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EDITORIAL

The man on horseback.

There was deep political insight in that legend which the cartoonist of the New York Herald inscribed under his cartoon on President Roosevelt's message: "I am the state (or 25,000 words to that effect)."

Murder by law.

Last week a young woman of twenty-two was hanged in Vermont. The story of her execution is a horrible thing to read. Yet we invoke no sympathy for her.

She may have deserved the shocking penalty she suffered. But we do invoke the self-condemnation of every man who was in any wise responsible for killing her. The evil of the death penalty is not so much in the mental and physical suffering of its victims as in the moral degradation it imposes upon those who inflict it. Murder, be it legal or illegal, is always worse for the murderer than it is for the murdered.

Corrupt campaign contributions.

Senator Tillman, inspired by the disclosures at the New York insurance investigations, has stuck his pitchfork into the national banks. He wants to know about their campaign contributions. We may now be able to compare national with State investigations of this species of corruption. That the national banks contributed liberally along with the insurance companies to the Hanna-McKinley-Cortelyou-Roosevelt campaign corruption funds is pretty well known in an open-secret sort of way, and that it is the business of the Treasury Department to inform itself of these embezzlements is plain. It remains to be seen, therefore, whether the Treasury Department will expose or conceal.

The British cabinet.

Campbell-Bannerman has organized a strong ministry with distinctly radical leanings. Besides being a free trade ministry and hostile to the use of educational funds for sectarian purposes, it is clearly in harmony with the Prime Minister on the question of land value taxation. The lines are well-drawn, therefore, for a contest before the people at the approaching general elections on the three burning issues—the educational question, the tariff question and the question of taxing land values. The last is the most important and likely to hold first place in the contest. The campaigning will probably begin early in the year, and unless universal expectation is

disappointed, Bannerman's party will triumph. Chamberlain counts on electing enough members to hold the balance of power.

Chinese civilization.

If Ng Poon Chew, the managing editor of Chung Sai Yat Po, the Chinese daily paper of San Francisco, correctly describes the civilization of China, we Occidentals have nothing to be proud of in at least one respect. He describes China as having been for 45 centuries without a standing army, and as placing right above might in her moral philosophy. But she is about to fall to our level, where blood is priced above righteousness and the butcher is more honorable than the saint. She is organizing and equipping an army of 800,000 troops so as to kill the largest number of men in a given time with the least expense to herself, in order to achieve Occidental recognition as one of the great nations of the earth. A noble example is that which we have set the "inferior" peoples.

The postal deficit.

Postmaster General Cortelyou's report shows a postal expenditure for the fiscal year, of \$167,181,959 and receipts of \$152,826,585—leaving a deficit of \$14,572,584. But the report further shows that if there had been no deadhead matter there would have been a surplus of over \$5,000,000. So Mr. Cortelyou makes the recommendation urged by Mr. Wanamaker when he was postmaster general, that the franking privilege be abolished and each department pay for its own mail matter. This is a sensible recommendation. If the departments paid postage and the railroad graft were cut off, there would be no excuse for railing at the comparatively petty abuses of second class postal privileges. As to these privileges also, Mr. Cortelyou's recommendation is a good one. He proposes, instead of the second-class privilege or subsidy, a flat rate like that for merchandise.

Taxing water out of land values.

The city of Detroit is having, according to the Detroit News, an enlightening experience regarding the importance of taxing building sites at full value regardless of improvements. At a real estate sale a few days ago, lots which had been held at \$60 a front foot were disposed of for from \$25 to \$33. There had been indeed a boom which had burst, and this might be held to account to some extent for the break in prices; but the Detroit News attributes the decline in part at least to a reform in the principle of assessing for taxation. Until recently it has been customary in Detroit to assess vacant lots lightly; but latterly the assessors have assessed such property at its real value. As a result the speculative owners, unable to carry it, have been obliged to throw it upon the market. This result will tend to serve the double purpose of making building lots cheaper and buildings consequently more plentiful; which means, other things remaining the same, that rents will be lower and work more abundant.

The needed Democratic alignment.

The substitution by the Democratic national committee, of August Belmont for George Foster Peabody as its treasurer, is significant of a tendency among the Democratic managers which needs to be checked. While it appears upon the surface to be, as Thomas A. Osborne's paper, the Auburn Citizen, observes, nothing but the substitution of one New York banker for another, those who look below the surface will find, as the Citizen goes on to explain, that it is in reality the substitution of a reactionary Democrat for a progressive Democrat.

In the course of its explanations of the significance of this change by the Democratic committee, the Citizen makes a shrewd analysis of present conditions in the Democratic party. It divides the party into four general groups—radicals, reac-

tionaries, opportunists and liberals. The reactionaries it describes as those "who clamor for a return of what they call 'conservative Democracy,'" but who are apt to include in that term "all those entrenched privileges against which the radicals have set their faces." It regards as opportunists those who are ready to barter any party principle for success at the polls. Among the liberals it includes those Democrats who believe in democratic theories "but perhaps are a little doubtful as to how these theories ought to be applied to modern conditions," yet "are ready to go as far and as fast as is ethically right and politically wise."

In these circumstances the Citizen looks askance upon the dropping of Peabody, a liberal whose sympathies are in large measure with the radicals, and the appointment of Belmont, who, though a Democrat by birth, is "democratic neither by nature nor training" and belongs to the group of reactionaries. But Mayor Osborne's analysis of Democratic conditions has a deeper purpose than to distinguish two individuals in this manner. It is made the basis of as sound advice as was ever urged upon a political party. "If the Democracy is to become once more an effective political party," this Citizen editorial proceeds, "it can only be by a union of those we have called radicals and liberals." To this the editorial wisely adds: "The opportunists will follow, and the reactionaries must be allowed to go; they are a drag upon the party and any effort to retain them can only be at the sacrifice of vital principles." This editorial is a most encouraging sign. What is needed in American politics is precisely this union of what Tom L. Johnson calls the conservative radicals with what he calls the radical conservatives.

Roosevelt's politics without principles.

In his message President Roosevelt declared against "the government undertaking any work which

can with propriety be left in private hands;" and, correlatively, for the government's "overseeing any work when it becomes evident that abuses are sure to obtain therein unless there is governmental supervision." The wisdom of these observations if not as deep as a well seems to be as dark as a cellar. At any rate they are foreign to any rational classification of public and private functions. Had Mr. Roosevelt said he did not believe in the government's doing any private business, nor in its allowing private corporations to do any public business, he would have laid a stable foundation of political principle. But a foundation any more stable than a balloon is not what Mr. Roosevelt wants for his political philosophy.

Railroad passes.

When Robert Baker went to Congress from New York two years ago he scandalized his fellow members and drew toward himself the finger of official and journalistic scorn by refusing the customary bribe of a railroad pass. But the seed of Mr. Baker's sowing is bearing fruit. The New York Central, the Pennsylvania and the Reading have abolished passes. They have at last discovered that "the spirit of the interstate commerce laws does not favor free passes." It seems that they have contemplated this course for the last three years, beginning about the time that Baker made an uproar about it. Had the newspapers known that this policy was in contemplation by the railroads at that time, they might have restrained the mirth they indulged in at Congressman Baker's expense.

Mr. Baer (the self-appointed representative of God in the coal mines), explains the action of the roads of which he is president by saying that he has always "opposed the giving of passes to members of courts, legislators, mayors, members of city councils," etc.; and the Pennsylvania issues the following statement showing

the magnitude in the mass of this petty form of bribery: "It would take a train of ten coaches every day, including Sundays, to handle the passengers holding free transportation on our line east of Pittsburg and Erie." As this is a formal statement by the railroad itself we can assume it is not seriously overdrawn. And yet what an indictment it is—an indictment of these railroad officials by themselves! Seldom has an opponent of private ownership and operation of railroads made a broader charge against the railroads as corrupters of American political life. They here confess that they have debauched the people's servants wholesale. Not merely those who, elected or appointed, have the making and administration of the law, but that other department of our government which so many yet hesitate to believe is ever corruptly influenced—the judiciary.

The "graft" of the gas companies.

A pitiful play is being made by the gas companies of Chicago to delay the inevitable reduction in gas prices. Sometimes their lawyers shed crocodile tears for them, and sometimes they threaten endless litigation. Yet full well they know, all of them, that they are charging enormously exorbitant prices for gas, and that sooner or later they must drop their graft. Of their exorbitant prices there is no lack of proof. Here, for instance, is a letter which a Chicago dealer in investment securities, Mr. J. W. Sibley, of 184 La Salle street, is circulating among business men. It speaks for itself:

Dec. 8, 1905.

Dear Sir:—Do you know that *gas for fuel and illuminating purposes can be manufactured for about 30c per 1,000 cubic feet?* Do you know that gas companies from one of the safest and most profitable of all investments—no gas company in a town of over ten thousand having failed? If so, figure out how safe and profitable a proposition would be if a growing city of 80,000 population would grant a *liberal 50 year franchise for gas at \$1.35 for illuminating and 85c per 1,000 cubic feet for fuel. We have just secured such a franchise.* One of the strongest and most conservative Banking Houses of this city has taken our entire bond

issue. The head of this house has personally taken a large amount of six per cent. cumulative preferred stock—there is only a small amount left. If you would be interested in knowing about the details of this proposition—kindly make an appointment. Very truly yours,
J. W. SIBLEY.

We trust that Alderman Young, the scrupulous and cautious chairman of the obstruction committee which is now languidly inquiring into the cost of making gas, will offer Mr. Sibley an appointment. For, if Mr. Sibley is truthful, as he doubtless is, 75 cents for gas would yield a gross profit of about 45 cents. This is information which Alderman Young would doubtless be more or less glad to get.

The Morgan-Field naggers.

We have already noticed the nagging to which Mayor Dunne has been subjected by a busy bunch of pharisees (p. 502), who have suddenly discovered that a State law requiring beer saloons to be closed on Sundays demands immediate enforcement. For thirty years this law has been ignored. Not until Mayor Dunne came into office and began making trouble for traction and gas interests has its enforcement been strenuously demanded. But the chance to nag him into doing something to irritate the German population was not to be lost. Doubtless those who actually do the nagging are quite sincere, and totally unconscious in their pious impulses back of them. And yet their pertinacity with the Mayor contrasts strangely with their indifferent attitude toward the State officials whose especial duty it is, if it is anyone's, to enforce this obsolete blue law. Mayor Dunne recently turned the tables upon one of the committees that visited him in connection with these efforts to cool off burning corporation questions with the moribund Sunday beer drinking question. "Why can't you be a man, like Gov. Folk?" asked one of the committee of Mayor Dunne. "Have you presented this matter to the State

authorities?" the Mayor asked in response. "Yes, a month ago," was the reply. "Well, what did they say?" "They referred us to the local authorities," was the indiscreet explanation; to which Mayor Dunne replied, as he closed the interview: "Gov. Folk didn't do that, did he?"

WHAT IS PATERNALISM?

The cry of "paternalism," as applied to public management of public affairs, is a word which demagogues glibly use to frighten mossbacks. But anybody of ordinary information will perceive, if he think carefully of the word, that for the thing the demagogue has in mind when he uses it, it is a misnomer.

Government operation of a railroad in Russia would be paternalistic, because there the government is not by the people, but by the "Little Father"—pater; whence, paternal, and paternalism. But government operation of a railroad in the United States would be exactly the opposite. Instead of being paternal (by the father), it would be democratic (by the people).

Manifestly the act itself, considered apart from the actor, cannot be described either as paternal or democratic. An act, to be paternal, must be performed by a pater; and to be democratic, it must be performed by a democracy—the people.

That this distinction is important will be seen when we reflect that nobody is finding any fault with the railroad as an institution. The railroad itself is neither paternalistic nor democratic. The question is: Shall the ownership and operation of the railroads be paternalistic or democratic—which?

In an absolute monarchy government operation of railroads would be rightly termed paternalistic; because in that case the monarch (one-ruler) would control the public function, to the exclusion of the people. But in a republic, government operation of a public function is nothing more nor less than operation by the whole people, all of whom are political equals. This absolutely excludes any idea of a monarch.

Little Father, or pater. It thus affords no root from which to extract the term "paternalism."

The trouble with our demagogue friend who misuses the term "paternalism" is that he has not grasped the fundamental significance of the American Revolution. He does not realize the fact that the colonists of 1776 turned things around, politically; that they, grown weary of "paternalism," undertook to supplant it by means of doing, through a government by the people, the things that the king—the pater—had arrogated to himself the right to do, for the people.

The American who calls government operation, in America, "paternalistic" thereby demonstrates his failure to comprehend the spirit of the Republic, that the act of a pater is paternal, while the act of a democracy is democratic.

The demagogue may retort that un-"democratic" things are often done in democracies; to which it may be answered that the acts of monarchs are sometimes "democratic." In both cases it would be a mere playing with words.

In America, he only is a paternalist who declares that the government—the organized public—is not capable of doing a distinctive public service as well as an individual citizen could do it. To surrender a public service to private ownership and control is the nearest possible approach in a democracy to paternalism. It is as much as to say that the people are incapable of managing their own business; therefore, some great and good individual—some Little Father (pater) must do it for them.

If the people of the United States should decide that popular government is a failure, and should substitute a monarchy, they would thereby declare for paternalism—for a "father" to rule over and protect them. If they should decide that public operation of the post office is a failure, and should sell it out to, or give it into the hands of private individuals, as a privately owned and operated concern, the act would be as nearly paternalistic as any act could be, in a republic.

The misuse of the term "paternalism" by American demagogues

is significant of their sentiment toward democracy. They look upon government as a thing apart from and superior to the people. Their hearts have worshiped imperialism so devoutly and for so long a time that their intellects have forgotten (if they ever have known) that, in America, the government is of, for, and by, the people.

The real paternalist, in America, is he who denies the capacity of the people to manage public service through the machinery of government. He regards the people as children, members of a great family, needing a "father" to organize and operate their public business. And he would gladly be that "father," himself; for "there's millions in it!"

What is paternalism?

It is the ownership and operation of public utilities by any other than the public; as, in an autocracy, by the monarch, or, in a republic, by a private individual or corporation.

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRALASIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Australia, Nov. 10.—In my last letter (p. 487), I told you that two local government bills were before the New South Wales State parliament. The municipalities extension bill, relating to present municipalities has been postponed until next session. The shires bill has passed the Assembly, and is now before the Council, or upper house.

I said in the same letter that the maximum tax which could be levied was two pence half penny in the pound on the unimproved value of the land. This referred to the abandoned municipalities bill only. Under the shires bill the maximum tax is one penny half penny in the pound on the unimproved value; but if that does not bring in a sufficient revenue, a further tax of one half penny in the pound on the improved value may be levied. The total area of the present municipalities is only a little over 2,800 square miles. The shires bill is designed to bring about 191,000 square miles more under local government.

For many years the growth of the labor parties has been steady, but there are now signs of a reaction. The labor leaders have been more cautious lately in their utterances.

At the Interstate Labor conference

(page 344) in April, the "objective" was altered, and all direct mention of State socialism omitted.

In both Queensland and West Australia, where the State parties are strongest, there has been friction between Labor ministers and the parliamentary Labor caucus, the ministers being accused of not pushing on fast enough with labor legislation.

In Queensland the Labor party is the predominant partner in a coalition ministry, but some of the Labor ministers state that in future they will stand as independents. At a recent by-election in Queensland, in a mining town which was considered a safe Labor seat, the Labor candidate was easily defeated by an "independent."

In West Australia for more than a year, the Labor party led by Mr. Daglish was in power, though not in the majority, the numbers being Ministry (Labor), 22; Opposition, 24; Independent, 4. In September the Daglish government was defeated, but a ministry formed by the Opposition leader came to grief soon after meeting the House. A general election was held in October, when the Labor party lost a number of seats, the result being Ministry, 34; Labor, 13; Independent, 1, with two returns still to come in.

Mr. Daglish, the ex-premier, severed his connection with the Labor party and was elected as an Independent. In his address to his constituents he said that the systems of cabinet and caucus would not work together. He found the caucus trying to control the cabinet. Ministers answerable to the country for the administration had either to throw over the caucus or become merely the creatures of other members having no such responsibility. One or two Queensland Labor ministers have spoken in very similar terms.

In both States one of the points of difference between ministers and the caucus has been the question of crown land sales. The caucus demands their cessation and substitution of leasing, but ministers say they find this would retard settlement. Why this should result does not appear. I know that in New South Wales when land let on perpetual lease is made available it is readily taken up, being often many times over applied for. This system, of course, enables men with but little capital to take up land for themselves.

At the Interstate Labor conference (p. 344) one plank (4th) adopted was that a referendum of Commonwealth electors should be taken on the tariff question, in order that the parliamentary Labor caucus might vote solidly for high or low duties, in accordance with the result of the referendum. This proposal came from the protectionist delegates at the conference, but

was strongly opposed by the free trade members in caucus.

The Federal Labor members recently held a very long debate over the matter, but no scheme could be devised by which a satisfactory referendum could be taken. The idea has, therefore, been abandoned, and Labor members will, as before, vote according to their own individual convictions when the tariff issue is again raised in the House.

Mr. Deakin, the prime minister, has stated that at the next general election his principal plank will be increased protection.

The New Zealand parliament has come to an end without deciding whether perpetual crown lessees shall be allowed to acquire the freehold of their land.

This will probably be one of the chief questions at the forthcoming general election.
ERNEST BRAY.

BUFFALO.

Buffalo, N. Y., Dec. 11.—In addition to the recent work of the Referendum League, which I described in former correspondence (p. 541), it may be useful to note the League's previous work of the year.

It obtained by persistent effort the adoption of an ordinance authorizing the use of the schoolhouses for public meetings, in accordance with the vote in 1904, but not upon as good terms as desired. Ten dollars must be deposited, seven of which is returned if no damage is done, and the meetings must not be for religious, social or partisan purposes.

The League unsuccessfully opposed in the Council the making of the contract between the city and the gas company, on the ground that it would make a municipal electric light plant, on which the people were to vote, impossible for three years. It secured a bid from a responsible bidder to supply gas at 65 cents per 1,000 feet. The city is now paying \$1 net. After the contract was signed, Mr. Stockton brought a taxpayer's action to set it aside. He was beaten in the trial court and in the Appellate Division, and has made an application to be allowed to go to the Court of Appeals.

Last Winter we prepared a bill providing for a commission to build a municipal electric lighting plant, and to submit the question whether it should be built to the voters, making provision for the issuing of bonds. This bill was introduced in both branches of the legislature, and was buried in committee. Our two annual bills, the public opinion bill and the bill requiring franchises to be approved by the people, met a like fate. An effort was made to have the Com-

mon Council indorse the municipal lighting bill, but without success.

Last Winter the Iroquois Electric company asked the city for a franchise to lay conduits and string wires in the streets for the purpose of bringing more Niagara Falls power here. The League opposed the granting of the franchise on the ground that the city was going to vote on the question of a municipal distributing plant for electricity and any more franchises would interfere with that programme. The franchise has not been granted yet, and the result of the League's action will be that the city will impose terms in the way of price to be charged for electricity, etc.

A grant was made to certain companies about ten years ago to lay conduits in the streets for electric wires upon the condition that half the space therein should be reserved for the city's use for ten years, and if within that time the city began to use the conduits such use should continue without charge. The ten years' limitation expires January 15, 1906, and no use has yet been made of these very valuable rights. The League has been urging the Common Council to string cables in these conduits for the purpose of lighting the public buildings and supplying power to the water pumping station, and the city has gone so far as to advertise for bids for cables and transformers and to issue bonds for \$20,000 to pay for the same. This has been done in face of the open hostility of the Commissioner of Public Works and the covert hostility of the Board of Aldermen.

The League is now opposing the attempt on the part of the Street Railway company to seize the most important thoroughfares remaining unoccupied by tracks, which would destroy the possibility of a municipal street railway. The League secured the adoption of a resolution by the Civic Conference, a body composed of representatives of various civic societies, favoring the establishment of municipal docks.

Most of this work has devolved upon the president, Mr. Lewis Stockton, who has devoted nearly all his time to it. Mr. Frank C. Perkins, the League's electrical expert, has also given a great deal of his time to fighting for the city's rights in all the matters relating to electricity. Others, of course, have worked hard and faithfully. It is safe to say that the advances of democracy here center around the efforts of the Referendum League, which has especial strength because it is not tied up with any selfish interests and is winning the regard of citizens generally for its vigorous fight for the general public good.

ALBERT H. JACKSON.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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

Week ending Thursday, Dec. 14.

British politics.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has succeeded in forming a Liberal ministry (p. 580) of exceptional strength. It was approved by the King on the 9th and authoritatively announced on the 11th. The names of those constituting the cabinet were cabled as follows:

First lord of the treasury—Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, prime minister.

Chancellor of the exchequer—Herbert Henry Asquith.

Secretary of state for home affairs—Herbert John Gladstone.

Secretary of state for foreign affairs—Sir Edward Grey.

Secretary of state for the colonies—Earl of Elgin.

Secretary of state for war—Richard Burdon Haldane.

Secretary of state for India—John Morley.

First lord of the admiralty—Baron Tweedmouth.

President of board of trade—David Lloyd-George.

President of local government board—John Burns.

Secretary of state for Scotland—John Sinclair.

President of board of agriculture and fisheries—Earl Carrington.

Postmaster general—Sydney Charles Burton.

Chief secretary for Ireland—James Bryce.

Lord president of council—Earl of Crewe.

Lord of the privy seal—Marquis of Ripon.

Lord high chancellor—Sir Robert Thesdale Reid.

President of board of education—Augustine Birrell.

Chancellor of Duchy of Lancaster—Sir Henry Hartley Fowler.

Following are the ministers not in the cabinet:

Lord lieutenant of Ireland—Earl of Aberdeen.

Lord chancellor of Ireland—Right Honorable Samuel Walker.

First commissioner of works and public buildings—Louis Vernon Harcourt.

On the 12th the following appointments by the ministry were called:

Financial secretary to the treasury, Reginald McKenna; patronage secretary to the treasury, George White-law; under secretary for home affairs, Herbert Louis Samuel; under secretary for the colonies, Winston Leonard Spencer Churchill; under secretary for war, the Earl of Portsmouth; paymaster general, Richard Knight Causton; secretary to the admiralty, Edmund Robertson; under secretary for India, John E. Ellis; attorney general, John Lawson Walton; solicitor general, J. S. Robson; lord advocate for Scotland, Thomas Shaw.

The ministers were formally installed on the 11th.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the prime minister, who has been a member of the House of Commons since 1868, and leader of the Liberal party since 1899, is personally committed to the taxation of land values. H. H. Asquith, chancellor of the exchequer, and D. Lloyd George, president of the board, are also strongly committed to this policy. The latter takes advanced ground regarding it, and is the radical leader. The ministry as a body is similarly committed, some of the other members as pointedly as Campbell-Bannerman, Asquith and Lloyd-George but these three are conspicuous. John Burns, president of the local government board, is the most influential labor leader of Great Britain, and known as such all over the world. James Bryce, secretary for Ireland, is distinguished in the United States for his book on our politics, "The American Commonwealth."

Having resigned responsible office, Arthur J. Balfour, the recent prime minister and now leader of the Opposition, made a campaign speech at Manchester on the 9th. The campaign will probably open early in January and last for six weeks or so. It will be the effort of the Conservatives to confine the issue to tariff questions. This will doubtless have the effect of forcing to the front the question of taxing land values, for the radical members of the Liberal party will insist that the poverty of Great Britain, now widespread and acute, is due, not to too much free trade, as explained by the protectionists, but

to too little. They will, therefore, urge the extension of free trade principles to production generally, by abolishing or reducing taxes on industry and levying taxes on land values.

The Hearst contest in New York.

On the 11th the decision of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York (p. 581), in affirmance of a judgment of the lower court in mandamus proceedings, ordering a recount of the ballots cast at the recent mayoralty election in New York city, was argued before the New York Court of Appeals. Ex-Judge Alton B. Parker represented Mayor McClellan as his leading counsel; ex-Gov. Black was Mr. Hearst's leading counsel. The court decided the case on the 13th, two judges of the seven dissenting. The majority opinion is to the effect that the courts are "without power or authority to order a recount of the ballots cast," and that therefore the candidates defeated on the face of the returns are "left to such action at law, or otherwise, as may be appropriate wherein to question it, as to the ballots counted without question." In the dissenting opinion, agreed to by Judges Bartlett and Vann, it is argued that the intent of the legislature in the election law in commanding the preservation for six months of the ballots and other documents relating to an election was manifestly for the purpose of having them available for a recount. But the majority (Cullen, Gray, O'Brien, Haight and Werner) are of opinion that "full scope may be given to the election law without attributing to the legislature an intent to authorize the opening of the ballot boxes for the purpose of a recount or recanvass of the vote by the election officers," and that "if so important an exercise of a judicial power of supervision or review was intended, it should have been stated, and not left to implication." The decision operates to defeat Hearst, unless in quo warranto proceedings he can prove, without a recount, that the returns in favor of McClellan were fraudulent.

Several ballot box criminals have been convicted since the election, including Joseph J. Cahill, a

Tammany ex-member of the legislature, who has been sentenced to two years' confinement in the State's prison.

An organization to "secure government independent of corporate and corrupt influences" was incorporated in New York on the 12th, under the name of The Independent League, with William Randolph Hearst at the head of the list of incorporators. The other incorporators are Judge Samuel Seabury, Thomas Gilleran, James G. Phelps Stokes, C. Augustus Haviland, Max F. Ihmsen, John Palmieri, Melvin G. Pall ser, John Ford, Clarence J. Shearn and Bird S. Coler.

Rumors of a purpose on the part of Mr. Hearst to organize the State of New York with a view to becoming a candidate for governor, were met on the 8th by Mr. Hearst in a speech at a reception given him, with a positive declaration that he is not a gubernatorial candidate. But Bird S. Coler, president of the Borough of Brooklyn, in a speech on the same occasion, insisted that if it should be impossible to get measures enacted at the approaching session of the legislature which would remedy the defects of the election law it would be necessary to make a State campaign, and, that in that event Mr. Hearst, whether he wishes to or not, "will be compelled to take up the fight as our standard bearer."

Municipal Election in Boston.

At the municipal election in Boston on the 12th, the largest vote ever cast in that city was polled. It resulted in the election of ex-Congressman John F. Fitzgerald, Democrat, as mayor. Following is reported as the mayoralty vote:

Fitzgerald (Dem.)	44,174
Frothingham (Rep.)	35,992
Dewey (Ind. Rep.)	11,641
Watson (city. and ind. Dem.)	502
Fitzgerald's plurality,	8,182.

Chicago Charter Convention.

The convention for framing a home rule charter for Chicago (p. 581) assembled in the City Council chamber at the City Hall on the 12th. It was called to order by Mayor Dunne, who appointed Graham Taylor as temporary secretary. Judge Orrin N. Carter,

Republican, an appointee of the West Park Board, was elected president; Alderman Milton J. Foreman, Republican, an appointee of the City Council, was elected vice-president; and M. L. McKinley, Democrat, an appointee of the legislature, was elected secretary. There were no contests for these offices. After several propositions for organizing for work had been considered, the following by Joseph O'Donnell, Democrat (an appointee of Mayor Dunne), was adopted:

Resolved, That the chairman appoint a committee of eleven, of which he shall be a member ex-officio, to draft rules of procedure to govern the convention, together with the number and the names of the committees, and recommendations on such other subjects as may come before the deliberations of the convention.

The convention then adjourned to December 19th at 2 o'clock.

Mayor Tom L. Johnson in New York and Chicago.

After his speech at the City Club in New York (p. 579), which attracted marked attention there, Mayor Johnson of Cleveland was invited to speak before the City Club of Chicago, which he did on the 9th. The meeting was the largest and the audience the most notable in the history of the club, and general satisfaction was expressed with Mayor Johnson's manner of treating his subject. He spoke on municipal home rule primarily, and incidentally on municipal ownership and operation of municipal utilities, and he was kept upon the floor by questioners for three hours. As the speech was extemporaneous and the local newspapers reported only sensational and comparatively trifling incidents, it is impossible to record what Mayor Johnson said. Incidentally, however, he is reported to have explained the misapprehension under which Mr. Dalrymple, the manager of the Glasgow traction system (pp. 186, 537), was brought to this country by Mayor Dunne, by saying:

You people here have heard a great deal about Mr. Dalrymple. I want to say I was responsible for bringing him here. Mayor Dunne asked me whom I considered an expert. I immediately thought of Glasgow and the man named Young, who had built up those lines. But I wasn't sure of his name, so I told Mayor Dunne to ask for the

general manager of the lines. I didn't know Young had gone to London. So Dalrymple came over. But the man who was wanted was Young.

In his speech Mayor Johnson advocated municipal ownership and operation, the initiative, the referendum and the recall, and complete municipal home rule. When an auditor, Alexander H. Revell, objected to municipal ownership and operation that it would give the employes great political power, Mayor Johnson replied that this would be a trifle in comparison with the political power of the owners of great privileges. In the same connection Mayor Dunne said:

It is easier to get a man a place with the traction or gas companies here than it is to have him appointed on the police force or fire department. I would like to know how it is in Cleveland.

"I believe that is true in every large city. I know it is in Cleveland," was Mayor Johnson's reply. By way of illustration a member of the club, Mr. Andrew Adair, interjected:

I was told by a member of the local transportation committee a few days ago, that he had got jobs for eighteen of his constituents with the Union Traction company.

Second-choice voting in Wisconsin.

In accordance with Gov. La Follette's recommendation in his message (p. 577) a bill amending the primary election law so as to allow voting for first and second choice was agreed to by the committee on privileges and elections of the lower House. Under this bill there were to be as many tickets as parties and one for nonpartisans. The names of all candidates were to be arranged alphabetically on their respective ballots. At the right of each name was to be a blank, and in these the voter was to mark his first and his second choice. The bill came before the House on the 12th, and after a hot debate was defeated—43 to 42. An attempt to clinch this result, by tabling a motion to reconsider, failed.

The Life insurance grafters.

At the session of the legislative investigation committee (p. 543) at New York on the 12th, John F. Dryden, president of the Prudential and a Senator of the United

States from New Jersey, made the following resolutions:

That contributions aggregating \$26,000 were made by the Prudential to the Republican national committee in 1896, 1900 and 1904; that the "legislative" expenses of the Prudential in 1899 were \$15,800, of which sum \$5,000 was paid to Andrew Hamilton, the manager of the "yellow dog" fund of the "big three," in connection with some legislation "of the usual kind" in Illinois; that the Prudential has paid to the Metropolitan Life Insurance company since 1896 the sum of \$24,540 as its share of "legislative" expenses; that \$22,000 was spent in Wisconsin this year to defeat efforts of the State insurance commissioner to exclude the Prudential from the State, and the company won; that in 1904 Thomas N. McCarter, then attorney general of the State of New Jersey, now a director of the Prudential, was paid \$27,500 by the insurance company for "legal services;" that Director McCarter of the Prudential is president of the Public Service Corporation, which owns the trolley roads and electric light plants in many New Jersey cities, and several other directors of the Prudential are also directors of the Public Service Corporation, while the Prudential holds \$6,330,000 of bonds of subsidiary companies of the Public Service Corporation, and has made many loans to that corporation; that in the reorganization of the Prudential under New Jersey laws several years ago the right of policyholders to vote, which was granted in the original charter, was revoked.

A conference on Immigration.

At the conference on immigration of the National Civic Federation at New York on the 8th, a temporary organization of the National Institute of Immigration was effected with the following officers:

President, Broughton Brandenburg, New York; vice president, Jesse Taylor, Ohio; second vice president, H. W. Fairbanks, Texas; secretary-treasurer, Arthur Kellogg.

During the sessions of the conference the two following resolutions on Chinese exclusion were adopted:

Resolved, That we heartily indorse the position taken by the president that the Chinese exclusion laws forbidding the admission of laborers ought to be maintained and rigidly and honestly enforced.

Resolved, That our laws and treaties should be so framed and administered as carefully to except Chinese students, business men and professional

men of all kinds, not only merchants, but bankers, doctors, manufacturers, professors and travelers from the enforcement of the exclusion law.

One of the speakers at this conference was Ng Poon Chew, managing editor of the Chinese daily of San Francisco. Mr. Chew, a relative of Mr. Wu, formerly Chinese minister to the United States but now in the home service, came to this country at the age of 14, and was educated here both in English and Chinese. In his speech, which has attracted much attention, Mr. Chew said, among other things:

According to the ideas of the civilization of this twentieth century a nation has no right except what she can enforce by might. Therefore, according to this idea, we of the Chinese nation have no right to enter until we have the might to demand equal treatment with other countries. China is preparing now to be able some of these days to be a great nation, so as to kill the largest number of men in a given time with the least expense to herself, and then and not till then will she be looked upon as a great nation. The man who kills a thousand men is almost worshiped as a hero, while the poor devil who kills but one man is executed as a murderer. There is no ground to sustain the objections raised to the Chinese. Of course we have Chinese people of bad character, we have gamblers and we have opium-smokers. If I were a woman and my husband insisted on taking something I would rather he took opium every time than whisky. Whisky raises the passions which transform a man into a brute; opium transforms him into a living corpse. The American filled with whisky comes home and kicks his wife. The Chinaman under the influence of opium goes home and his wife kicks him. You Americans are all angels and we Chinamen are only half angels and half devils, a combination which you call human. The most striking objection to the Chinese is that we do not assimilate. Assimilate, humbug! You do not give us the chance. You throw every conceivable obstacle in our way. On the Pacific coast you forbid us to intermarry and at the same time you condemn us for not helping to solve the race suicide problem. You claim that we send money out of the country to China. This is not so. We send goods. Every American dollar is worth a dollar in the United States, while it is worth but 47 cents in China. Therefore we send goods. I have been here twenty-five years. All my interests are here, all my property; I pay taxes. I have raised a family of five children, and

yet should I leave the country I would never be able to return to this land of liberty and human progress. Four years ago I went to Niagara and wanted to pass over the suspension bridge and look at those magnificent Falls from the Canadian side. I was accompanied by an official of the government, who when we reached the middle of the bridge drew a line and said to me, "If you cross this line you shall be a Canadian whether you want to or not." I said, "No, I had rather be a Chinaman even in the United States." I edit a paper turned out by yellow men, but we yellow men turn out a white paper and many white men turn out a yellow paper. It is almost as impossible for a Chinaman to enter the United States as it is for a rich, fat American millionaire with all his money on his back to climb to heaven through a fire escape. I have in my pocket a letter from a friend of mine, a graduate of Yale university, who after teaching in Singapore for three years desired to return to the United States and was detained for one month in the detention sheds and then deported. We want better men at the head of the inspectors, not those pig-headed, oyster-brained officers which you now have. These officials who deported this educated Chinaman could none of them have written such a letter—such fluent diction, such perfect rhetoric, such command of the English. It is most unwise that you should by this unjust discrimination create the antagonism of a country naturally friendly. Human and awakened China will soon become powerful and mighty and will demand ten or fifteen years hence the same treatment that is accorded other nations.

The Russian revolution.

News of the situation in Russia (p. 580) is feverish, but trustworthy details are almost wholly lacking. Mutinies among the troops are vaguely reported from many quarters. On the 10th at St. Petersburg, Mr. Krustaleff, the president of the executive committee of the workingmen's council, was summarily arrested by Cossack troops. Seven other members of the committee were arrested with him. In consequence indignant meetings of workingmen were held in St. Petersburg immediately, at which inflammatory speeches were made. The telegraphers' tie-up is reported to be still complete. The Union of Unions decided on the 13th at St. Petersburg by a ballot representing 70 per cent of the membership, to give moral, financial and all other possible support to the rev-

olutionary programme of the Workingmen's Alliance.

On the 13th it was rumored at St. Petersburg that a revolutionary government for Livonia had been set up and in order to prevent troops from interfering all railway communication had been stopped. Confirmation of this rumor is reported by way of Helsingfors and Berlin. Two messengers, reported to have walked 30 miles from Riga to a railway train, assert that a provisional government has been set up in Livonia and that many of the troops have gone over to the insurrectionists. Dvina fort, commanding Riga harbor, is in their possession and the governor and other Russian officials are prisoners say these messengers, who add that—the provisional government exercises authority throughout Livonia and part of Corland. The new government has declared the separation of the Lithuanian people from the Russian Empire. New local officials have been chosen, who have decreed the closing of the spirit-shops and breweries and the annulment of contracts between the peasants and the land owners. There is a general uprising of the native peasants, who are traveling in armed bands, attacking the estates and driving off or killing their owners. Some of the land owners have organized volunteer battalions to protect their property, as the authorities are powerless to afford aid, but the majority are fleeing in terror. The peasants forbid the owners to sell grain or lumber, and formally declare that the forests and estates of those who have departed will be confiscated.

The position of the peasants in these provinces is said to have been the most deplorable of any in the entire Empire, conditions almost approaching those of the feudal system having been continued down to the present time. It seems that the peasants have been virtually at the mercy of the German barons from whom they rent land and purchase the right to cut wood and to fish in the waters of the gulf.

NEWS NOTES

—The Woman's Bar Association was incorporated in New York on the 9th.

—Edward Atkinson, one distinguished statistician, died at Boston on the 11th at the age of 78.

—Gen. W. J. Palmer and Dr. W. A. Ball, of Colorado Springs, have pre-

sented the famous Manitou Park to Colorado college for the purposes of a school of forestry.

—Mayor Dunne has appointed Dr. Maurice F. Doty as inspector of street car service and sanitation.

—John H. Mitchell, United States Senator from Oregon (p. 266), died at Portland on the 8th at the age of 70 years. On the 13th the Governor appointed John M. Gearin to fill the vacancy.

—Casper S. Bigler, a prominent manufacturer and supporter of the doctrines of Henry George, died at his home in Harrisburg on the 6th. He was a graduate of Yale, and a lawyer by profession.

—At a mass meeting of the Sunday Closing League, of Chicago on the 11th it was voted to institute legal proceedings against Mayor Dunne to compel him to close all places for the sale of alcoholic beverages on Sunday (p. 502).

—Lord Provost Bilsland, of Glasgow, elected to that office by 66 to 3 on the 10th of November, after the municipal elections, has been in the Council for 19 years and is a pronounced believer in the taxation of land values. He is a member of the Scottish League for the Taxation of Land Values.

—A centennial meeting to commemorate William Lloyd Garrison, "emancipator" and "non-resistant," was held at New York on his 100th birthday, December 10. Robert E. Ely was chairman and Moncure D. Conway made the principal speech. At a similar meeting on the same night in Brooklyn Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson made the address.

—Charles A. Peabody, said to be the choice of the Standard Oil group of financiers, was on the 13th elected president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company (p. 543) in place of McCurdy, at a salary of \$50,000. George W. Perkins resigned on the 13th as first vice president of the New York Life and chairman of its finance committee. Alexander E. Orr succeeds to the former position and John Claffin to the latter.

—Under the auspices of the Municipal Conference Committee on the Taxation of Land Values, a conference of representatives of British municipal and local taxing authorities (vol. vii, p. 823; vol. viii, pp. 73, 102), numbering 300, was held at Manchester Town Hall, Tuesday, 22d November, to consider and discuss the question of taxation of land values. The members of the Committee, who came from various parts of the country, had been previously received by the Lord Mayor of Manchester, who subsequently presided by request over the conference.

—At Chicago on the 7th David T. Corbin, United States district attorney for South Carolina in the late '60's and

early '70's, died at the age of 72. Mr. Corbin was a State senator in South Carolina and was elected United States Senator from that State, but did not get his seat. He codified the laws of South Carolina and along with Gov. Chamberlain represented the United States government in the South Carolina Ku-Klux trials in 1872. Born in New York, he served in the Civil War in a Vermont regiment, and after being a resident of South Carolina for many years finally settled in Chicago.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE VERMONT HANGING.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 11.—It is perhaps not wise to waste any invidious sympathy over female homicides. It may be taken for granted that women who murder men should be given the same treatment that is accorded the male murderer. But the case of the Rogers woman presents a different question. This miserable creature was not given the treatment accorded male murderers. Vermont law for many years has suffered the men who killed to escape with life sentences. Vermont has convicted many men in the last ten years of murder, but it has not hanged one of them. This fact gives a particularly grewsome aspect to the hanging of the Rogers woman. She was forced to tread the path to death alone. That the spectacle has shocked the country is undoubtedly true. It is not pleasant to think of a great commonwealth summoning death to strangle one lone woman almost within sight of men convicted of crimes equally grave.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Springfield Republican (ind.), Dec. 8 (weekly ed.)—The President's response to the Massachusetts tariff demands is as follows: "Of course no change can be made on lines 'beneficial to, or desired by, one section or one State only.' And why not, if other sections or States are not injured? Moreover, can the President point to a tariff that ever existed in this country which was built up on equal consideration of all States and sections? It is the voice of Senator Lodge that speaks in this passage.

The Nation (ind.), Dec. 7.—To judge by this message, President Roosevelt has become the weakest of stand-patters—one without real convictions, that is, and swayed only by political expediency. He masses the fulfillies for doing nothing with the tariff in the most approved manner—in a manner, we add, that will be applauded by those life-insurance officials and others who paid money to the Republican committee last year on the distinct understanding that the tariff plunder was to be let alone. This suggests another part of his message which is disappointingly feeble. His references to political corruption, and especially to contributions to campaign committees by corporations, are not what was expected of Theodore Roosevelt. He perfunctorily renews his recommendation that there be publication of campaign expenditures, and would have all contributions by corporations forbidden by law; but he makes no allusion to the scandalous diversion of trust funds to aid in his own election.

THE DEMOCRATIC MACHINE IN CHICAGO.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), Dec. 9.—The so-called Democratic organization of Chicago under the leadership of a gang that is allied with the traction trust, the gas trust, the telephone companies and all oth-

er privilege-seeking, vote-buying corporations. . . . Boodling, graft and crooked politics will flourish here so long as men like the forces in control of the present Democratic committee dominate its affairs. Those of them that do not look upon graft as honorable stand still and permit the stealing to go on. They see to it that the weak tickets are nominated for office and then they proceed to beat the tickets. Progressive Democrats must clear them out; they are a disgrace to any party and taint any cause they espouse.

THE LATE CASPER S. BIGLER.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 8.—In the death of Casper S. Bigler, of Harrisburg, the single tax cause loses a strong representative in this State. Mr. Bigler was a lawyer of reputation and a business man of exceptional standing and he was thus able to command a hearing for his views that often is denied to men of a less successful type. He had often spoken before legal and other bodies in support of his idea of economic freedom and he was both pleasing and effective.

THE GRAFTERS' PROGRESS.

Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind.), Dec. 6.—Ten little grafters working over time, Alexander quit, then there were nine. Nine little grafters awaiting their fate, Hyde took a tumble, then there were eight. Eight little grafters ready for heaven, Missionary McCurdy went, then there were seven. Seven little grafters in a tight fix, Out goes Perkins, now there are six. Six little grafters trembling in their shoes, All crying, "Massa, save us from Hughes!"

DESPOTIC FRANCHISES.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Evening Times (Dem.), Dec. 9.—The idea of a perpetual franchise, in fact the idea of any public franchise the monopoly of which is enjoyed by private parties, is absolutely incompatible with the theory of a free government.

IN CONGRESS.

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

Senate. Washington, Dec. 4-9. The first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress opened on the 4th. Vice President Fairbanks was in the chair in the Senate and the opening prayer was by the chaplain, Rev. Edward Everett Hale (p. 1). On the 5th the annual message of President Roosevelt was read (p. 24). Many bills and several reports and resolutions were introduced on the 6th, among the resolutions being one by Senator Tillman (p. 105) for an investigation into the political contributions of national banks. After some discussion on the 7th of Senator Tillman's resolution it was agreed to (p. 189). Adjournment was taken on this day until the 11th.

House.

At the opening of the first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress on the 4th, after prayer by the chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D. (p. 2), Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, was re-elected Speaker by 242 votes to 128 for John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, 16 not voting. The rules of the House in the Fifty-eighth Congress were adopted (pp. 5, 6, 7), 228 to 126, and 81 not voting. On the 5th President Roosevelt's message was read (p. 29). The House went into committee of the whole on the 6th on a bill supplemental to the act for the construction of the Isthmian canal (pp. 126-150); this business was resumed on the 7th (p. 190) when the bill was passed (p. 209), and the House adjourned to the 11th.

Notes.—Opening prayer of Edward Everett Hale, chaplain of the Senate (p.

1); opening prayer of Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., chaplain of the House (p. 2); text of President Roosevelt's message (p. 23); text of Newland's resolution for national incorporation of railroads engaged in inter-State commerce (p. 103).

MISCELLANY

SOCIAL SONNETS.

V.

RUSSIA.

For The Public.

A Lie is not a Truth, and cannot last;
It may, perchance, persist a thousand
years,
While Craft holds away o'er superstitious
fears;
But day by day the thousand years go past
And daily is the Lie more manifest,
Until it stands revealed for what it is—
Not Ordinance of God, but fell Disease,
Whereat Humanity shall stand aghast.
'Tis a rank Lie, as all the world now sees,
That Heaven anointed one poor craven
thing,
With coward, pliant soul and trembling
knees,
To rule a hundred millions as their king
With will unfettered as the will of God;
The hour has struck; now shall that Lie
explode!

J. W. BENGOUGH.

TIMELY OBSERVATIONS.

For The Public.

Of all the wonderful virtues gold
standard votaries have claimed for it,
absolution from sin caps the climax.

Some of our millionaire philanthro-
pists seem to be laboring under a mis-
apprehension. St. Paul never even in-
timated that charity could cover a
multitude of crimes.

Who hath Woe? Who hath Sorrow?

The grafters' syndicate seem to have
cornered the visible supply, but those
who are short can soon raise a crop
by doing likewise.

"How hath the mighty fallen?"
Ask Depew.

Some pharisees, with a habit of
praying: "Thank God I am not as
other men," now wish they were.

Recent developments indicate that
the way of the transgressor still re-
mains tolerable hard.

The way church pillars have been
tumbling or late, suggests that Sam-
son must be regaining his strength.

Hereafter the self-made man should
postpone his boasting until after a
searchlight has been turned on his
job.

It looks as if critics of the gold

standard could now afford to leave it
alone in the hands of its friends.

Even a conundrum may outlive its
usefulness.

The query: "When a tadpole turns
to a frog, what becomes of its tail?"
no longer interests a generation that
is anxiously guessing what becomes of
the money it pays for life insurance.

T. W. G.

CLEVELAND'S SUICIDE COMMISSION.

Frederick C. Howe, in Collier's Weekly
for Dec. 2. The editor of Collier's says of
Mr. Howe, that he is a member of the com-
mittee of which he writes, and that he is
the author of several books on government,
and is a member of the Ohio State Senate.

Within a comparatively few months,
86 persons have committed suicide in
the city of Cleveland. This was during
the period of general prosperity. To fix
the cause, and, if possible, apply a cure,
is the work of the Suicide Commission
which Mayor Johnson has recently
created.

A surprisingly large number of con-
fessions of contemplated suicide have
already come to the committee. Those
thus far investigated have been found
to be genuine. The universal cause is
despondency, a conviction that life has
ceased to offer any adequate returns for
the struggle—a feeling that, whatever
the future may hold, the present is un-
endurable. A great majority of the
cases are traceable to industrial causes,
continued inability to secure work, a
consequent loss of self-respect, and a
feeling of social inferiority. The indus-
trial wreckage in our large cities is very
great even in periods of prosperity, and
inability to catch on, to find a job, to fit
into the competitive struggle, produces
a sense of weariness and despondency
that leads to suicide. While cities have
erected hospitals for the correction of
disease, no effort has been made to re-
lieve the industrial by-product that is
crushed to earth by competition.

A second cause of despondency is
drink, with which is allied domestic un-
happiness. But the drink evil is chiefly
industrial, so that the Commission's
conclusions, so far, point to the econom-
ic explanation as chiefly responsible.

As to the corrective, the Commission
has as yet reached no conclusions. If
the cause is correctly assigned, relief lies
in offering opportunity to work to self-
respecting persons temporarily in need.
Cleveland has adopted this policy in its
workhouse and infirmary. Instead of
housing its unfortunates in city prisons,
the city has purchased a 1,500-acre farm
and placed its dependent classes at work

in the country. The city has substituted
sunlight, fresh air, and contact with
Mother Earth as a surer means of re-
form to the vagabond and the industrial-
ly unfit than the prison cell of the old-
style infirmary. It is possible that a
similar programme will be suggested for
those who are temporarily unable to
catch on in the industrial struggle,
where failure leads to despondency, loss
of self-respect and ultimate self-destruc-
tion.

DISTRESSING ACCIDENT.

From Mark Twain's "Editorial Wild
Oats."

Last evening about six o'clock as Mr.
William Schuyler, an old and respect-
able citizen of South Park, was leaving
his residence to go downtown as has
been his usual custom for many years,
with the exception only of a short in-
terval in the spring of 1850, during
which he was confined to his bed by in-
juries received in attempting to stop a
runaway horse by thoughtlessly placing
himself directly in its wake, and throw-
ing up his hands and shouting, which,
if he had done so even a single moment
sooner, must inevitably have fright-
ened the animal still more instead of
checking its speed, although disastrous
enough to himself as it was, and ren-
dered more melancholy and distressing
by reason of the presence of his wife's
mother, who was there and saw the sad
occurrence, notwithstanding it is at
least likely, though not necessarily so,
that she should be reconnoitering in an-
other direction when incidents occur not
vivacious and on the lookout, as a gen-
eral thing, but even the reverse, as her
own mother is said to have stated, who
is no more, but died in the full hope of a
glorious resurrection, upward of three
years ago, aged 86, being a Christian
woman and without guile, as it were,
or property, in consequence of the fire
of 1849, which destroyed every single
thing she had in this world. But such is
life. Let us all take warning by this
solemn occurrence and let us endeavor
so to conduct ourselves that when we
come to die we can do it. Let us place
our hands upon our heart, and say with
earnestness and sincerity that from this
day forth we will beware of the intoxi-
cating bowl.

THE INCENDIARY MR. BAER.

Mr. George F. Baer, president of
the Reading railroad, has put his foot
in it again. His latest utterance is
the following:

Cain was the first striker, and he killed
Abel because Abel was the more prospe-
rous fellow.

He, of course, intends to intimate that the coal miners intend to use violence against himself and such as he.

Even the Wall Street Journal feels obliged to call this man Baer to account, which it does by saying:

A sentence like this might be almost incendiary in its effect. It is certainly not calculated to aid in the solution of the labor problem, nor will it serve the cause of peace in the anthracite coal fields. It is a very ungracious, not to say false, statement. Cain was the first murderer, and to say that Cain was the first striker is the same as saying that strikers are murderers. To declare that Cain killed Abel because Abel was the most prosperous fellow, is practically to charge that labor strikes have as their predominating motive envy of the rich.

How can we expect peace and harmony between capital and labor when such men as Baer have the settlement of disputed questions? The Reading railroad is making enormous profits from mining and transporting coal, and has been raising the price each month. It is the main spoke of the coal trusts. It was Baer who refused to settle the coal strike on a reasonable compromise until J. P. Morgan, the head of the trust, was compelled by public opinion to call him down. The trust has never been satisfied with that settlement; it is bitterly opposed to the Miners' union, and hopes to disintegrate it, but the good sense of Mr. Mitchell and his advisers will doubtless defeat the machinations of the trust.

Mr. Morgan, Mr. Baer and the other coal barons must remember that they are treading on thin ice, as the trust is daily disobeying the Interstate Commerce law, which provides for the fining and imprisonment of those who conspire in restraint of trade. If a referendum vote could be taken on the question of "trust busting," the coal trust especially would find it has but few friends in the United States. As the people are rapidly moving to establish the Referendum and the Initiative, the day of trust domination is nearer its end than the trust barons appreciate. So go slow, Mr. Baer. You are rich and powerful, and the miners are poor and miserable. As you are reputed to be a deacon of the church, and quote from the Bible, remember that Dives had his day, and after that Lazarus had his, and there was a great gulf between them at the finish, and the beggar was on the happy side of it.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

THE ETERNALITY OF THE LAND QUESTION.

For The Public.

The oneness of truth and the persistency of the spirit of freedom is nowhere better seen than in the land question. Whether we examine the carefully framed laws of Moses designed to guard the rights of the Hebrews in the land upon which they labored; or listen to the despairing cry of the Gracchi who vainly sought to restore to the Roman people their lost heritage; or contemplate the all-pervading law put forth by Henry George that is to save this day and age—if saved it is to be—from a repetition of the disasters that overwhelmed the peoples of the past, the purpose has always been the same, an effort to keep the laborer in close touch with the land upon which he must labor.

Not only is the substance the same but the very manifestation of the land question repeats itself over and over in succeeding ages. The cunning Hebrew who added field to field till there was nowhere for the poor to dwell; the imperious Roman who replaced freemen with slaves till the invincible legions were obliged to beg their bread; the grasping nobility that fenced in the English commons till the country was filled with paupers; the corrupt Russian oligarchy withholding from the peasants their natural birthright till the people have risen in mad despair, all followed a like course, and all attained a like end.

A curious illustration of the universality of this question is to be found in More's Utopia, where, in speaking of the disposition of the surplus population, the returned traveler says:

But if so be that the multitude throughout the whole island pass and exceed the due number, then they choose out of every city certain citizens, and build up a town under their own laws in the next land where the inhabitants have much waste and unoccupied ground, receiving also the same country people to them, if they will join and dwell with them. They thus joining and dwelling together do easily agree in one fashion of living, and that to the great wealth of both the peoples. For they so bring the matter about by their laws, that the ground which before was neither good nor profitable for the one nor for the other, is now sufficient and fruitful enough for them both. But if the inhabitants of that land will not dwell with them to be ordered by their laws, then they drive them out of those bounds which they have limited, and appointed out for themselves. And if they resist and rebel, then they make war against them. For they count this the most just cause of war, when any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant to no good nor profitable use, keeping other from the use and possession of it, which notwithstanding by the law of nature ought thereof to be nourished and relieved.

Fortunate indeed is it for the owners of vacant lots and idle mineral lands in this country that the people do not hold to the moral ideas of that mythical isle.

STOUGHTON COOLEY.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

Printed from the original MS.

Dear John: Say! What's the reason I can't be a king? I don't mean when the Republican party completes the Panama canal, but right off now. Why not? I've got the men, and I've got the money, and by George the Third, I've got the principles. I never expected to have 'em, but I have.

I could take some good soundin' title, say Haayrake I—spell it with two a's to give it an august turn; I could propose some tried imperialist like Taft to succeed me as Haayrake II, and America could float off down the tide o' years a kingdom as fine as Norway, and with the succession assured without any intermedlin' of fellows that want to vote on things. What do you say, John? I'm a good deal more than half way there now. I've a press censorship, and nobody kicks. I've colonial possessions, vice-regal governors, and trials without juries. I have "lese majeste;" I don't know how to pronounce the blame thing yet, but I've got it. I've an aristocracy as haughty as a deaf mahn on a toboggan slide. I've rich men growin' so swiftly richer that they are bound in a short time to corral all the goods; and a lot of uncomfortable people who don't sense what the matter is an' want a change. Why not a kingdom? I'm thinkin' I might pull it off with the Senate and the regular army. The Senate needs a change of government to keep 'em out of the penitentiary, and the regular army has all the modern guns.

Of course some of my radical boys would object; but they are anarchists, free silver men, Bryanites, and all manner of wild fools, and they don't count. Time back it wouldn't do. Every man and boy then was a gunner in his own right, and if he couldn't knock a copper cent at 30 yards with a rifle he couldn't hunt squirrels; but these days most of my 70,000,000 don't know which end of a gun goes off, which accounts for so many bein' killed huntin'. They'd pick up a gun like a shinny stick, and say: "Is it a three per cent. or a six?" and "When does the dividend come out?" My regular army could drive the whole crowd; that is, if I could keep it from desertin' long enough to stand in one place to be counted. I never had no luck with a regular army. A regular army's a wart!

But it would be mighty fine, John, the king business. I can shut my eyes now, lean back and see myself takin' profits. No more a slappin' you on the back and askin': "Who's your barber, Sam?" and, "Where did you get that hat?" but trumpets, and heralds, and gold lace, and all manner of brassy things—real royalty; and coaches, and outriders and heralds a yellin': "Make way there, make way fer the King! Make way fer the great Haayrake I, by the grace of the Republican party King of America. Lord of Maine, California, Washington, etc., Seneschal of the Philippines, and Emperor of Cincinnati, O., and the Panama canal. Make way fer the greatest king since Alexander! Born to the purple! Three eclipses on the day of his nativity! His shadow cures hay fever and appendicitis in rich folks without a surgeon! The sun never sees the washin' of his feet! Bow down there, you Hill Billies, till the royal cavalcade has passed!" Gosh! I know who I'd have fer court fool; I've got him picked out now.

Excuse me fer not writin', but I've been readin' the President's message. I've read all of it—about the preservation of buffalo, and most of the heads of chapters. Theodore is a fluid talker and he has a stenographer who can keep up with him, and between 'em they turn off a message that lays pretty well over all the land and a little of the water. It's easier, seems to me, to write a president's message than it used to be when they were hand made, but the readin's tougher. Think over this king matter John. You are mighty friendly to me in all imperial ways, and a man needs a friend who will stick to him in his meanness. If I go in I'll want you.

And see here! What do you think, John, of hanging women as a state function, anyway? I feel almost as mean over the Vermont execution as I deserve to, a mixed feelin' of sorrow for the woman and personal disgrace. If taxation without representation is tyrannical, then the execution of women by men without representation, is murder. There is no gettin' around it. She had no voice in the makin' of the man-made law. She had no vote to repeal it. She is the helpless victim of a barbarian age and sex. And the commonwealth—the commonwealth, John, that executes a woman, or leaves it possible, is a little in the bushes, eh? just a little in the bushes. That's the way it looks to me. A society for the prevention and abolition of the capital punishment of women altogether, would have more signers than a government loan. A man that'll

hang a woman don't deserve to have even a dog love him.

Here's a scrap from the Poetry Machine:

ONE WITNESS.

The Secretary was a presence grim,
Moody and cold, and full of cares of state;
But one there was who, mute, defended
him—

His little dog watched for him at the gate.

The Secretary, he became a clod,
Pomp and funereal honors, hearse
ornate;

No friends, no tears—but in the sight of
God

His little dog watched for him at the gate.

UNCLE SAM.

A DREAM ABOUT "THE MESSAGE."

A letter to the editor of the New York Evening Post, published in the Post of Dec. 8.

Sir: A fortunate accident has brought into my hands, a proof of the first draft of the President's message, as it originally went to the printer. I enclose the passage relating to peace. I understand that Mr. Root is responsible for the eventual changes in it. MENNON.

New York, Dec. 7.

"It may be safely asserted that bad wars are bad, but it is almost as certain that good wars are usually good. We are good, and hence our wars are also good. Anyone who disputes this proposition shows by his warped frame of mind the craven character of his heart. In times of peace, peace is an excellent thing, provided that we make full use of the opportunity afforded by it for preparing for war, but at other times, peace is not to be expected, and it is idle to expect it. Such dreams are sentimental and purely academic, and no upright citizen can indulge in them. It is true that as individuals we settle our disputes peaceably, but that is because we are more civilized as individuals than we are as nations. Nations are fortunately still in a state of barbarism, and it is our duty not to civilize them too rapidly. I heartily recommend our participation in The Hague conference because I am assured that it will not interfere in the least with the really important causes of war. It is a pleasure to note that the great Christian Powers have fought with each other much less during late years than they used to. They used to take nations of their size, which was manifestly foolish and perilous. Nowadays they almost invariably attack little countries which they are sure they can knock out, and which cannot in any way injure them or their commerce. This shows how civilization has advanced, and how militarism develops the courage of brave peoples. It

is true that Russia made a serious mistake in judging of the military power of Japan, but that error was due to the low state of public education in that empire. We Americans will never make such miscalculations. It is fortunate that the claims of high morality for which I stand never oblige me to threaten any foreign Powers of greater resources than San Domingo, Venezuela and the Philippine republic. Foreign States (of the rank and strength of these) must be taught to pay their debts, no matter how they were incurred. Repudiation cannot be permitted to any State, not a member of the American Union. Our foreign ministers will continue to keep these ends in view, and, those of them, who, through excess of zeal, become mixed up in shady financial transactions will, as heretofore, receive every mark of my confidence, while those who dare to question such a policy will be, in the future as in the past, removed and disgraced.

"I am heartily in favor of a reduction of armaments, but before anything practical can be done, we must determine which nations are a menace to the rest of mankind. Only naughty nations should be disarmed, and the best way to determine which nations are naughty is to ascertain which of them resist our noble aims for the improvement of the world. Such nations should be disarmed, and in order to be able to do this we should have a strong army and navy. I pledge myself heartily to this plan of progressive disarmament.

"After all, there is nothing like the Golden Rule between nations. I know this from experience. It not only accomplishes the immediate result desired, but it awakens the gratitude and affection of the people whom we golden-rule. I believe that I am to-day the most popular man in the estimation of the Filipinos and Colombians, and I am hard at work gaining the affections of the Dominicans and Venezuelans in the same manner. But, of course, the Golden Rule must not be construed in a fantastic manner, and this I have never done. I have always carefully avoided hysterical pseudo-philanthropy. This mighty and free Republic should ever deal with all other states, great or small, on a basis of high honor, respecting their rights as jealously as it safeguards its own, for, as I once remarked before, honesty is the best policy, and virtue is its own reward, and I would far rather be right than be President, but I am awfully glad that I am both. If the world goes

wrong, after listening to a few of my messages, at any rate, it will not be my fault. . . ."

STARVATION IN ANDALUSIA.

The stories which have recently come from Andalusia have probably shocked many people who have long looked upon that allegedly favored spot in Spain as being the most comfortable and the most desirable place in all the world to live. A land of dreams, ease and plenty, where the soil was fertile, the sun shed a grateful warmth the year round, and the earth yielded of its fatness with the minimum of effort on the part of man. Now we hear of famine, riot and terrible suffering among the thousands of inhabitants of Andalusia, and learn something of the evils which can arise from the holding of vast estates by single men who pose as feudal lords.

The beauty of the chateau, the loveliness of the garden, the picturesqueness of the vineyards, the quaint charms of Spanish peasant life which have been pictured in poetry and prose almost for centuries, lose much of their glamour and attractiveness when we learn that they have been secured at the cost of a nation's welfare and happiness. A reign of terror now seems to prevail in this favored region. A failure of crops, caused by a drought through the winter and early spring, has swept away the slight barrier which existed between the working people and abject poverty. Hundreds of thousands are reduced to misery. In a single city, that of Cadiz, with a population of 70,000, over 20,000 people were asking for public assistance. Naturally this condition of affairs reacts upon those who are in a measure responsible. The rich landholders are fleeing from their homes in dread of violence from an enraged and starving people. While the people are living upon wild roots, those who have profited from their labor are living in the comfort afforded by the great cities of the continent and waiting for the storm to blow over.

This is a vain hope, for while the rains may come again and peace prevail once more over the smiling valleys of Andalusia, the terrible economic wrongs which are at the bottom of these troubles remain still unrighted and there can be no permanent improvement until far-reaching changes take place in the system of labor which has so long prevailed and which is responsible for the conditions of to-day.

The government of Spain has awakened to the needs, not only of the moment, but of the future; for while the starving are being fed and public works

are inaugurated to supply temporary needs, steps are being taken to bring the landlords to a realization of their responsibilities. In a recent interview, Senor Romanones, the minister of agriculture, made the following statement: "As minister, I am bound to declare that public order must be maintained; but if I were a laborer, I should talk differently. The fact is; the government is systematically opposed by the landlords whenever it tries to carry out a work of general utility."

The great need of this region in Spain is a subdivision of the vast estates which have been accumulated by the Spanish nobles through inheritance and oppression, the introduction of scientific agriculture, and the building of great irrigation works. Much of this land lies in a region bordering upon aridity, where crop failures are a matter of frequent occurrence, owing to a deficiency in rainfall. With a climate unsurpassed, fertile soil, good markets for all produce, and an ample supply of labor at most moderate wages, there is no reason why Andalusia, Estramadura and Aragon should not become what all the world has thought them to be in the past.

An interesting contrast to the conditions now prevailing in Andalusia and that region is found in northwestern Spain, near Vigo. Conditions there have been favorable to the transfer of land. It has been made possible for the peasant with small capital to either buy outright or lease for a long term of years such an amount of ground as he was able to care for. Thousands of Spaniards have gone from this region every year into the neighboring countries of Europe, and even to the United States, for the purpose of earning money to be later invested in land. This process has been going on for some years past, and a community of small homes, individually prosperous, has been built up which might well serve not only as an object lesson to the Spanish land owners and their government, but as a model for the reconstruction of the vast areas of fertile Spain which have been devastated by men who have been blind not only to their own interests but to the general interest and welfare of their country.

Due allowance must be made, of course, in these old world countries for centuries of inherited customs and prejudices, and in many instances it requires dire calamity to bring about an awakening. These landlords are not more cruel, selfish, or ignorant than other people of the same degree of civilization and intelligence. When they come into their estates, they accept conditions as they find them. The responsi-

bility of administering a great landed property is a serious burden to a conscientious man, especially where the working population of such an estate looks upon the proprietor as a superior being, upon whose will their happiness is dependent. It takes a man of extraordinary originality and courage to break from family and national traditions, and inaugurate any such radical reforms as are necessary to change for the better that which he finds given into his care.

The great land owners of Europe generally regard themselves merely in the light of trustees for these vast properties, and it is safe to say that most of them attempt to prevent any deterioration at least in the property while it lies in their hands, and take pride in any increase of revenue produced by their management. There is no doubt but that in many places such as Spain, radical attempts to make small land-holdings general would be looked upon as a dangerous innovation, and would not be viewed with entire confidence or satisfaction even by the people whom it was intended to benefit.

A severe shock, such as has been caused by the present troubles in Spain, is necessary to arouse public sentiment, to bring home the responsibilities of government, and to convince the landed proprietors that in their own selfish interests something else would be better than the policy they have been following from time immemorial.

Even following such a shock, however, reforms are not immediate, for present conditions are reflected in the legal machinery, governmental system and political and social customs; but there is hope, when a country has once been aroused to an evil, that progress will be made for the better in the future.

It is said that history repeats itself, and in no particular direction does this seem to be truer than in the history of land tenure in every civilized nation. First comes the seizing of the land, then its gradual organization into holdings large and small, the absorption of the small holdings by the large, and the consequent creation of vast estates. These exist for such a time as the resisting power of the nation allows, then they are forced into fragments under pressure from the thiling millions who awake to the injustice of this monopoly of what in the beginning belonged to all.—James Davenport Whelpley, in Maxwell's Talisman for Oct., 1905.

Mr. Bryan's revenue from his letters of travel is said to bring an income of \$50,000 a year. It may be a perplexing question as to what shall be done

with our ex-presidents, but our ex-presidential candidates seem able to take care of themselves.—Columbus Press-Post.

SOUNDS OF THE TIMES.

"Father, what is that noise I hear?"

"What is it like, my son?"

"Like the crack of fireworks going off,
Like the roar of a minute gun,
Like the crash and the dash of the ocean waves

When ships they are breaking up;
Like the thunder when the lightning strikes."

"That's the people waking up,

My son,

That's the people waking up."

"Father, what is that sound hear?"

"What is it like, my boy?"

"Like the piercing din of escaping steam,
Like the shriek of a whistling buoy,
Like the yell of an Indian getting scalped,
Like lots of crockery crashed."

"That's the ballot's hammering at strenuous work—

That's the rings that are getting smashed,

My boy,

That's the rings that are getting smashed."

"Father, what is that moan I hear?"

"What is it like, my lad?"

"Oh, it is like a shivering ghost,
So faint and weary and sad!
It is like the wail of a midnight wind,
Like the sob of a mighty loss,
Like the dying groan of a deep despair."

"That's the passing of the boss,

My lad,

That's the passing of the boss."

—Baltimore American.

Proprietor of Big Iron Works—If I understand you correctly, you wish to place an order for armor plate that no cannon shot can pierce. We are turning out that kind of thing every day—

Agent of Foreign Government—No; you misunderstand. I wish to know if you can manufacture a cannon that can pierce any armor plate?

Proprietor—Certainly, sir. We are doing that kind of thing every day, too.—Answers.

Long meter Doxology, revised by the Boston Globe for use of the Inter-Church Federation:

Praise God, from whom all blessings flow,
All sing, except those we don't know;
Praise Him all sects and creeds and clans
Except the Uni-tari-ans.

—Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen.

"To what do you attribute your wealth?"

"To industry, frugality and good associations," the great man replied.

And then with the air of one wishing to tell the whole truth, he added: "The secret rebate also helped some."
—Philadelphia Bulletin.

BOOKS

HERETICS.

Heretics, by Gilbert K. Chesterton. John Lane Company, New York, \$1.50.

When I was reading this book a friend came over from the house next door to inquire what was the matter. It is a book for copious laughter, and I was not ashamed. It is the heartiest, frankest book of criticism on modern ways and modern thought that has appeared. It pricks deep holes into solemn humbugism in the way that has been long needed. It supplies a long-felt want. But it is more than critical. Beneath its luxuriant ridicule lies a solid ground of genuine, positive conviction.

There are too many subjects in the book to permit the mention of them in a single review. Imagine every commonly accepted opinion about things that you have not thought very deeply about, but have gone on accepting just because "the best modern thought" seemed to point that way—and then expect to find your easy-going notions knocked in the head. Start out with this expectation, and even then you will find enough of delightful surprises to keep you from seeing, until perhaps a second reading, that the author is as finely conservative for radicals as he is finely radical for conservatives.

He shows this sometimes in a single sentence, into which he compresses enough to give us pause for an hour's good thinking. For example: "If we ever," he says, "get the English back on to the English land they will become again a religious people, if all goes well, a superstitious people." Here you have modern landlordism and modern rationalism empaled in a single setting. You may easily read the sentence over without seeing at first how much lies in it, but you are almost compelled to begin to think something about it. Some word perhaps startles the reader—"superstitious," for example. Then you begin to think, what in the world does the man mean?

There is a danger that Mr. Chesterton's readers may think at first that he is too much given to saying smart things just for the sake of appearing clever, but in reality it is not so at all. With him it may truly be said, the style is the man. At times he rises to eloquence, as in the close of the chapter on Omar and the Sacred Vine. Generally he is simply direct and crisp; frequently, what is called paradoxical. He is deeply and sincerely certain that many of us are dead wrong about many things. Therefore he frequently proclaims the diametrical opposite. Hence the seeming paradoxes.

We think, for example, that we are necessarily broadened by becoming

"globe-trotters." Not so, says Chesterton. "The globe-trotter lives in a smaller world than the peasant. He is always breathing an air of locality. London is a place, to be compared to Chicago; Chicago is a place, to be compared to Timbuctoo. . . . The man in the saloon steamer has seen all the races of men, and he is thinking of the things that divide men—diet, dress, decorum, rings in the nose as in Africa, or in the ears as in Europe, blue paint among the ancients, or red paint among modern Britons. The man in the cabbage field has seen nothing at all; but he is thinking of the things that unite men—hunger and babies, and the beauty of women, and the promise or menace of the sky."

We think to-day, without considering the end, that we are more than ever efficient, and we talk more than ever about efficiency. In every college of the land young men are told that they must be efficient. It has become a great word. "When everything about a people," says Chesterton, "is for the time growing weak and ineffective, it begins to talk about efficiency. . . . None of the strong men in the strong ages would have understood what you meant by working for efficiency. Hildebrand would have said that he was working not for efficiency, but for the Catholic church. Danton would have said that he was working not for efficiency, but for liberty, equality and fraternity."

We think to-day that we are more than ever democratic, because we have discovered "sociology" and talk more than ever about the poor. "It is a sufficient proof," says Chesterton, "that we are not in an essentially democratic state that we are always wondering what we shall do with the poor. If we were democrats, we should be wondering what the poor will do with us. With us the governing class is always saying to itself: 'What laws shall we make?' In a purely democratic state it would be always saying: 'What laws can we obey?'" In some ways, Chesterton maintains, there was more democracy in medieval times. "We are always ready," he says, "to make a saint or prophet of the educated man who goes into cottages to give a little kindly advice to the uneducated. But the medieval idea of a saint or prophet was something quite different. The medieval saint or prophet was an uneducated man who walked into grand houses to give a little kindly advice to the educated."

Such examples of Chesterton's independent way of thinking can be found on every page of the book. These passages were taken quite at random. Whether you agree with him or not, he is worth becoming acquainted with. He has a positive philosophy running through all his clever criticism and seeming airiness. This philosophy, perhaps we may say in a word, is based on

what he believes to be the fundamental principles—or maybe he would prefer to say, the fundamental feelings—of democracy and religion. I say feelings with some confidence, because Mr. Chesterton is extremely frank in scorning the notion that human life—in its history, its morals, its philosophy, its mystery—can be dealt with as a science.

Two other of his books have been reviewed in *The Public*,—"Browning" (vol. vi., p. 319), and "Varied Types" (vol. vii., p. 14). The present volume of essays is the best. It is the fullest expression that he has yet given of his creed, and of his views of modern life and thought, as tested by the uncompromising articles of this creed.

J. H. DILLARD.

AN EYE FOR AN EYE.

An Eye for an Eye. By Clarence S. Darrow, author of "Farmington," "Resist Not Evil," etc. New York: Fox, Duffield & Company. Price, \$1.00. Sold by the Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

Two hundred pages of monologue, almost unrelieved by other than reminiscent action, and darkened by an infusion of fatalism, a monologue which insinuates withal a moral at nearly every turn of the narrative, would not strike one as an interesting specimen of the story-teller's art. But Clarence S. Darrow offers just such a specimen in his "Eye for an Eye," and we venture the guess that few who read the first dozen pages of this story will close the book until they have read it through.

The story is told between the twilight of an evening and the twilight of the next morning, in the condemned cell of the Chicago jail in Dearborn street. It is the story of a wife-murderer who is to die with the dawn. His scaffold is going up while he talks, and the dread sounds of the bulldozers' work penetrate his cell and occasionally distract his thought. To buoy him up, the guards encourage him to hope for a hopeless reprieve, and deaden his sensibilities with whisky. He tells his story to a former workingman associate who had shrank from visiting the convict because he had expected to find him turned assassin, but was surprised and relieved upon going to the jail to see in him his old comrade unchanged, a man like himself. He had fallen a victim to an accumulation of human weaknesses and a train of circumstances culminating in his killing his wife, and had raised his offense from a lower grade of homicide to the highest grade, not by homicidal malice but by his efforts in a panic of fear to conceal his lesser crime.

In his story the convict narrates the circumstances of his life, dealing candidly with his weaknesses, of

which avenging society had made so much, but telling also, and without immodesty, virtuous actions prompted by love for his wife, his child, and his fellow man, but of which avenging society had refused to hear.

As the morning breaks, the convict, hopeless yet still hoping, closes his story: "Well, now I guess I've told you all about how everything happened and you understand how it was. I s'pose you think I'm bad, and I don't want to excuse myself too much, or make out I'm any saint. I know I never was, but you see how a feller gets into these things when he ain't much different from everybody else. I know I don't like crime, and I don't believe the others does. I just got into a sort of a mill and here I am right close up to that noose. . . Now, I haven't told you a single lie—and you can see how it all was, and that I wa'n't so awful bad, and that I'm sorry, and would be willin' to die if it would bring her back."

Then a new guard comes up, followed by two waiters bringing "great trays filled with steaming food" for this man whose long life of hard work had barely kept him above the starvation line; and as his friend leaves the cell, the doomed and half-stupefied convict calls out: "Hank! Hank! S'pose—you—stop at the—telegraph—office—the Western Union—and the—Postal—all of 'em—mebbe—might—be somethin'—"

The possibility of reprieve was uppermost to the last. It never came, but the dreadful climax is left to the imagination.

Although this story is intensely painful, there is no obtrusion of horror for horror's sake. It is a true story of some of the social horrors of our time, which do not spring from the nature of things, but are caused by man's inhumanity to man. There is little or no preaching, hardly any except that of the convict, and he doesn't really preach but only wonders how the distressful things that puzzle him can be. As with one of Dickens's characters so with him, "it's a' a muddle a' a muddle." But there is no need for preaching in this book; the story does its own preaching.

ETHICS OF LITERATURE.

The Ethics of Literature. By John A. Kersey. New York: Twentieth Century Press. Price, \$1.50. John A. Kersey is so cocksure a thinker and writer, that his reviews of world-famous poets and philosophers hardly admit of criticism, however humbly advanced. He knows what he knows.

Strange to say, this kind of writing is not so offensive as one might imagine. For what of it if, after all, the author may be mistaken; does he not never-

theless leave no doubt of the honesty of his convictions? If he hammers Bishop Butler and his spiritual-physical analogy to a pulp, we know he believes that they deserve it; and if he calls Tennyson's *In Memoriam* and *Idylls of the King* inflictions, we are sure that that is what they are to him. It is not easy to avoid a suspicion, however, that our strenuous author has no other standards for the poetic than what he would call common sense, even as he has no other tests for the spiritual than those of the chemical laboratory.

His idea that human motive exists with reference only to rewards and punishments, strikes us as a virtual denial of the human. If there is anything of which every man may say with reference to himself, "This is I," it is not his constantly changing physical body, nor even his constantly crystallizing habits, but his motives—his power of choosing between right courses and wrong ones. Yet the author denies to man "the power to choose between right and wrong."

With it all, however, he has made a very readable review, from a utilitarian standpoint, of some of the great literary luminaries—minds of which he says that they "have given the world some of the most superb thought, grouping the rarest gems in clusters with the veriest peter-funk." Among the productions reviewed are Butler's *Analogy*, Drummond's *Natural Law*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Pope's *Essay on Man*, Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, Tennyson's *Idylls*, *Faust*, and Kidd's *Evolution*; and in his reviews the author takes no opinion at second hand.

PHANTASTIES.

Phantastes: A Faerie Romance for Men and Women. By George MacDonald. A new edition with 33 new illustrations by Arthur Hughes; edited by Greville MacDonald. Published by Arthur C. Fifield, 4 Fleet street, London, E. C.

This new edition of *Phantastes*, which first saw the light half a century ago, is issued by the author's son partly as a tribute to the father "by way of personal gratitude for this, his first prose work." *Phantastes* is a delightful fairy story without a touch, apparently, of any moral lesson; yet at the end the reader suddenly realizes that it has been expounding to him a moral lesson all the way through. And what a splendid lesson! It is a lesson which he who flees from the shadow of self must live and learn in the forms that belong to the world of men; but in this allegory one finds those forms translated into the weird experiences of fairy land.

DEPRAVED FINANCE.

Depraved Finance. By Robert Fleming. New York: The Robert Fleming Publishing Co. Fleming's "Depraved Finance," like



WANTED—"SHARP CHECKING."

"The Corporation has come to stay, just as the Trade Union has come to stay. Each should be favored as long as it does good. But each should be sharply checked where it acts against law and justice."—President Roosevelt's Message to Congress.

The labor horse is "sharply checked" however it acts; but meantime, even docking the other animal is something Roosevelt won't consider.

Lawson's exposures, is especially interesting reading, now that what they have testified to in the face of a general denial from the conspirators they exposed, is being proved under oath out of the mouths of the conspirators themselves. Well may the author of this book write of Sam Parks's labor graft, for which he went to state's prison, as trifling in comparison with the genteel graft for which nobody has been punished nor is likely to be. These things are indeed "vastly more damaging to trade and more injurious to the people."

Mr. Fleming appeals to the people to sweep away all the bogus capital which the conspirators have charged up "as real money;" and he truly says

that "the extinction of all the fictitious capital stock and mortgage bonds in the United States would not make the country one cent poorer," for "there would be the same wealth with the encumbering fiction eliminated." But he does not seem to realize, or if he does he fails to make it clear, that imaginary or "bogus capital" has no commercial power in and of itself.

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 —The Free Pass Bribery System. By George W. Berge. Lincoln, Neb.: The Independent Publishing Co. Price, \$1.00. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. To be reviewed.
 —The Imperial Drug Trade. A Re-Statement of the Opium Question, in the Light of Recent Evidence and New Developments in the East. By Joshua Rowntree. London: Methuen & Co., 36 Essex St., W. C. To be reviewed.

PERIODICALS

In speaking of Jack London's recent address at Oberlin, the college paper, the Review, says: "His arraignment of society was too bitter, too biased and too exaggerated to really carry conviction. He talked and talked, and always there was a feeling that he was playing a part, that he was not wholly sincere." London evidently lacks discretion. When invited, as a literary lion, to address an academic audience, he should choose such subjects as, for example, How I came to write the "Call of the Wild." He should confine his remarks to the doings of four-legged beasts. Then the Review would not find him tiresome and insincere.—J. H. D.

The best essay ever written on the book of Job is reprinted in the Living Age for November 18 from the London Speaker. It is by G. K. Chesterton, whose books and essays are beginning to be recognized as the work of an original genius. "Job's friends," says Chesterton, "attempt to comfort him with philosophical optimism, like the intellectuals of the eighteenth century. Job tries to comfort himself with philosophical pessimism like the intellectuals of the nineteenth century. But God comforts Job with indecipherable mystery, and for the first time Job is comforted. . . . Job flings at God one riddle, God flings back at Job a hundred riddles, and Job is at peace." The essay is aptly entitled "Leviathan and the Hook."—J. H. D.

"The New Chemistry" is the title of an article in the Cornhill Magazine, by W. A. Sheastone. "If we sum up," he says, "what has been done so far, we may say, I think, that if the investigators of radio-activity have not yet definitely sapped the foundations of chemistry, they have, nevertheless, done truly great things." There is no doubt that the scholars in chemistry have entered a new domain, and no one as yet knows what will be found there, nor how much of what was thought to be established will be upset.—J. H. D.

In the Exponent (St. Louis) for November, F. M. Crunden, of the St. Louis Public Library, has a very convincing article on the Public Library as a Fac-

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tor in Industrial Progress. "More than any other agency," he claims, "it elevates the general standard of intelligence throughout the great body of the community." In the same number N. O. Nelson contributes a characteristically clear article on Business Cooperation. Nowhere else can one find in so brief space the history and method of the cooperative movement.—J. H. D.

Ex-Gov. Garvin has a striking article in Watson's Magazine for December, asking the question, "Is Money to Rule Us?" Gov. Garvin's conclusion is that the only way to prevent it is for the people to "gain control of their organic law." He cites Oregon as the State that points the way. "In the State of Oregon," he says, "it is now possible for 7,000 voters to initiate changes in the organic law, and to have the proposition they present accepted or rejected by a majority vote of all the qualified electors. . . . Other States must follow the trail blazed by Oregon. If the way out of the wilderness is to be found."—J. H. D.

"What Judge Grosscup forgets is that in moral right all men are the true owners of all natural advantages not created by individual men, and of all artificial advantages created by act and authority of the State." Such are the words of the Independent in an able editorial apropos of Judge Grosscup's article entitled: "Who Shall Own America?" The writer in the Independent does not say how the moral right is to be made effective. He says, "the spirit that wrested liberty from oppression in the later colonial period, that won independence in 1776, and that put down slavery in 1861, is already addressing itself to the corporation oligarchy, and will make its power increasingly felt." Does the writer remember that there was fighting on the two occasions mentioned?—J. H. D.

Football as a training for life is the subject of a clever bit of satire in the Independent of November 30. The great game of the colleges is "catching it" all around. "It has gone steadily from bad to worse," says the Nation. "College authorities," continues this editor, "have abdicated their proper functions, always trembling lest a radical stand decrease the enrollment and drive students to a rival institution." What gives promise of at least some change in the game is the fact that even the papers that whooped up the game sensationally, seem to be veering to sensational opposition.—J. H. D.

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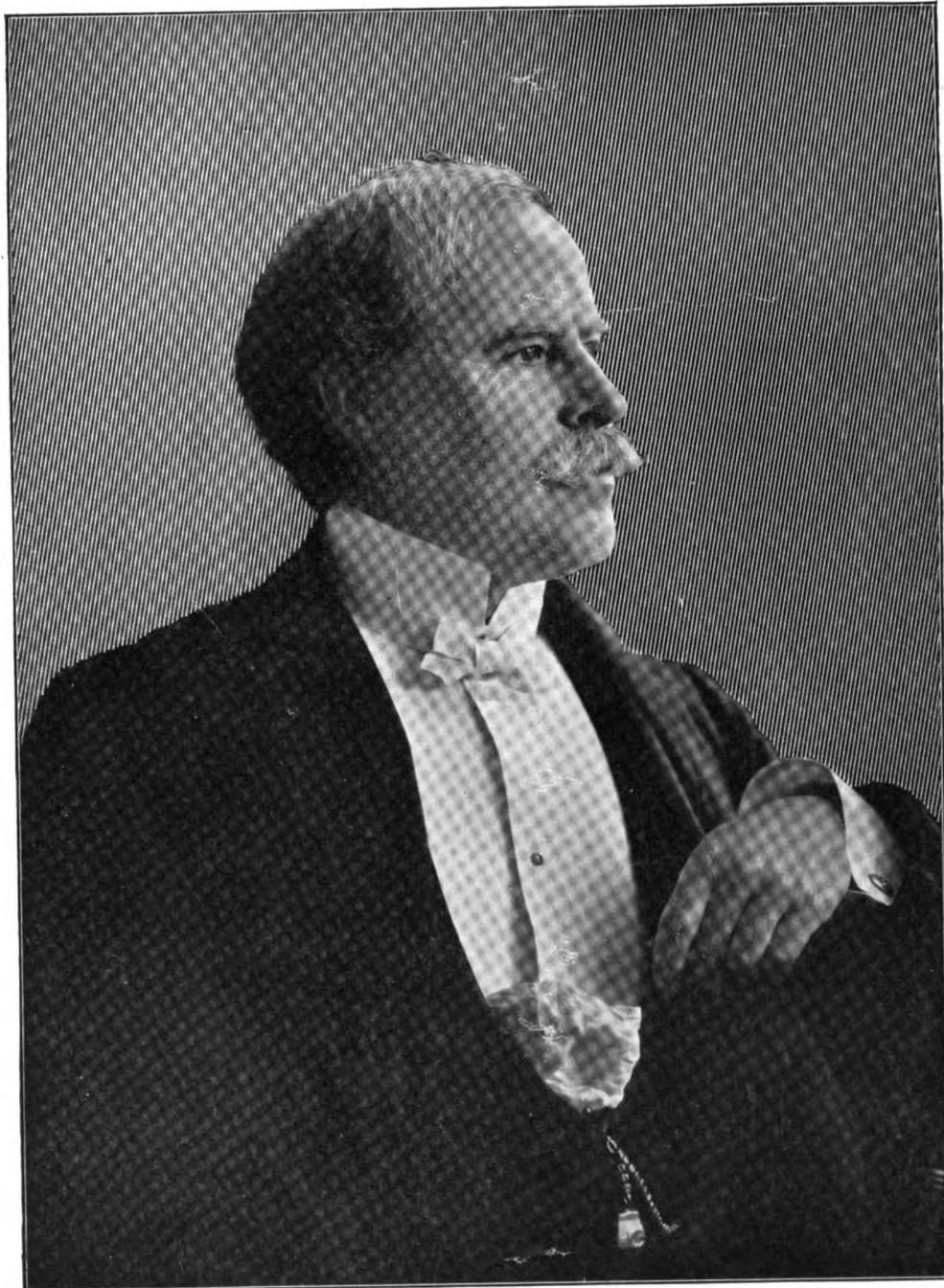
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