there is no indication of any race sympathy. When the Polish Jews were massacred at Kishineff the American Jews spoke out with one voice—Jews of high degree and those of low, leaders and followers—in behalf of their persecuted fellow racemen and co-religionists of Russia. But as a race they have looked upon the persecution of the American Negro in America with composure. Many of them are found even "hounding it" on. If a single voice among the American Jews has been raised in behalf of the American Negro, by way of expressing the sympathy of one persecuted race for another, its echoes have not reached us. It is natural, of course, that the sufferings of their own race should thrill them most, and that for these sufferings their expressions of sympathy should be more general and pronounced But have the leaders and the newspapers of the persecuted Jewish race no word of sympathy for the persecuted Negro race?

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It is urged that there is a difference between Negroes and Jews. But we recognize no difference as to rights. When any Jew argues a difference, in justification of his participation in or approval of Negro lynching, while protesting against Jewish massacres, we know him for what he is. When, however, a difference is argued, not for the purpose of justifying Negro persecution, but for the purpose of minimizing the efforts of Russian persecutors to excuse themselves with the cry of "You're another," there is, indeed, a difference. Such is the spirit of the following letter from Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, a prominent physician of Philadelphia. Dr. Cohen is a democrat in the true sense of that word. His democracy knows no difference of race, color, religion or condition, when human rights are involved. It is not, therefore, as an enemy of the Negro race that he writes, nor as a man indifferent to the wrongs which that race suffers. He says:

God forbid I should excuse or condone any wrong against any man. I have not kept silent when my white countrymen have robbed or murdered my countrymen of red or black skin, at home, or my fellowmen of yellow or brown skin abroad. Nor do I wish to set up degrees in crime; it is as fiendish to torture or kill Negroes because of their color as it is to torture or kill Jews because of their faith.

Nevertheless I must protest against the attempt to set up an analogy between the lynching of Negroes guilty or accused of rape or murder, in the United States, and the massacre of Jews in Russia, the more so, as the attempt to compare the incomparable is part of the effort of Russian emissaries and literary bureaus here and abroad, to mislead public opinion, and to break the force of American condemnation of Russian official barbarity. The unspeakable crime committed by many Negroes, which is undoubtedly the moving cause as well as the pretext for the mob violence unjustifiably wrought upon convicted and unconvicted wretches, and probably at times upon innocent victims, must be considered as an element in the psychologic problem of the return of ostensibly civilized communities to savagery.

In Russian violence against Jews this crime is committed not by the people murdered, but by the murderous mob.

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Here, at least, is one great difference. If Russian soldiers were to shoot all moujiks of the district in which anti-Jewish riots had occurred, not in defense of the Jews, but afterwards in revenge, without separating innocent from guilty, there might be some ground of comparison between this supposititious action of Russian soldiers, and that of the American mobs—but there is not such ground of comparison between the actual deeds of Russian mobs and American mobs.

Further, the incitation to violence against Russian Jews comes from the government, and is the fruit of exceptional laws against the Jews; restricting the latter in their place of residence, in their education, in their choice of vocation, burdening them with innumerable special taxes, and making them exceptionally liable to official blackmail. From all these restrictions and burdens they can escape by becoming members of the orthodox Russian church. In the United States no such discrimination against Negroes exists. The evasion of constitutional amendments as to suffrage and of civil rights laws, tolerated by communities or courts, only emphasizes the distinction here pointed out.

Another great difference that is somewhat related to this subject may, however, be alluded to. The Negroes are a recently enslaved race coming up to freedom; thus the evils from which they suffer are in a measure survivals of a worse state now bettered. The Jews of Russia on the contrary have been comparatively recently reduced from the position of relative freedom enjoyed under the kings of Poland to that of absolute deprivation of civil rights under the czars of Russia. It is the partition of Poland, whither Jews from Germany and elsewhere had been attracted in the Middle Ages because there they could dwell in peace and safety, that has brought about existing conditions in the so-called Jewish Pole of Russian Poland. Massacre is thus part of a process intended to deprive the Jews of liberty previously enjoyed.

It is not unfair in this connection either to contrast the advanced stage of intellectual and moral development of the Jews in general with the limited progress that the masses of Negroes in Africa and in America have as yet had the time and opportunity to achieve—not to excuse crime against the ignorant or undeveloped, but to emphasize the variance of the sociologic factors in the respective questions.

To sum up, the outrages against Jews in Russia are directed against the members of a certain church and are the result of priestly and official instigation in a country where church and state are united in pursuance of a deliberate policy approved by the heads of state and church, and are facilitated, if not encouraged, by exceptional restrictive legislation; that policy and that legislation tending to deprive a whole people of prescriptive rights previously enjoyed in the country of their birth, a land wherein their fathers had dwelled for generations. The outrages committed against Negroes in the United States—with rare exceptions—originate in crimes committed by individual Negroes, are directed, at least primarily and ostensibly, against the criminal; are always theoretically and often practically resisted by the officers of the law; and are in contravention of the declared purpose of the law to restore freedom to those previously enslaved and to their children, and to establish equal civil and religious rights for all men.

Whatever condemnation may therefore justly be visited upon the members of American lynching mobs, upon individual faithless officials, and upon communities tolerant of injustice, no such verdict can be rendered against the government or the laws of the United States or of the several States, or against the American people at large. Americans not guilty of lynching can, therefore, individually, and certainly the President and Congress can officially protest against the Kishineff massacre and the incidents leading to it without exposing themselves to the tuquoque of M. Rochefort. As I said before, the attempt to institute comparison between Russian official murder and barbarity and American mob criminality is simply part of the attempt to break the force of worldwide public opinion against Russia.

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There is no disposition on our part to lessen in the slightest degree the force of Dr. Cohen's argument in so far as it serves as a protest against the Russian persecution of Jews. Quite the contrary. But inasmuch as it may be, and is likely to be used in palliation of the persecution of Negroes, the distinction he makes between the persecution of Negroes because of their race and of Jews because of their religion, ought not to pass without comment. Even if his distinction were accurate our analogy would hold. Not only is it "as fiendish to torture or kill Negroes because of their color as it is to torture or kill Jews because of their faith," as Dr. Cohen agrees, but it is essentially much the same thing. In this case, however, the distinction Dr. Cohen makes is clearly one without any difference. The religion of the Jews is a race religion. The line that separates the Jews from the rest of the world as the Jewish race, and the line that separates them as Jewish religionists, coincides so nearly that the gentile world does not distinguish the two. To gentiles the Jew is a Jew, precisely as to white men the Negro is a Negro. Let the difference between the Jew and the Negro be all that Dr. Cohen suggests; let the difference in motive between the Russian persecutors of the one and the American persecutors of the other be all that he insists upon—concede all this, and yet the identifying facts in the parallel remain. In Russia Jews are massacred because they are Jews, and in the United States Negroes are burned at the stake because they are Negroes. Even the cry with which the bloody passions of the race-hating populace are excited is much the same—that the Negro ravishes white women, that the Jew immolates Christian children. This cry against the Jew is, of course, without any foundation in fact; while the one against the Negro is true of some Negroes—reported by the Springfield Republican as less in 1902 than 1 in every 250,000 of the Negro population. But that makes no difference. The former cry is as false with reference to the innocent Negroes who have been lynched and tortured as is the latter with reference to every Jew. And after all, it is not the truth of the cry that counts in either case. It is the fact that, be it true or false, the persecutors take advantage of it to relieve their race animosity in a carousal of torture and death.

Apropos of our passing reference to a dispute over a recent statement that Moses had married a Negro (p. 289), based upon the passage in Numbers which tells of his having married an Ethiopian, Dr. Cohen writes us further as follows:

The word "Ethiopian" in Biblical English does not mean Negro. It is the translation of the Hebrew word "Cushi," meaning a Cushite or Hamite. The Hamite tribes of the Bible, i. e. the Egyptians, Canaanites, Babylonians,

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Midianites, etc. (see Genesis, Chapter X.), were not Negroes. Moses, as stated in Exodus 2:21, married Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro, the priest of Midian, a descendant—according to the ethnologic views of the writer of the story of the revolt of Aaron and Miriam—of Cush; hence a Cushite; or, as the King James translators Englished it, an Ethiopian—but not a Negro.

The good that can be done by one Democratic paper in a community, if edited in the interest of democratic-Democracy instead of lending its influence to the schemes of bi-partisan plutocrats, is shown by the experience of the Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat. When Warren Worth Bailey came into the control of that paper, about ten years ago, it was of the ordinary spoils-hunting type of party paper. For democratic principles it did not care one jot, and there was no way of distinguishing it from the Republican paper except by its party label and its smaller share of spoil. Bailey changed all that. He made the paper thoroughly and radically democratic in principle and purpose as well as in name. It was a brave thing to do, for genuine democracy comprehends free trade, and Johnstown is in the heart of a protection-besotted region. In propagating the principles of genuine democracy Bailey not only endured the gibes of Republicans; he also encountered the hostility of his own party. But he persevered, and with the usual result where perseverance is allied with common sense in a crusade for what is right. His paper has long since risen from the humiliating position of a mere dependent upon the bounty of politicians and the corruption funds of monopolists, to a place among the profitable newspaper properties of the country which depend for support solely upon the confidence of the people and exercise a powerful influence in consequence.

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How great an influence the Johnstown Democrat has come to exercise within its sphere of publication may be seen from the refreshingly genuine platforms that the Democrats of its county, Cambria, are now in the habit of adopting. Take the latest county platform, for instance, which was adopted a few days ago, and read these crisp enunciations of democratic principle:

The Democrats of Cambria county remain loyal to the declared principles of the party as promulgated in its national platforms.

They declare against all favoritism in taxation and against the devotion of public rights and property to private uses.

They insist that wherever the burden of taxation can be lifted from industry and placed upon privilege, common interest and common morality demand that it should be done.

They believe in local self-government. They believe that the people immediately concerned are the best judges of their own interests. They believe that the principle of the initiative and referendum is essentially democratic.

The Democrats of Cambria county join with the Democrats of the State in denouncing the crowning infamy of Republican bossism embodied in the Salus-Grady law, which is directed against the freedom of the press and which is designed to terrorize the organs of public opinion into silence in the presence of jobbery, corruption and crime on the part of public servants and their allies among the political banditti led by unscrupulous bosses. The Democrats of this county denounce the three alleged Democrats who voted for this monstrous measure and they also denounce the senator and the representative from Cambria who aided in its passage.

We believe in a free press, in free speech, in free government and in freedom of the people from tribute-paying in whatever guise.

We are therefore opposed to the trusts and to the monstrous tariff which has bred them and which is now their shelter and defense.

We are opposed to government by force and to government by injunction.

If only a moderate proportion of the Democrat newspapers of the country would throw off their allegiance to their plutocratic masters and bravely follow the example of the Johnstown Democrat, they would soon give us a Democratic party to be proud of, and incidentally would flourish in business upon their earnings instead of festering with spoils and bribes.

Gov. Yates, of Illinois, is solemnly advised by his leading party paper, the Chicago Tribune, to make no effort for a renomination. Here is the cheerful picture it urges him to look upon:

By giving up his aspirations he will get surcease of toil and trouble. He will be able to take his ease in the Executive mansion for a year and a quarter. He will not have to plot and scheme to get delegates. He can look on with amused unconcern, while eager candidates are struggling in the 102 counties in the State. It will not be necessary for him to traverse the State, show himself to the people, and make explanations and promises. There will be nothing to interfere with his strict attention to executive business.

If that is good advice to Gov. Yates of Illinois, why not to President Roosevelt, of the United States? It fits snugly enough.

THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

The Colombian senate's rejection of the Panama canal treaty (vol. v, p. 792) gives importance once more to the question of the Panama route versus the Nicaragua route for an Isthmian canal.

One of the American commissioners who opposed the Panama route, but finally agreed to it against his own judgment, was Lewis M. Haupt, an engineer of long experience and approved and acknowledged ability. Mr. Haupt agreed rather than bear the odium of preventing the construction of any canal at all. For President Roosevelt had intimated to the commission that unless it made a unanimous report there would be no canal legislation.

After ceasing to be a member of the commission Mr. Haupt published his views, briefly, in the North American Review for July, 1902. In this article he said:

The factors which should have greatest weight in the choice of routes are those most intimately connected with the economics of transportation—such as the volume and destination of the traffic, which is in turn a function of the distribution of population; the strategic position of the waterway; the physical and engineering advantages for all classes of vessels; the possibilities of local development, regulation, control, sanitation and police, and the relative freedom from seismic influences.

In all these particulars he declared he had found that—

The Nicaragua route has the advantage; for the northern hemisphere con-

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tains about 88 per cent. of the population of the globe, and the shortest route between the populous centers of the north temperate zone lies along the circles of latitude. The nearer, therefore, the trade routes approach these lines, the greater will be the economy.

He continued:

The problem is not merely concerned with the cost of traversing the Isthmus from sea to sea, but with the total cost of the movement from port to port; hence it is a delusion to assert that because the Panama route is but 49 miles long and the Nicaragua is 183, the former is the better, since that statement omits entirely the greater length on the sea route by Panama for about three-quarters of the traffic, the presence of the lake and river which compose more than half of the waterway through Nicaragua, and the still more important fact that the general direction of this route lies along the most direct line while Panama is almost at right angles thereto. Moreover, there is the insuperable meteorological disadvantage attaching to the Panama route, due to position, since the southern route lies in the region of equatorial calms which debar sailing vessels from access to Panama without great expense for towage, while the northern location lies in the region of the trade winds, which also contribute greatly to the salubrity and comfort of this transit-way.

On the subject of the relative cost of harbors Mr. Haupt observed that—

the estimates submitted by the commission give the cost of securing equally good and capacious harbors as being $6,549,777 less on the Nicaragua route than on the Panama.

As to the cost, character and distribution of the work, he stated that—

although the cube of excavation at Nicaragua is about 230,000,000 cubic yards, as compared with 100,000,000 remaining to be excavated at Panama, the work is so well distributed that, it is estimated by the commission, it can be completed in two years less time than at Panama.

The most important question, however, in Mr. Haupt's judgment, is that of constructing a safe dam, which he describes as "the vital element in the execution of either project." Comparing the two routes with reference to this question he writes:

The borings made by the isthmian canal commission at Bohio on the Panama line revealed a continuous rock foundation only at an unprecedented depth below sea level; and, in a recent discussion of this subject, a member of the commission has stated that this dam "involves novel and untried features, and few engineers, even among those who feel that they can construct it, would be ready to say in advance how the work could be done. The difficulties taken in connection with the climate and other surroundings are enormous." The Nicaragua route, on the contrary, presents no exceptionally difficult problems, and it has been exploited more fully than is usual in works of this character. It has many advantages which must necessarily be omitted from this limited review.

Competent and disinterested students of the subject support Mr. Haupt's position.

Relative to the distance, they declare with him that the fact that the canal itself is shorter by the Panama route makes no difference, since the distance from port to port is greater. Considering New York and San Francisco as the terminals, the Panama route is 400 miles longer than the other.

On other points the contention in support of Mr. Haupt's position may be summarized as follows:

Time of Construction: The French engineers were at work on the Panama route for many years, with the best appliances known to them, and have removed from the Culebra cut 1,000,000 cubic yards per year as the best progress. There remain 43,000,000 cubic yards to be removed in this single cut. At the same rate of progress this will require 43 years, notwithstanding the commission's estimate of eight years. The Nicaragua route has no work that will require more than six years. This great difference is not noted by Mr. Haupt, who quotes the commission as putting the period of excavation at ten years. But he gives the commission as his authority.

Dam: No rock foundation can be found for the Bohia dam on the Panama route, and the best civil engineers regard the construction of a safe dam on that line as impracticable. No such difficulty exists on the other route.

Time: The advantage in time of transit is in favor of Nicaragua, owing to the detour of 400 miles that must be made to reach Panama, by nine-tenths of the business, which would be to and from ports in the northern hemisphere.

Sanitary: The sanitary conditions are so notoriously objectionable on the Panama route that prominent physicians have recommended the President to appoint as a member of any new board of commissioners a medical expert to reside permanently on the Isthmus during the progress of construction, to save life and improve health.

Calms: The Panama route is in the region of calms or doldrums. Sailing vessels could be towed across to the Pacific, but must then often go out of their course hundreds of miles to strike winds that will carry them north.

Earthquakes: This scare, said to have been injected into the discussion by Senator Hanna, is described as simply ridiculous. There is no more danger from earthquakes on the Nicaragua than on the Panama or any other route.

Harbors: No good harbors can be made on the Panama route on either side, but especially on the west; on the Nicaragua route there are no serious difficulties on either side.

Unanimous Report in Favor of Panama: Did not the Walker commission, after reporting in favor of Nicaragua, change their decision and report in favor of Panama? Yes; but it was the result of coercion. The representation was made that the President insisted upon a unanimous report, and if there was a single dissenting voice there would be no canal legislation and the members who refused to sign would be chargeable before the public with the defeat of legislation demanded by the people. Under extreme pressure the report was signed, but not without a written protest by Mr. Haupt.

A further important objection is urged, having reference to the probable action of Nicaragua and Costa Rica in the event of the ultimate adoption of the Panama route. The argument runs in this manner:

What is to prevent the formation of an independent company composed of citizens of Germany, France and Great Britain, who could get concessions, raise capital and build the Nicaragua canal in one-half or one-third the time required for Panama. If that were done, and a rate of toll were fixed not much in excess of the cost in time and money of making the 400-mile detour via Panama, no business would go through the Panama canal. Thus that canal, if ever finished, would be rendered useless, and communication between our seaboard cities would be cut in two. Lake Nicaragua would be in possession of foreign Powers and be a secure base for operations in case of international difficulty. The fleets of an enemy could rendezvous for descents upon both coasts of North and South America. The defenses of our sea coast might in that case require a navy almost equal in strength to the united navies of the world. The invaluable strategic position which Lake Nicaragua would give us would be lost.

To understand the controversy over these two routes, two things must be kept constantly in mind. For one, the transcontinental railroads do not want any Isthmian canal. Their purpose would be served if the whole project were

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abandoned. But public opinion so strongly demands such a canal that the railroad companies are forced, as matter of tactics, to join in the demand. Naturally, therefore, they demand the route that is least likely to disturb their transportation monopoly. Hence these monopoly interests are a unit for the Panama route.

How far they are disposed to go to prevent interference with their designs is indicated by the Washington correspondence of Walter Wellman, of the 16th, in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 17th. Mr. Wellman's correspondence is as a rule exceptionally trustworthy. When the Colombian senate had rejected the treaty, on the ground that it would involve a cession to a foreign power of Colombian sovereignty, which the Colombian constitution forbids, Mr. Wellman made this report of official Washington sentiment:

> It is a great mistake to assume that the Panama project can be killed by the Colombian congress. None of the officials of the American government have any idea of turning to the Nicaragua route. . . .
>
> As was some time ago announced in these dispatches, President Roosevelt has no sympathy with the Nicaragua idea. He has no intention at this time of having recourse to that route. If the pending treaty fails he will look about for other means of acquiring the necessary rights in Panama. Not a few of the President's advisers urge him bluntly to "take what we need." Probably there is not another first-class nation in the world that would hesitate for a moment to seize the Isthmus for the purpose of conferring upon it and the world the boon of a great ship canal connecting the two principal oceans of the world. Only mawkish sentiment and fine-spun moral considerations stand in the way of the United States, and these obstacles are likely to be swept away if the little band of boodlers at Bogota continue to block the path of progress.

But it seems that this new development of imperialism is to wait upon other possibilities, for Mr. Wellman continues:

> Before the time comes when President Roosevelt will be called upon to demonstrate whether or not he has enough nerve to solve the problem with a man-o'-war and a battalion of marines, there are various possibilities in the situation which must be permitted to work out:
>
> 1. The Colombian congress may ratify the treaty without amendment in order to avert the danger of the threatened secession of the states of Panama and Cauca.
>
> 2. If the Colombian legislators are not sufficiently impressed by that hazard, a million or two of French money, contributed by the stockholders of the new Panama Canal company, may open their eyes. . . .
>
> 3. If the treaty is amended and then ratified there is a possibility that the United States Senate may accept the amendments. It will all depend upon what the amendments are. The State Department continues to assert unofficially that any amendment of the treaty would be fatal. It is the duty of state department officials to say this for effect at Bogota, but it may or may not be true. . . .
>
> And finally, if everything else fails, Panama and Cauca are very likely to revolt and set up as an independent state. If they do, it will not take the United States government very long to recognize their independence, and not much time will be lost in concluding a treaty with the new government. . . .

If these possibilities fail, however, the unselfish policy of "benevolent assimilation" which has devastated the Philippines is to be resorted to, sentiment or no sentiment. Protests are expected, but, continues Mr. Wellman—

> a number of senators and other public men have already told President Roosevelt that, in their opinion, public sentiment will uphold him. If the United States were to seize the Isthmus through lust for territory or to escape paying a proper price for the canal concession, or through any other improper motive, the censure of the moralists would be well deserved. But everyone knows that if circumstances push the United States into such an enterprise the step will be taken unselfishly.

Exactly so.

It seems, then, that transcontinental railway interests are likely to involve this country deeper in imperialism, with more world-power fighting and bluster and loot. What could better serve their purpose than to turn the Isthmian canal sentiment of the United States into another colonial craze, with incidental fighting, if thereby they might clinch the demand for a canal route that would interfere least with their monopoly?

"What is the difference between hens and poultry, pop?"

"Why, hens, my son, are things that belong to our neighbors; poultry is something a man owns himself."—Yonkers Statesman.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Aug. 20.

Another hitch in the Isthmian canal project (vol.v, p. 792) has occurred. The senate of the Republic of Colombia has unanimously rejected the treaty for cutting the canal through the Isthmus of Panama, which was ratified by the senate of the United States in March last.

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Details regarding the action of the Colombian senate are thus far but meagerly reported. It appears, however, that the vote against ratification was taken on the 12th, that it was unanimous (25 out of the 27 members of the senate being present and voting), and that the unfavorable action was based upon the supposed unconstitutionality of the treaty. The constitutional point seems to relate to provisions of the Colombian constitution forbidding the alienation of Colombian sovereignty over Colombian territory without authority from the people. Such alienation was apparently regarded by the Colombian senate as being involved in the treaty; for while the treaty reserves to Colombia all general sovereignty over the territory ceded for the purposes of the canal, it nevertheless empowers the United States to exercise a degree of military authority within this territory which might conflict with the general Colombian sovereignty nominally reserved.

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There are indications also that the Colombian senate was offended by a diplomatic note from the United States which was read before it by the Colombian minister of foreign affairs, wherein the Colombian government was notified that the American government would look unfavorably upon any substantial amendment to the treaty. This note appears to have been regarded by the Colombian senators as revealing a purpose on the part of the United States to deprive them by intimidation of their right to propose amendments.

The most important European news relates to the Macedonian insurrection (p. 296) in Turkey. At our last report, August 12, a

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battle at Krushevo was hourly expected (p. 298), the town being occupied by insurgents and invested by 4,000 Turkish troops. On the 14th the Turkish troops had gained possession of the town, but the battle was still raging in the outskirts. According to reports by way of Belgrade, Servia, subsequently confirmed by dispatches by way of Sofia, Bulgaria, the Turks massacred the entire Christian population of Krushevo upon capturing it. A later dispatch, appearing on the 17th in the Frankfort Zeitung, Berlin, described the river near Monastir as full of the mutilated bodies of women and children who had been massacred by Bashi-Bazouks. Still another dispatch of the 17th, from Uskub, by way of Sofia, Bulgaria, reported that 600 Bashi-Bazouks, under the command of Albanian chiefs, had pillaged and destroyed several Christian villages in the districts of Debre and Okrida. On the other hand it was reported from Constantinople that 800 Mussulmans had been massacred by insurgents in the Monastir district. Fighting in the neighborhood of Krushevo was still in progress on the 17th; and on the 18th three Turkish battalions which had attacked a body of insurgents near Monastir, 23 miles from Krushevo, were reported by way of Sofia as having been routed, after a battle of six hours, with a loss in killed and wounded of 210.

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The magnitude of this insurrection may be inferred from the fact, of which there is no doubt, that the Turkish government has issued a proclamation ordering out 52 additional battalions (about 52,000 troops) from the European provinces of Turkey, for service in Macedonia.

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Supplementing its appeal of last week (p. 298) the Bulgarian government has now presented a memorandum to the Powers setting out at great length the condition of affairs during the last three months in Macedonia, since the Turkish government undertook to inaugurate the promised reforms. The most precise details, dates, places and names of persons are given in this memorandum, which is reported by the dispatches to constitute a terrible category of murder, torture, incendiarism, pillage and general oppression committed by the Turkish soldiers and officials. The particulars are credited entirely to official sources, such as the reports of Bulgarian consuls and agents of the Bulgarian government, and, in many instances to reports made by Turkish authorities. The Bulgarian government guarantees the absolute truth of every statement and challenges the Turkish government to disprove a single charge made in the memorandum. The memorandum asserts that—

during the last three months the Turkish government has taken a series of measures with the alleged intention of inaugurating the era of promised reform and of assuring peace and tranquillity to the Bulgarian population of European Turkey, but with the effect of further exasperating this population and reviving the revolutionary movement. Instead of proceeding solely against persons guilty of breaches of the public order, the military and civil authorities have sought every possible pretext to persecute, terrorize, and ruin the Bulgarian inhabitants, alike in the large cities and in the small villages. Wholesale massacres, individual murders, the destruction of villages, the pillaging and setting fire to houses, the arrests, ill treatment, tortures, arbitrary imprisonment, and banishment, the closing and disorganizing of churches and schools, the ruining of merchants, the collection of taxes for many years in advance—such, proceeds the memorandum, are among the acts of the Turkish administration of the vilayets of Salonica, Monastir, Uskub, and Adrianople. The memorandum then relates in detail a number of such cases in each vilayet.

In summarizing the specific details of the outrages described, the memorandum declares that—

wholesale massacres were perpetrated by regulars and Bashi-Bazouks in the town of Salonica and the villages of Baldevo, Banitza, Echouriloyo, Karbinza, Moghila, Smerdesch, and Enidje, while the scenes of carnage, pillage, and incendiarism were everywhere terrible. The estimates obtainable of Bulgarians imprisoned mostly on flimsy pretexts, give for the vilayet of Salonica 900 prisoners; for Uskub, 500; for Monastir, 850, and for Adrianople, 550, a grand total of 2,800. As information is lacking from many districts in these vilayets it is thought that without exaggeration the number of prisoners may be placed at even three times this total. The Bulgarian merchants and artisans living in Constantinople and Salonica were ordered to return to their native village and did not have any time or opportunity to dispose of their business or property. Some of these Bulgarians, who with their families had been settled there for twenty years or more, were utterly ruined. As the order applied equally to professors and school masters, the Bulgarian schools were closed before the end of the school year. The authorities rigorously enforced the same order against the Bulgarian priests, making every effort to paralyze the development of religious and educational work and deprive the Bulgarian Exarch of all his privileges and force the people to come under the authority of the Greek Patriarch. Encouraged by the Turkish authorities the Greek bishops and archimandrites forced their way into the Bulgarian church, burned the prayer books and employed menaces to compel the people to acknowledge the Patriarch. The provincial administration employed every possible means to install Mussulmans in the Bulgarian villages. On the slightest pretext the Bulgarians were forced to sell their lands to the Turks at any price the latter chose to pay. Burdened with taxes, liable to perform statute labor for the Turkish land owners, the population is reduced to a state of serfdom. This is one of the principal causes of discontent, and when to this is added the exactions of the tax gatherers, the wretched people are ready to revolt against such a despotic government.

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Responding to the demand of the Russian government (p. 298) for the punishment of all concerned in the murder of the Russian consul at Monastir, a Turkish court martial, on the 14th, condemned to death the policeman who shot the consul, and the sentence was immediately carried out. Another policeman was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. In addition, the Turkish government has offered the widow of the Russian consul an indemnity of $80,000, the Sultan has expressed his regret, his son has visited the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, and the Grand Vizier and other high dignitaries of Turkey have expressed sympathy.

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Russia evidently does not regard this as sufficient, for on the 15th she dispatched a squadron to Turkish waters to exact, say the dispatches, a complete obedience to her demands for satisfaction for the murder of her consul at Monastir. On the 19th her ambassador at Constantinople presented an additional note to the Sultan demanding that severe official censure be passed upon Hilmi Pasha, the inspector gen-

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eral of Macedonia, for his negligence in permitting excesses by Turkish soldiers. The Austrian ambassador is reported to have supported the Russian demand. The Russian squadron, consisting of 14 warships, sailed from Sevastopol on the 17th, under command of Rear Admiral Krieger; and on the 19th it had appeared at Jeni Ada, only 60 miles from the Bosphorus. Reports of the 20th from London were to the effect that Great Britain had ordered her Mediterranean fleet to Salonica at once, and that France and Austria were expected to join in the movement. Germany alone was said to be holding aloof.

Chief among the minor European events of the week is the prorogation of the British parliament until Nov. 2d. This session of parliament, which began in February (vol. v, p. 729), has been made notable by the enactment of the education bill (vol. v, p. 485), the development of Chamberlain's protection tariff policy (vol. vi, p. 169), the defeat of a labor union protective measure (vol. vi, p. 89), the defeat by the bare majority of 13 votes of a single tax bill (vol. v, pp. 819, 821, vol. vi, pp. 44, 72), and the enactment of the Irish land purchase bill.

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The Irish land purchase bill had, at our last report (p. 300), passed the House of Lords with several amendments added to the bill as passed by the Commons. All but two of these amendments, unimportant ones, were in due course accepted by the Commons; and on the 13th, the Lords agreed to the elimination of these two, and the bill became a law.

News of American politics comprises the Republican convention of Nebraska, held at Lincoln on the 18th. The nominations were for a justice of the Supreme Court and regents of the State University. The platform reaffirms the protective tariff policy of the party, opposes combinations of capital for the purpose of stifling competition, and declares for President Roosevelt as the next Republican candidate for president.

More complete reports regarding the Democratic county convention of last week at Cincinnati (p. 299), make it appear that the convention was prevented from expressing itself. It seems that at the primaries the local managers, whose leader is Lewis G. Bernard, were defeated. But on the day of the assembling of the convention they rushed through a resolution authorizing a committee to appoint delegates to the State convention, doing so before a large number of the members of the convention had arrived and before the convention had organized. When the convention had properly assembled, and this action and its purpose became known to the delegates, a motion to reconsider was made and seconded. The chairman—a Bernard man—refused to put the motion, declaring it out of order. An appeal from this decision of the chairman was then moved and seconded. That also he refused to entertain. In this manner a minority of the convention governed its action, and delegates to the State convention were named at variance with the expressed wishes of the primaries. The matter becomes important because a contest at the State convention is to be made.

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The contesting delegation was chosen at a convention of the primary delegates held on the 14th, which was attended by a majority of the delegates elected to the original convention by the primaries. Upon organizing, this convention adopted resolutions in which it explained the action of its members by declaring that they were delegates duly elected at the Democratic primary for the purpose of choosing delegates to the State convention, who had convened on the 11th in county convention; that resolutions of vital importance were passed at said meeting before a large number of the delegates had assembled, and before the permanent organization was effected; that after inquiry into the nature of these resolutions a motion duly made and seconded to reconsider them was declared out of order by the Chair; that a motion duly made and seconded appealing from the decision of the Chair was declared out of order; that a motion duly made and seconded to amend the resolutions was declared out of order by the Chair; that in numerous other instances the Chair acted as sole judge of what the convention should or should not consider, and by "gag-rule" trampled upon the rights of the delegates and robbed the voters of a well-earned victory which they had won at the polls over "bossism" and in behalf of good government. In consequence, this second convention denied the legality of the proceedings of the meeting of the 11th, and declaring them to be null and void proceeded to choose delegates to the State convention. The State delegates chosen by the second convention differ from those named at the first, only in those respects in which the officers of the first convention are charged with having "gagged" the majority. A careful analysis of the two sets of delegates shows that upon the question of nominating Johnson or Zimmerman for governor, the first set stands 22 for Zimmerman, 16 for Johnson and 4 doubtful, while the second set stands 23 for Johnson, 15 for Zimmerman and 4 doubtful.

Continuing his plan of campaigning Ohio for anti-monopoly legislature (p. 293), Mayor Johnson opened a large meeting at Chippewa Lake in Medina county on the 12th. He spoke on the same day at smaller meetings at Medina, Abbyville and Liverpool. On the 13th he opened the day in the Medina county speaking with a speech at Brunswick, following it with two at Hinckley, one at Renson Corners, one at Granger, one at Sharon, and one at Wadsworth. Some of these meetings were small and some were large. Some had been arranged for and some were spontaneous gatherings. Mayor Johnson travels in an automobile, and speaks wherever an audience gathers. Medina county is overwhelmingly Republican, and some of Johnson's most responsive audiences are reported to have been composed in the main of Republicans.

NEWS NOTES.

—The Grand Army of the Republic is in session at San Francisco.

—Wall street reports (p. 293) are to the effect that the crisis is past.

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—Noah Brooks, author and journalist, died at Pasadena, Cal., on the 16th at the age of 70.

—The annual convention of the Metal Polishers and Allied Trades met at Cleveland on the 18th.

—The 14th annual session of the trans-Mississippi Commercial Company met at Seattle on the 18th.

—The third annual convention of the National Association of Railway Clerks closed at Toledo on the 19th.

—On the 15th the U. S. army passed under the new "general staff" system of organization with Gen. Young as chief of staff.

—Joseph Pultizer has arranged to endow with $2,000,000 a school of journalism in connection with Columbia University, New York.

—A prize fight between James J. Corbett and James J. Jeffries came off at San Francisco on the 14th. Jeffries won the fight in the 10th round.

—Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, O., is to be the labor day speaker at Elgin on the 7th. His subject is "The Working Man, His Friends and Enemies."

—Mt. Vesuvius has been in eruption for two weeks. On the 17th the crater was reported to be belching flame and smoke to the height of nearly 4,000 feet.

—The one hundredth anniversary of Fort Dearborn, the site of Chicago, occurred on the 17th. The occasion is to be celebrated in the week of September 26.

—The first archbishop of the Roman Catholic church to be consecrated under Pius X was the Rev. J. J. Harty, of St. Louis, who was consecrated at Rome on the 15th as archbishop of Manila.

—Philo S. Bennett, of New Haven, Conn., a pronounced democratic Democrat of the East, and a man of high repute in New Haven, was killed last week in Idaho. His funeral at New Haven on the 19th was attended by Mr. Bryan.

—J. A. Edgerton, who was appointed at the Denver Reform conference (pp. 262, 290,) to organize the reform forces in the several states, has appointed State conferences for September as follows: Denver, Colo., 14; Topeka, Kan., 17; Chillicothe, Mo., 19; Springfield, Ill., 21; Indianapolis, Ind., 24; Columbus, Ohio, 26; and Harrisburg, Pa., 29.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (see p. 251) for the month ending July 31, 1903, as given by the July treasury sheet, are as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M ..	$91,539,400	$82,180,387	$9,359,013 exp.
G ..	9,117,758	4,631,217	4,486,541 exp.
S ...	3,015,426	2,564,217	451,209 exp.
	$103,672,584	$89,375,821	$14,296,763 exp.

—An application in the Federal Court at St. Louis, by the employes of the Western Union Telegraph Co. for an injunction forbidding the blacklisting by that corporation of employes for belonging to a labor union, was denied on the 17th by Judge Rogers. He decides that employers have the absolute right to discharge employes not under contractual relations with them for any cause or without cause; that a like right exists on the part of the employe to sever his relations for any cause or without cause; that if a contract of employment is violated the recourse of the employe is at law and not by a bill in equity, and that there can be no conspiracy to commit a lawful act, such as he holds to be the discharge of employes for being members of a union.

PRESS OPINIONS.

RHODE ISLAND POLITICS.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), Aug. 18.—The situation in Rhode Island may well alarm the Republicans. The extraordinary victory of Lucius F. C. Garvin for governor last year, followed by his heroic war on the Aldrich methods of corruption which prevail in that State, has had the effect of inspiriting the Democratic forces and an effort will be made at the next election to win the legislature and thus make possible the complete overthrow of the despotic machine which Senator Aldrich has controlled for so many years. Gov. Garvin has attracted the attention of the whole country by his vigorous and manly onslaughts on intrenched scoundrelism in his State. He has had his hands tied to a great extent by laws framed specifically in the interest of Republican bossism, but in spite of the severe limitations upon his powers he has succeeded at least in awakening the public conscience and in giving direction to the moral revolution which his own election signalized.

GENERAL MILES.

(Omaha) World Herald (Dem.), Aug. 9.—No serious effort has ever been made to refute any of the exposures made by Gen. Miles and for which exposures he has been held so rigidly to account by politicians who, for the time being, were above him.

Albany (N. Y.) Argus, (Dem.), Aug 10.—The most that can be said of the Roosevelt-Root order is that it is frank—brutally frank. There is about it none of that dissimulation which assumes a virtue, though it have it not. The contrast is the more striking, when compared with the gushy terms in which President Roosevelt is wont to regret the retirement of some tuppenny civic dignitary, crowded out, it may be, to make place for some newer favorite.

(Philadelphia) City and State (Ind.), Aug. 6.—General Miles was a brave soldier. He fought in the open, and with honorable weapons, but in the years that should have crowned his career with justly won laurels he was pursued with the poisoned shafts, the dum-dum bullet and the ambuscade of the political tactician to whom all is fair in war and politics, especially when these are interwoven—treatment of the kind that gives to the phrase that records the ingratitude of republics its sharpest sting. Littleness often scores apparent triumphs, but they are short-lived in that aftertime in which history becomes impartial. Nothing is more certain than that General Miles will be honored when the names of those who made him the victim of dishonorable statecraft will have become scarcely a memory.

NEGRO LYNCHING.

San Francisco Star (dem. Dem.), Aug. 15.—We can understand the desire for vengeance which will take possession of a man whose wife, or sister, or daughter, has been ravished; but we cannot understand how a community of human beings can calmly view, and delight in, the writhings of the wretch as the torch is applied to his body, which the flames consume. No! Such spectacles cannot prevent crime, but they brutalize and make worse than savages those who participate in them. Another thing: Lynch law, at least so far as applied to Negroes, is not confined to the guilty—the innocent more often suffer. That, if nothing else, should make all justice-loving men and women condemn it.

PERTINENT QUESTIONS.

The Commoner (dem. Dem.), Aug. 14.—The Chicago Chronicle continues to show signs of agitation because the editor of The Commoner occasionally refers to the fact that the Chronicle is owned by John R. Walsh, a Republican banker, and run in the interest of the corporations with which Mr. Walsh is connected. Now, there is no reason why the Chronicle should get angry and hurl epithets at Mr. Bryan. Is it ashamed to have its owner known? Is he connected with corporations that ought not to be defended? . . . The owner of the Chronicle knows that his connection with the paper would, if known, make it impossible for the paper to have any influence with Democrats. But why does he not call the paper a Republican paper and thus deal honestly with the public? Because a Republican paper could not hurt the Democratic party as much or aid his private plans as well as a paper calling itself Democratic. As the Chronicle assumes to sit in judgment on matters affecting the Democratic party it ought to be willing to answer questions touching its fitness to serve in the case: First—What proportion of the Chronicle stock does John R. Walsh own? Second—In what corporations affected by legislation does John R. Walsh hold stock? Third—How did John R. Walsh vote in the presidential campaigns of 1896 and 1900?

HORROR OF THE BLOOD MARK.

(Chicago) Free Society (Com.-An.), Aug. 2.—The warden of the Ohio penitentiary resigned his position recently because of the number of condemned murderers whom he would have to electrocute. His salary of five thousand dollars a year could not compensate him for what he underwent as a state-paid human butcher. Did this warden, perhaps, discover what it is that principally instigates crime and makes criminals, and revolt from the gruesome partnership?

MISCELLANY

AT THE ZOO.

The sky is gray with rain that will not fall,
The clayey paths are oozing ghostly mist.
Reeking with sadness immemorial,
The gray earth saps the courage to exist.
Poor tropic creatures, penned in northern land,
I, too, desire the sun and am a slave.
My heart is with you, and I understand
The lion turning in his living grave.

—Israel Zangwill.

THE PASSING OF A LIEUTENANT GENERAL.

"Miles called, Mr. Secretary."
"What Miles?"
"Gen Miles."
"What did he want?"
"Came to be relieved of duty, sir."
"Did you relieve him?"

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"I told him to consider himself relieved."

"What did he say?"

"Nothing."

"What did you say?"

"Nothing."

"Well, what else?"

"Nothing."

"Anything further to report?"

"Nothing."

"That will do."—The Cleveland Plain Dealer.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the original manuscript.

Dear John: There is one thing I like about you. I sometimes speak plain, but I always liked the stand you make for your liberties. You don't care a nickel for other people's liberties. You tried to rob me of mine. You have held Ireland in slavery and helpless since Cromwell. You annually drain India so that her people starve by thousands. You are enslaving Africa in the same way; but so far as you are personally concerned, you will have Magna Charta and a jury of 12 men. There is something sterling and fine about it—the persistency of your indomitable spirit. It lasts. It stands like some old relic of ancient greatness. Weathers come and weathers go. The haughty rise and pass away, and the idle winds blow sand in their vacant footprints. Kings bloom and fade, but there stand the pyramids, and there stands the Briton insisting on being tried by a jury of his peers. No Bastile for him! No judicial order, non-appealable and silent, takes him from his home to more silent prison walls. Time and again the camel's head of judicial aggression has inched into the tent, but each time he has arisen and kicked the intruder out. Men say he has degenerated, has lost his ancient powers. When he throws away his jury system I'll believe them, not before!

That brings me to my own judges. My judges have no more right to abrogate Magna Charta than yours. My judges are a practicin' lynch law. They are tryin' law cases (jury cases), with a chancery writ. My bill in chancery is just like yours. My chancery writ runs no further. It's the old Roman law. Old Pandulph brought it over with William the Conqueror; but they couldn't make it go. It had to be modified in England to let folks have their jury trial. I get my law from you; but even my bill has the jurisdiction clause, or it's no good. It must say there is no adequate remedy at law (by jury), or the judge has no jurisdiction to act. If the bill don't have it, the bill's no good. If the case don't have it, the case is no good. "Totally defective," is the law lingo. Land! They are a-sayin' it in court all the time.

Well, now, the idea of using a bill in chancery to drive sheep, or punish strikers. Do you get the quaintness? Not that strikers should not be punished, if they are guilty. They should; but by the law of the land, and if the law don't work, I'll change it myself. Why, one artless ass among my judges is governing his district that way, they tell me. Now, a judge has no more right to expand his chancery jurisdiction beyond Magna Charta and the common law, and lynch a man by a bill in chancery, than a cowboy has; and he ought to have more learning and at least more sense. Why, the jurisdiction (the agreed right to act) is the judge's protection. If it's based on the Constitution, I'll protect him, even when wrong, and all my boys'll protect him, and my convicts will protect him, after they are out of jail; but lynchin' is another matter. You can't restrict the right to lynch to a judge, and it's gettin' too almighty frequent in this country to suit me. I've a notion to call on my judges to set an example to the boys of lettin' the law take its course. The point is not whether strikers are goin' beyond the law in picketin' a plant; but whether one chancery judge can take the case from the law court and its jury of 12 men; they havin' such adequate remedies as fine, imprisonment and the hangman's rope.

I'm thinkin', too, of starting some evening school where the judges themselves can get some easy lessons in constitutional law.

UNCLE SAM.

WAR ONLY JUSTIFIED IN SELF-DEFENSE.

An interview dated from Milford, Pa., published in the New York Herald of August 9.

Robert Baker, United States representative from Brooklyn, who is here in the wilds of Pike county, continues to fortify his position in refusing to name cadets for Annapolis and West Point from his district.

He would have the government normally non-resistant, and, although he does not think this country should have more soldiers, sailors and ships than any other nation, he says that once she is assailed he would have her retaliate with all the forces at her command.

The representative is more confirmed in his views than he was on the day he first uttered them, for he is in receipt of letters of congratulation from George Foster Peabody and Smith Ely, formerly mayor of New York, and many others.

"War," said the representative to-day, "can only be justified when waged in self-defense. As in all wars one of the parties is an aggressor, no war can be justified. Instead of every nation competing with every other nation in preparations for war, there should be a 'union for peace' formed to exert moral suasion on any country which shows a warlike intention."

Speaking of the tendency toward larger armaments, Mr. Baker remarked that in Great Britain there was a Navy league, officered by "beribboned and betitled war gods.'" He noted, too, that there were similar organizations in Germany and France.

"Not to be outdone in this game of 'patriotism,'" he continued, "a Navy league is formed here, and we are told that 'destiny' has made us a 'World Power,' and also that we must build a navy that shall be the envy of the world. When the 'destihy' cry gets a little overworked and the people become a trifle slow in appreciating their great opportunities as pioneers of civilization and buckshot, we are told that our insular possessions, stolen from a freedom seeking people, must be protected.

"Build, build, build. More battleships, more and faster cruisers, more and speedier torpedo boats. Let the good work go on. What if it does cost a hundred millions more or less annually, isn't this a big country? We are a country of billion dollar congresses now. Haven't we licked Spain? And can't we lick Germany, too, when we get a bigger navy?

"If these Navy leaguers were not such boisterous patriots their thinking apparatus might work for a moment, and they might ask themselves where all this is to end. Not with a larger navy than Germany, for we must go on and build one larger than England. Besides, this insane fever for 'bigness' in a navy produces a corresponding desire for bigness among the Germans and the British; each acts and reacts upon the other.

"Every ship that leaves our shores has among its officers those who desire a war as a means for rapid advancement, to say nothing of prize money and loot. Removed from the direct observation of our citizens, every ship abroad is fraught with dangers to the nation's peace that monarchies are not subjected to, as no potential presidential candidates are treading the decks of English or German men-of-war, anxious to create an opportunity to return as popular idols to high civic positions.

"There is no natural reason why the

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inhabitants of one country should wish to fly at the throats of the people of another country. There never would be war if the passions of the ignorant and heedless were not played upon by the shrewd and unscrupulous for purposes of personal aggrandizement, either of wealth or power. The beating of tomtoms at the slightest provocation, and the ostentatious preparations for war by the rulers of great nations serve to kindle the passions of the masses to their own undoing.

"I refuse to be a party to this shameful, cruel game. On the contrary, I purpose to exert whatever influence I possess for the removal of artificial barriers which unscrupulous greed, in this, as in other countries, has erected to impede the free intercourse of nations.

"Unrestricted commerce is the world's most potent civilizer, and my efforts will be directed to making commerce with other nations as free as between the states of the union, confident that the full fruition of that policy will put an end to war, with all its horrible attendant evils and the fearful suffering always entailed, and will usher in the era of the brotherhood of man."

FAMILY CARE FOR THE INSANE

An article by Miss Julia C. Lathrop, published in The World To-Day, for November, 1902.

It may be judged how large a public question the care of the insane has become from the fact that the census of 1890* showed 106,254 insane persons in the United States, while 40 years before the census returns gave 15,610 insane. Calculating the increase of the insane conservatively as not exceeding the proportionate increase in general population, we must estimate the number in 1902 at about 135,000. Of this total number those who are supported or cared for privately are but an insignificant fraction. It is estimated that the cost of the care of the insane to the taxpayers of this country is already between $20,000,000 and $25,000,000 annually, not counting the cost of buildings and grounds. The proper care of the insane is a question of public policy and of public expenditure, and it must remain so. Methods of care, therefore, which promise more comfort for patients or greater economy to the public become of general interest, and it is because of these two considerations that family care for the insane may claim our attention. By family care is meant the boarding out in families at a fixed price, under medical supervision, of certain classes of quiet, inoffensive, insane persons. Of course it is plain that such a method of care applies to only a portion of the insane at best.

In various European countries, including Germany, Russia, Spain, Holland and Norway, family care for the insane is more or less practiced, but the most instructive examples are doubtless found in Belgium, France and Scotland.

The classic instance of family care is seen in the village of Gheel, in northern Belgium. Its beginnings reach back a thousand years or so and gain their authority from the tradition that St. Dymphna was a virgin martyred by her father for virtuous disobedience and that her tomb showed the power of casting out devils from the insane.

All the incidents of this story are quaintly shown, carved in wood on the altar of the village church of Gheel where the tomb of St. Dymphna is still to be seen. As the shrine grew in fame, more and more insane were brought to Gheel for cure, and the villagers perforce became accustomed to their presence. Sometimes the afflicted remained in the village, and gradually the care of the insane in the homes of the villagers grew to be an established occupation handed down from one generation to the next.

Gheel is a commune of about 12,000 inhabitants; 3,000 or 4,000 live in the main village, and the rest are scattered in 23 surrounding hamlets, all within a five-mile radius of the main village. About 2,000 patients live in the commune, and their care is its special industry. At one end of the village street are the superintendent's residence and a pretty little hospital in which the visitor notes many vacant beds. To this hospital every patient is brought for at least one night's stay under the superintendent's personal inspection, that he may judge if the patient be suitable for life in a family. Also patients in any part of the commune who become ill or unmanageable in any way can be brought at once to this hospital. Gheel is under an admirable system of state supervision and is directly controlled by a superintendent, who is a physician, and by a staff of doctors and inspectors who visit the patients in their boarding places at frequent intervals.

Even more suggestive than Gheel, which was long believed to be inimitable, is the colony for the insane at Lierneux, in southern Belgium, opened in 1884 without legend of saint or shrine, but merely because the public authorities decided to provide for the insane of southern Belgium in the same manner as at Gheel. The project encountered opposition at first, but it has fully succeeded, and there are now several hundred patients living at Lierneux.

After careful examination of the family and village life for the insane developed in other countries, the French authorities decided to begin a system of family care in order to relieve the crowded asylums of the department of the Seine. Accordingly a colony for old women was opened at Dun-sur-Auron in 1892, and at Ainay, a neighboring village, a colony for men was begun in 1900. The patients sent to board in these villages are suitable cases selected from the asylums. In June, 1900, when the writer saw the village of Dun-sur-Auron there were between 600 and 700 women boarded there. A church and a pleasant open square broke the monotony of the usual village street on one side. Opposite the square a doorway with no sign to distinguish it from all the others in the long row gave entrance to what had once been the village inn but was now transformed into the superintendent's residence and a little hospital. In the big gardens beyond, another hospital for the care of patients who should become too feeble or too demented for family care was nearly completed. There were two assistant physicians, one with the superintendent and the other stationed at one of the outlying hamlets from which he could more easily supervise his charges. As we walked down the street towards dusk, we met a woman leading a little child who hopped contentedly along by her side. The woman was a patient and she explained that a neighbor was ill and that she was helping by caring for this child. It is understood that the patients' board is paid, and those who care for them have no claim on the patients' labor; so in this case the patient was not caring for a child of her hostess because she must, but was giving herself the pleasure of helping a sick friend (not insane) who may have been boarding patients at the same time.

The director, Dr. Lwolff, has recorded his early experiences here. He encountered no difficulty from the simultaneous presence of insane men

*No enumeration of the insane was included in the 1900 census.

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and women in the colony, nor have other directors. The people of Ainay were at first fearful of men patients, but soon found them tractable even in the homes of widows whether with or without children. Indeed women become difficult to place, because meddling, gossiping and indiscreet, though more acceptable to women needing a maid or companion. Some of the boarders work with their guardians in the fields, others seek remunerative occupation elsewhere in the village.

In the summer of 1898 I went to Scotland, to see what I could in a brief visit of the Scotch care of the insane, which is authoritatively recognized as the most complete and efficient in the world. I saw various admirable asylums in some of which there was a simplicity of structure, a freedom and comfort and a respect for the patients individually, most gratifying and inspiring. The feature, however, which I most desired to see was the boarding-out of patients in private families. With Dr. John Frazer, commissioner in lunacy, and Mr. Spence, secretary of the commission, I spent a day in Lanarkshire, on the upper Clyde, going from cottage to cottage and seeing the patients as they lived with their "guardians," as those are called who take patients into their houses to board. Everywhere the housing was very simple, frequently there were only the "but" and the "ben," the kitchen and parlor with a double box-bed in each and a narrow passage between, which make the typical Scotch cottage. The cleanliness was admirable, the cottages were well furnished and in every instance had a pleasant air of homely comfort.

In one of the cottages a vigorous old woman was seen. She was lighting her pipe at the fireplace with a comfortable air of possession. We were told that when first sent from the asylum she had been rather "wild," lifted her stick when crossed or annoyed, etc. Now she was a quiet, orderly woman much interested in some young lads who were also boarded in the house and with her corner by the fire, her pipe and her grandmotherly fussing over the boys, she really had a nibble at some of the joys which appertain to old age. In another cottage three men were boarded. The head of the house raised fruit for market, and one of the boarders who had been a gardener now helped in the kind of work he knew how to do.

As to the proportion of insane who may be boarded out with safety, the most conclusive guide is doubtless afforded by Belgium and Scotland, the two countries which have long made boarding-out an integral part of their systems of public care of the insane, and in both of which about one-fifth of their insane are thus cared for.

The question of relative cost of boarding-out and of institution care is of great importance of course. In France the daily cost for each patient in the asylums of the department of the Seine is a little more than twice the cost of a patient living in a family in the village of Dun-sur-Auron. In Scotland the current cost of boarding-out is about two-thirds that of asylum care. These figures disregard the item of the value of the asylum plant, i. e., the interest on the sum which is sunk in the building and improvements and repairs and which, when added in, greatly increases the total institution expense. This item, for instance, in the Inverness asylum in Scotland is about $45 a year, and it would be not less for the average American asylums and in many cases far more. The economy to the state in boarding-out such patients as may be thus cared for in safety is self-evident even if the current cost were the same in the village as in the institution. Of course it is plain that this system can succeed only under intelligent and painstaking supervision by public officials.

In the 1901 report of the Scotch lunacy commission, Dr. Charles McPherson, an inspector of boarded-out patients, writes as follows:

> The important questions then are—Is it necessary in the public interest that these patients should be detained in public institutions? and is it to their personal advantage, on the score of health, happiness and comfort? The first question is disposed of by the fact that during the 43 years in which this system has been in operation there has been only one serious assault committed by a boarded-out patient, a record of success which no asylum can equal. Of course, this success resulted from most careful selection of patients, and most credit is due to asylum superintendents for the careful manner in which this selection is made. As regard the other question whether it is to the personal advantage of the patient to remove him from an institution and place him in a private house, we have the testimony of the patients themselves—when they were capable of giving it—in at least 90 per cent. of the cases, that they much prefer their life in the country; and we have the evidence all through these years of the deputy commissioners, whose duty it was to visit them, testifying to marked physical and mental improvement in many cases, even in cases boarded in very humble homes, where the dietary was inferior to that of the asylum. The freedom from irksome discipline and the social advantage of mixing with sane people of their own rank in life—and on a footing of equality, has a wonderfully beneficial effect, and has resulted in not a few cases in complete recovery.
>
> Many of these can and do appreciate their freedom, and derive much pleasure from a life in a family occupying much the same social position as they did themselves before their mental trouble changed the course of their lives. We constantly see examples—men working in the garden or field or farm offices alongside of their guardians. True, it may be said that now that asylums have mostly considerable farms attached to them, the same opportunities of healthy out-door work exist there. But it is different. There they are one of a squad of patients working under the eye of an attendant. Here they are mingling with sane men, women and children, practically on a footing of equality, and all their surroundings tend to make them forget that they are different from other people.

At first it might be feared that no families could be found in this country who would take such boarders, but the ease with which places are found to board children shows that there are many people who are willing to take pains to add to their incomes under their own roofs. Moreover a brief experiment in Massachusetts made by Mr. F. B. Sanborn, the commissioner in lunacy in 1885 when 180 patients were boarded out, showed as he has recently stated that "there were more applicants in good families than they could well supply with boarders."

A dispassionate survey of the business of taking boarders as an industry certainly indicates that, for amiability, contentment, and general non-interference, insane boarders are much to be preferred to sane ones.

AN EXAMPLE OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP.

THE WORK OF JULIA C. LATHROP IN ILLINOIS.

Miss Julia C. Lathrop is the daughter of Hon. William Lathrop, of Rockford, Ill. Miss Lathrop, after graduating at Vassar college, studied law in her father's office, but never entered upon the practice of law. Instead, she went into a manufacturer's office in her native city, and eventually became the efficient manager of the growing enterprise.

Highly educated, experienced in affairs, of assured judgment and sound sense, Miss Lathrop, answering the appeal of her own heart for a life of unselfish usefulness, came to Chicago to live and work with Miss Jane Addams

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at Hull House. Here came lessons in practical helpfulness such as are open to all who live among the poor of a great city, lessons and work which absorb the few who try to do even a little to lighten the flood of human want and suffering.

At one period Miss Lathrop was in charge of the relief work of the Hull House neighborhood, and in assisting afflicted, needy woman and children, she became well and intimately "acquainted with grief," and at the same time saw all there is to be seen in connection with those who seek entrance or are forced into the County hospital, detention hospital for the insane, the poor house and all the other agencies —public and private—for the relief of the suffering, deficient and unfortunate.

Attracted by the efficiency and courage shown by Miss Lathrop in her work in Chicago, Gov. Altgeld, in 1893, appointed her a member of the Illinois state board of charities. She served throughout Gov. Altgeld's term, continued through that of Gov. Tanner, resigning in July, 1901, soon after the coming into power of Gov. Yates.

During her eight years of service to the people of the State, Miss Lathrop worked as I verily believe no State charity commissioner ever worked before. Her services were entirely gratuitous, as those of all the State board are, except those of the secretary, who is a salaried official. Miss Lathrop, being without business or family responsibilities demanding her presence in some one place, was able to visit all the State institutions of charity and correction, including the county jails and poor houses, and this work she performed systematically and unflinchingly.

Long journeys to out-of-the-way alms houses and county jails did not dismay the devoted traveler, and, indeed, the journeys themselves were not a burden. It was what came as the object of them that would have appalled any ordinary woman or man.

What is disclosed by a visit to the insane wards of a county poor house need not be specified to anyone having even a remote idea of the real situation of the incurable insane in such places. The buildings provided are often inadequate, and the necessary conditions for proper care of the suffering charges upon the public are in many cases absent, and even unknown to the superintendent and his aids.

In the jails of counties remote from the centers of active life, insane patients were often found awaiting the time when the sheriff should be able to take the unfortunate to a State asylum. Sometimes Miss Lathrop found the poor sufferers who had remained in the jail cells, uncared for, perhaps bound by ropes and straps, a week at a time, before they could be placed in competent hands.

Every effort was made to assist the responsible officials in their difficult tasks, duties for which they were unprepared and unprovided with necessary means. In many counties the board of charity commissioners, through Miss Lathrop's efforts, established semi-official committees of visitors to the county institutions, thus starting the growth of humane feeling toward the county's charges, exactly where such feeling would do the most good.

In her reports to the State authorities, Miss Lathrop placed in the hands of responsible officials a complete description of almost every alms house in Illinois, with practical recommendations for the improvements needed in each case. These observations and recommendations, such as could be published, came to the view of the people of the State through the official reports of the State board of charities. To read one of these volumes is enough to make any citizen of Illinois quit boasting, once and forever.

In the State institutions Miss Lathrop's influence was felt for good, and never was it used to create confusion, insubordination or ill-feeling, and that is something which can seldom be said for a reformer. Indeed, a trait strongly characteristic of the subject of this sketch is her tact, courtesy and fairness of mind. These qualities enabled her to fill without friction or discord her difficult role as a tireless, enthusiastic and practical member of a board made up of men of affairs, who were for the most part immersed in their own business.

Through the annual State conference of charities, which was cherished and fostered by Miss Lathrop's influence and work, many charity workers and many competent and valuable outsiders, physicians, judges and persons of all sorts and conditions to whom the public welfare is dear, were drawn into touch with the interests of the unfortunates who are the care of the State.

Miss Lathrop's position of heavy responsibility without authority or practical power to right the wrongs she so clearly understood, finally became intolerable. There was no longer any hope of working reforms from within the management of the State charities. It seemed better to work, with a free hand, from without, unhampered by official restraints and political considerations. Miss Lathrop resigned in July, 1901—resigned her office, but continued with unabated zeal her work for the weak and suffering wards of the State. The public service lost an efficient servant, but gained, at the same time, a wise, well posted and fearless critic of its political methods and system. And intelligent criticism is what the State management of charities most needs.

Among women's clubs Miss Lathrop's precept and example still actively works. She has, since she left the State board of charities, delivered many addresses before women's organizations, and has continued her labors in behalf of civil service reform, or trained service in the public charitable institutions through every means at her command. And her work tells.

In the recent beneficent changes brought about in the county institutions at Dunning, Miss Lathrop has borne a good share of the heavy work. She is active and untiring in assisting by her helpful suggestions and intelligent work the carrying out of the plans made for the improved care of the thousands of men and women whose only place of refuge is some corner of the great aggregation of buildings known as the Cook county poor house.

At what cost of time, strength and nervous energy Miss Lathrop has worked during all these years no one can tell, and she herself is the last to call attention to her work or to the sacrifices she has made. She remains a strong, capable and earnest woman whose best days and best work are yet to come. Her active work has been but faintly indicated—and only one branch of it—in this rapid survey. That her example will inspire other women to take up their burden in the charitable work of the State is sure.

There can be no permanent improvement in the State institutions until the laws demand, and the executive enforces, a merit system of appointment in them. Miss Lathrop urges that the insane asylums, schools for the blind, deaf and dumb, and for those of defective intellect—that all the public institutions be relieved from political management. They are now used by party organizations for party urposes, and with small attention to their real needs and original purposes.

Miss Lathrop believes a sweeping merit law to be essential, and she also

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favors a reorganization of the State board of charities upon a basis entirely apart from political schemes and party management.—Ada C. Sweet, in Home Education for June, 1903.

Within my earthly temple there's a crowd;
There's one of us that's humble, one that's proud;
There's one that's broken-hearted for his sins,
And one who, unrepentant, sits and grins;
There's one who loves his neighbor as himself,
And one who cares for naught but fame and pelf—
From much corroding care I should be free,
If once I could determine which is Me.
—Pirated Poems.

"So your daughter is going to marry a nobleman?"

"Yes," answered Mr. Cumrox; "but he's only a nobleman by profession. Personally, I must say he strikes me as a pretty common sort."—Washington Star.

"Tusks was boasting to me that he knows just when to stop."

"Well, he doesn't seem to be able to do it. Maybe knowledge isn't always power."—Puck.

BOOKS

MR. CHESTERTON'S BROWNING.

The story is told—I think of the great Archbishop Whately—that when some flatterer was complimenting the eloquence of a certain sermon, the preacher turned upon him and said: "My dear friend, if my sermon had been really eloquent, you would be thinking of your sins and not about my preaching." This, after all, must be a true test of a great writer as well as of a great orator—that he makes you think of the subject-matter and not of himself. Tried by this test, Mr. Chesterton in this delightful little volume (Robert Browning, by G. K. Chesterton, Macmillan, $1) must be accused of falling short. He is himself so interesting and piquant, makes so many clever and even brilliant obiter dicta, that the reader is at times in danger of forgetting Robert Browning.

Anyone who has read Mr. Chesterton's chance essays would be prepared to find that a book by him would be bristling with bright sayings, and he will not be disappointed in this criticism of Browning. The book is this—a criticism and appreciation of Browning; but it is at the same time an exposition of the author's own trenchant thoughts about some of the great events and problems of life.

Speaking, for example, of the intellectual atmosphere in Browning's younger days, he has this to say of the French Revolution: "The French Revolution was at root a thoroughly optimistic thing. It may seem strange to attribute optimism to anything so destructive; but, in truth, this particular kind of optimism is inevitably, and by its nature, destructive. The great dominant idea of the whole of that period, the period before, during, and long after the Revolution, is the idea that man would by his nature, live in an Eden of dignity, liberty, and love, and that artificial and decrepit systems are keeping him out of that Eden."

He remarks that Browning was born in the afterglow of the great Revolution, and what he says of the influence of the succeeding age upon the poet is good as far as it goes. He notices at another place that "we have seen in our own time a great reaction in favor of monarchy, aristocracy and ecclesiasticism." Now it may be that this reaction was feeling vaguely after something noble, and was "full of admiration for the great virtue of chivalry," but no one who really believes in democratic ideals can fail to see the harm that this reaction has done and is still doing. It has retarded the growth of liberalism; it has in fact practically killed liberalism in Europe, and has substituted therefor a thin, Roseberrian thing without vitality. How much did Browning do, with his professed liberalism, to carry on the fine enthusiasm of Shelly for a new "Eden of dignity, liberty and love?" Such poems as The Lost Leader show that he saw the point—but does it not seem that in his magnifying of little things, in his attention to details, in his absorption in "the symbolism of material trifles," he missed the march of the great movement, or at any rate failed to give it his cheer.

Mr. Chesterton has done well to emphasize the fact, which most critics have overlooked, that Browning is a poet of passion rather than of intellect. "The usual accusation," he says, "against Browning is that he was consumed with logic." This view he opposes with striking success. "In the character of Paracelsus," he maintains, "Browning wished to paint the dangers and disappointments which attend the man who believes merely in the intellect. He wished to depict the fall of the logician." So far from being what we call logical, Browning was remarkably not so. "The fact was," as Mr. Chesterton says, "that it was part of the machinery of his brain that things came out of it, as it were, backwards. The words 'tail foremost' express Browning's style with something more than a conventional accuracy." Of course, it is this that makes so much of the poet's work appear grotesque and fantastic. "The tail," Mr. Chesterton wittily continues, "the most insignificant part of an animal, is also often the most animated and fantastic. An utterance of Browning is often like a strange animal walking backwards, who flourishes his tail with such energy that every one takes it for his head."

Let no one imagine that Mr. Chesterton's book fails in admiration of the great poet, "who," he says in one place, "combines the greatest brain with the most simple temperament known in our annals." The book is indeed a most enlightening piece of work. Nowhere else can one find so satisfactory an accounting for and explanation of Browning's obscurity; nowhere else can one find so satisfactory a summary of many salient points of Browning's method and philosophy.

J. H. DILLARD.

JOHN WRYLAND.

Modern in environment and application, while slightly archaic in conception and style, the "Travels of John Wryland" (Allentown, Pa.: The Equitable Publishing Co.) is a cutting satire in the guise of an interesting story of adventure. The principal scene is laid in the unexplored regions of Tibet. Here there is a little kingdom of superstitious folk, living on an island in a lake supposed by them to be enchanted. John Wryland, a strenuous product of the civilizing influences of the British army in India, makes his way to the island and conquers the kingdom. Thenceforth he takes up the "white man's burden" there by ruling the inhabitants after the most approved methods for advancing civilization. With pious submission to the doctrine that "destiny determines duty," this devoted exemplar of the strenuous life reaps the reward of an approving conscience, along with considerable loot, until his destiny determines his duty in the direction of a wanton war upon the Near-Bi-Ans. The result is disastrous, and the adventurer is driven ignominiously from his conquest in Palti as an exposed impostor.

Erratum.—In review of Cornaro's "Art of Living Long" (p.287), the price was stated as $1.00. This is the price of the book in "Princess" cover only, the price of the parlor binding is $1.50. The book is published by William F. Butler, 57 University building, P. O. Box 985, Milwaukee.

PERIODICALS.

In the Nebraska Independent of Aug. 6, Mr. Tom Bawden, of Detroit, and Mr. John S. Crosby, of New York, have replies to certain criticisms of Mr. F. Englehard upon the single tax. It seems worth while to call attention to these brief communications, because they are models of the right spirit in which such replies should be made—courteous and taking it for granted that their opponent is sincere. One of these speaks of Mr. Englehard's paper as a "really able article," and the other as a "very able contribution." There would be more truth and less division if this spirit prevailed among controversialists.

J. H. D.

The Nation of Aug. 6 very well disposes of some of Mr. Chamberlain's recent boosting of retaliation in tariff legislation, and points out that retaliatory tariff legislation against America would entrench the protectionists here. "The course of things a hundred years ago," says the editorial, "when successive orders in council fought with Napoleon's decrees, should have warned Mr. Chamberlain that countries can be as insensate and ferocious in a trade war as in one with fleets and armies." There is one good thing about this talk of retaliatory tariffs. It shows up the essentially hostile nature of the whole tariff principle.

J. H. D.

One of the richest bits of plutocratic eloquence that the country has been favored

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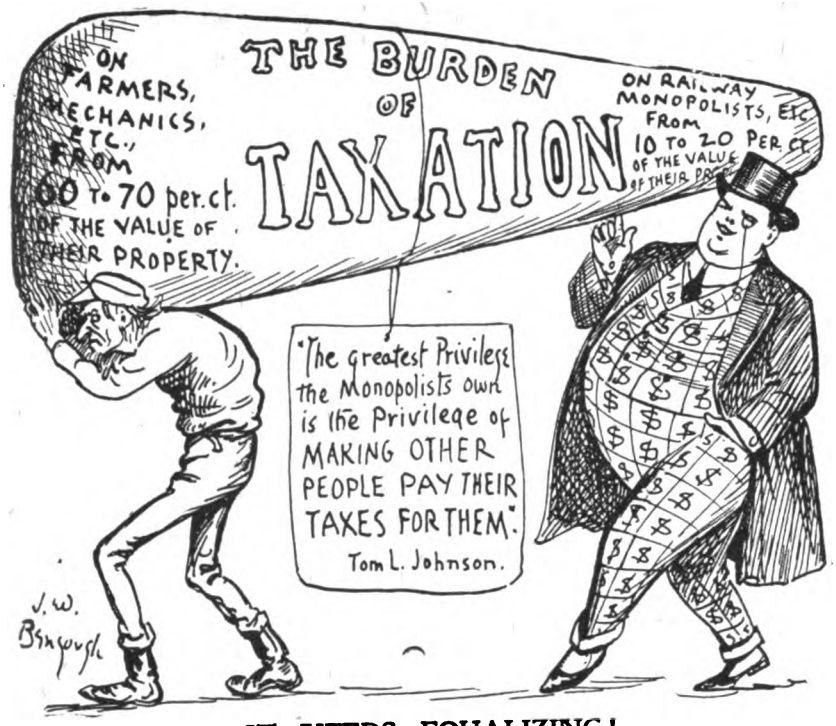

IT NEEDS EQUALIZING!

with in many a day was the address by Judge Le Baron B. Colt at a recent club dinner given by his brother of revolver fame. The New York Independent of July 30 makes the address the subject of a clever editorial which is well worth reading. "There is no more loyal body of men," said the judge, "than the wage-earners of this country. But in their aspirations to some extent they are idealists. They are striving not only for equality before the law, but for equality of economic conditions." The Independent says, "This gentle reproach we fear is deserved. This is a practical age, and idealists are in danger of being classed with free-traders and reminiscent gentlemen who still read the Declaration of Independence." J. H. D.

Leslie's Weekly of Aug. 6 gives an interesting account of Mr. C. W. Post's scheme of post-checks for making small remittances by mail. The $1, $2 and $5 bills issued by the United States—not those issued by national banks—are to be printed so that they can be made payable to a named payee, who can cash them or exchange them for new post-checks at any money-order office or bank. The Postmaster-General and the House Committee on post-offices have approved the plan. It promises well as far as it goes and yet it seems far from perfect. Three difficulties suggest themselves. Will it be likely that the private individual, when he wants to make the remittance, will have the proper kind of bill on hand? If he happens to have one, may it not likely be so soiled as to make it almost impossible to write upon it? Thirdly, what good will the plan do for fractional amounts? J. H. D.

How men or peoples may advance in true development is a question that has been answered primarily in but one way by the modern philosophers who have thought most deeply on the problems of life. However they may disagree, they are as one in laying down the principle that true development presupposes freedom of action, and cannot be bestowed from without. The following quotation in the New York Evening Post from one of John Fiske's latest essays is worth requoting and reading any number of times: "Good sense is so strongly developed among our people that we may reasonably calculate upon their profiting by hard experience, and correcting their own errors in the long run. It is far better that popular errors should be corrected in this way than by some beneficent autocratic power, or by some set of people supposed to be wiser than others; and this, I believe, is the true theory of democracy. This is the vital point which Jefferson understood so much more clearly than Hamilton and the Federalists. J. H. D.

The Literary Digest of July 18 quotes from Mr. Ernest H. Crosby's striking pamphlet on Shakespeare's attitude toward the working classes, and well says that he "marshals a formidable array of quotations and references in support of his contention." It must have struck many modern readers of Shakespeare in what a contemptuous attitude he places all his characters who are laborers. One would like to make out the case for him that he was purposely showing the degradation of the working classes in order to arouse attention to their condition, but any student of the great dramatist will find this a hopeless job. As Mr. Crosby says, he shows an "utter lack of sympathy." Of course, it may be urged that Shakespeare merely shows life as it is, and has no mind to preach, yet it is a pity that he chose, for example, out of Roman history, as Mr. Crosby says, a Coriolanus instead of a Tiberius Gracchus, and had nothing but ridicule for the followers of Jack Cade and Wat Tyler. J. H. D.

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Published weekly by THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, 1641 Unity Building, Chicago, Ill. Post office address, The Public, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

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