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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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Michael J. Flaherty

The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII

Number 415

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1906.

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EDITORIAL

The Supreme Court and the Chicago traction question.

The only astonishing thing about the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Chicago traction case is that any lawyer, whether at the bar or on the bench, should have been willing to stand for the defeated contention. The decisive question was a simple one—so simple that if stated in abstract terms no intelligent undergraduate at a law school could well have missed the correct answer. Nor should it have been very difficult to apply

the principle involved to the particular facts.

The principle applied is so old and so elementary, and the occasion for its application so obvious, that there would seem to have been little excuse even for hesitation about it. It is the familiar principle that public grants to private persons in derogation of public rights must be construed strictly against the grant. Nothing can be inferred, and all ambiguities must be construed in favor of the public. Such grants can operate in favor of the grantee to the extent and only to the extent that they are in explicit terms. Now, the phrase "during the life hereof" in the legislative act upon which the companies base their claims of a grant from the State of 99-year franchises in public streets, was not explicit. It referred to nothing with certainty. Only by assuming or inferring that it alluded to the corporations whose corporate life was extended in the earlier part of the legislative act could the claim be sustained. But as assumptions and inferences are not admissible for the purpose of creating public grants in derogation of public rights, the contention of the corporations was without substantial foundation.

That the application of this principle to the case should have been overlooked by so many representatives of the city; that it should have been disregarded by Judges Grosscup and Jenkins after their attention was drawn to it; and that the three dissenting judges of the Supreme Court should have failed to apprehend it—these are the remarkable facts about the case. Possibly there is an explanation in an unfortunate tendency on the bench arising during recent years—during the years in which the bench has been recruited from a bar dependent largely upon monopoly corporation practice. This is the tendency to treat pub-

lic grants to private corporations in accordance not with the old and wholesome principles of such grants, but with the principles of ordinary contracts. As in ordinary contracts the intention of the contractors is the test for the interpretation of ambiguous terms, judges and lawyers accustomed to the treatment of public grants as if they were private contracts, might gradually forget the force, even though they remembered the phraseology, of such principles of public grants as that the intention of the grantor must be explicitly expressed in order to be effectual. Judge Grosscup was confessedly influenced by that tendency, for in an interview on the 13th he is reported to have said in reply to a question from the Chicago Tribune:

The United States Circuit Court applied to the interpretation of a contract between the public and the companies the same principle that governs the interpretation of contracts between individuals—namely: What was the actual intention of the parties? Your summary of the decision seems to show that the Supreme Court takes a different view.

Apparently the attention of Congress might be fairly directed to Judge Grosscup on the point of judicial competency as well as upon other considerations.

The impudent 99-year claim to the streets of Chicago for traction purposes was used by financial interests for a quarter of a century as a club to beat the city into submission to their demands. It would have been harmless from the first, as harmless as it is now, but for the easy acquiescence of lawyers for the city, mayors of the city, aldermen with financial interests to serve, newspapers of high pretensions, and here and there a judge. One strong voice was raised in the earlier days of the controversy to deny the validity of this impudent claim. It was the voice of John M. Harlan, in the excellent report that bears his name—a report which stands as

the only public spirited work of the City Council, and its only valuable work down to its recent submission of the Mueller certificate ordinance to popular vote. But Mr. Harlan's voice was soon silenced. In contrast with this background, two names stand out with brilliancy—Judge Tuley's and Mayor Dunne's. What those devoted men unwaveringly contended for against powerful financial, business, journalistic, professional and political interests, the Supreme Court of the United States has now confirmed. The outcome which the others could not foresee or foreseeing turned away from, they did foresee and did not ignore. And this decision is their vindication. It should entitle Mayor Dunne hereafter to respectful consideration at least.

The Dalrymple report.

There is a touch of humor in the present outcome of the Chicago traction question. We allude to the Dalrymple episode (p. 729). When Mayor Dunne was about to come into office, elected for the purpose of establishing municipal ownership of the traction service, it occurred to him that the founder and long-time manager of the Glasgow system could give him good expert advice regarding methods of installation, etc. So he cabled a request to Glasgow. But it happened, and of this he was in ignorance, that Mr. Young, the man in his thought, had a few months before left the Glasgow service. Consequently, instead of getting the services of Mr. Young, Mayor Dunne was surprised with the loan of quite a different personage—the present manager, Mr. Young's successor, to-wit, Mr. Dalrymple.

Mr. Dalrymple, although the personal guest of Mayor Dunne, who paid all his expenses out of his private means, fell easily into the hospitable hands of the traction managers of Chicago, and upon his return to Scotland forwarded to Mayor Dunne a somewhat remarkable report. With-

out giving much expert advice regarding installation, etc., Mr. Dalrymple was prolific in advice regarding Chicago politics. Ignoring the fact that the people of Chicago had already voted for municipal ownership and commissioned Mayor Dunne to secure it as speedily as possible, and not only that, but had distinctly voted against extending the franchises of the old companies, Mr. Dalrymple advised in favor of extending those franchises if the companies would agree to reasonable terms. Mayor Dunne was in a quandary. As this man had been his personal guest, he did not feel that he could publish the report and then attack it as it deserved to be attacked. So he suppressed it. But the traction interests, wishing to use that report to embarrass him, caused their representatives in the Council and among the newspapers to work and fuss until the city of Glasgow forwarded a copy.

The copy of Mr. Dalrymple's suppressed report did not reach Chicago until the 12th, the very day on which the Supreme Court decision on the 99 year claim was announced, and report and decision were published at the same time. The latter made the former look like very much less than the proverbial "30 cents." Not only was it so much more sensational that it overshadowed the contemplated Dalrymple sensation, but it destroyed all the other value to the companies which the Dalrymple report was intended to confer. In fact it wholly reversed the effect of that report. What was intended for a bafflingly hostile document, has proved to be a useful one. For the Dalrymple report advised immediate municipal ownership if the companies would not make a reasonable compromise of their property right claims, of which the 99-year claim was the important one in Mr. Dalrymple's estimation. And now that the 99-year claim has been knocked to splinters by the Supreme Court, the companies have nothing to offer in compromise except a few nearly expired street

rights of little value and an equipment which Mr. Dalrymple himself describes as junk. The Dalrymple report, which the traction interests and their representatives in the Council have looked for as an additional club with which to hit Mayor Dunne, reaches the public—thanks to the Mayor's sensitiveness to the social obligations of a host to his guest—just in time to become a boomerang to bruise the fellows that threw it.

Future of the Chicago traction question.

It must not be inferred that the Chicago traction question has been settled by the decision of the Supreme Court. Dishonest financial interests, such as those behind the opposition to municipal ownership, will not relinquish their hopes of turning public property worth scores of millions into private spoils. Neither will they be delicate about the means they use. Corruption money will be flashed before political workers, before election officials, in the Council and in the counting rooms of newspapers. The referendum will be defeated if possible, and if that cannot be done, attempts to vitiate the count will be made. These financial interests will see to it that tools of their own get into the Council, and to such aldermen as are approachable rich prizes will be awarded. Not money alone, but public office, professional employment, social preferment, business opportunity, will be offered to overcome the effect of the Supreme Court decision. Already in the interviews of the public men who have so far worked for the traction corporations may be seen indications of a disposition to resume that work. Already some of the newspapers are hinting at plans for doing it. Some way, some how, by hook or crook, cajolery or bribery, a franchise for the now discomfited traction ring must be got through the Council over Mayor Dunne's veto. This is the programme, and it will be carried out unless the people

are alert. Plutocracy does not stop fighting until it has nothing to fight with or there is nothing left to fight for.

In this emergency just one man whose business and political associations are with the classes who have worked for, or apologized for, or in some other way strengthened the hands of the traction interests, comes promptly forward with the right word at the right time. This is William Kent, formerly a good citizenship alderman and lately president of the Municipal Voters' League, a man of wealth and high standing. After reviewing the new situation in an open letter in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 14th, Mr. Kent says:

The call is urgent upon the intelligent men of Chicago who are accustomed to organize and do things to come to the rescue of the situation. We are going to have municipal ownership and operation. Shall it be a success or a failure? Its success or its failure rests with the sort of men who built up Chicago after the great fire, with the sort of men who built the world's fair; and this sort of men is still with us in larger numbers than ever, equally brave and equally disinterested if they can only get the cobwebs of prejudice from before their eyes and realize the opportunity for service to this community. The pride that people of Chicago would feel in a well-organized and well-operated municipal street car system would far excel any temporary elation they might feel over such a spectacle as the world's fair. We are going to have municipal operation of street railways in Chicago. Will it be a disgrace to Chicago or will it be its crowning glory?

With no desire to be pessimistic, we cannot but think of Mr. Kent as of a patriotic John crying out in a plutocratic wilderness. Civic patriotism is not very strong among the business men of Chicago when there is the alternative of private profit; and among those in Mr. Kent's circles who feel civic patriotism disinterestedly as he does, but few have his democratic vision and moral courage. Yet if his noble advice were taken by the classes to whom it is offered, the traction problem would be solved in a week, and

within a year Chicago would lead American cities in the successful ownership and operation of street car service by the municipality. Nor is that all. The financial classes who are land owners in Chicago would within another year make more out of the consequent rise in site values than they are losing through the Supreme Court's decision. This advantage to land owners is of course to be deplored. But it is an inevitable consequence of all civic improvement and belongs in a category of public evils which must be endured patiently until the people are disposed to remedy them radically.

The Colorado assassination conspiracy.

Reports of a horrible conspiracy to assassinate were published over the country early this week. The charges are against leaders of the Western Federation of Miners (p. 822), the socialist labor organization which has its headquarters at Denver. If these charges are true, there can be no reasonable sympathy with the men accused. Their crime merits unsparing condemnation and relentless punishment. But as published the charges do not bear the earmarks of truth. They rest upon a fantastic confession purporting to have been obtained from an alleged accomplice by means avowedly unlawful and through nerve-racking methods; and the corroborative facts are such as might easily be "faked" by detectives. The whole affair has less the appearance of the discovery of a conspiracy of assassins than of an effort to arouse public prejudice against men about to be tried for their lives—men who are innocent but whom the Standard Oil crowd have marked for hanging. That there has been a conspiracy to assassinate is true beyond peradventure; but whether the prisoners or their prosecutors are the conspirators is an open question.

Opinion factories.

As larger public controversies

grow warm, facts are disclosed which shed light in all directions, and even upon the ebb and flow of smaller ones. The controversy in Congress over railroad rates, for instance, has exposed the work of some of the press bureaus which contract to manufacture public opinion. Whenever a news report, editorial or public speech appears in the smaller papers, which is favorable to monopoly interests, the suspicion would be reasonable, on the general facts, that it was inspired by some monopoly interest and formulated by a press agency under the retainer of that interest. In the case of the larger papers, there is probably no intermediate bureau; the business is done direct.

Corrupting judges.

An investigation of public corruption is in progress in Cincinnati, which gives promise as it proceeds of scandalous revelations. The Republican leader, Boss Cox, already known to be unfit notwithstanding the respectability of his associates, has been shown to have regulated decisions of the judiciary as well as the distribution of public plunder. And the developments thus far point to higher game than Boss Cox.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

The woman whose public service for 60 years has honored this name which she bore, has left name and service as a rich legacy to the associates who survive her, and the recruits that are coming to her cause.

In the days of abolitionism Miss Anthony worked for the freedom of the slave; and before as well as after the heat of that conflict her work was for recognition of equal legal rights alike for men and women. Her impulse was in each instance the same: she was a democrat in the unsullied sense of the word.

In some respects she saw the work to which she devoted her life culminate in success. The chattel slave was freed, and woman enfranchised as to property rights. When her career began women were regarded as no more fit to

own property than to cast votes at elections. Even women themselves, some of them, were just as confident then of the incapacity of their sex for separate property rights as some women are confident now of the incapacity of their sex for voting intelligently. Doubtless these women were just as much averse to having property responsibilities and duties thrust upon their sex then as women of the same type are now averse to having political responsibilities and duties thrust upon that sex now. Yet Miss Anthony lived a whole lifetime after women had been invested fully with property rights. And she had the proud consciousness that this had been done through her work and the work of others like her.

But in another respect her work was unfinished. The thought of the injustice of denying political rights to women was with her in her dying breath. Faithfully as she had worked for that enfranchisement, she knew she could not live to see it accomplished. Yet it will be accomplished, and to her name will belong, and to her memory let us hope will be paid a just tribute of praise for having so faithfully and effectively helped it on.

LABOR IN POLITICS—AN INSTANCE.

Organized labor may maintain any one of three different attitudes toward politics.

It may, for one thing, hold aloof from politics altogether. If it does this it will in due time find its operations hedged in with hostile legislation and tied up with injunctions, its leaders in jail, its adversaries fortified behind impregnable special interests, their agents in places of legislative and administrative power, their lawyers on the bench, and trades unions in comparison with employers' unions as a rope of sand to a wire cable.

Instead of holding aloof from politics, organized labor may admit politics into labor unions. In this case, self-seeking politicians, and through them the gigantic financial interests with which labor is most desperately at war, will bring the labor vote into the service of its enemies, and the last

days of organized labor will be worse than the first.

The third attitude which organized labor may maintain toward politics is not to hold aloof from politics nor yet to admit politics into labor unions, but to lead labor unions into politics.

In doing this, three courses are possible. Labor may organize a new labor-class party or affiliate with one of those already existing; it may affiliate with one of the other side-parties already existing and which invite its cooperation; or it may make of the most available of the two great parties into which the mass of American citizens divide, its most obedient political servant.

In a more or less tentative way and to a greater or less degree organized labor has experimented with all these policies, and the results of that experience as well as the general tendencies of human nature impress us very strongly with reference to the relative merits of the possibilities we have outlined. But we have no intention here of discussing the matter. Our present purpose is to tell the story of one of the most intelligent, forceful, faithful and devoted labor leaders of the East, who has adopted one of these policies. He does not believe in labor's staying out of politics; he does not believe in letting politics into labor; he does believe in leading labor into politics. But he has no faith in labor-class parties, conceiving that the best party for labor would be one that stands honestly for democracy—that is, for equal human rights; he has no hope from permanent side parties; he has both faith and hope in the possibility of labor's making the Democratic party genuinely democratic. By pursuing this course he has made the labor vote of a large Eastern city a controlling element in the Democratic party there, and, forcing plutocratic Democrats to the rear or out, has made that vote an effective influence in public affairs.

The man to whom we allude, Michael John Flaherty,* was born at Cohoes, N. Y., in 1853.

Cohoes has long been a factory town, and as Mr. Flaherty's par-

*A portrait of Mr. Flaherty accompanies this issue of *The Public* as a supplement.

ents were hard workers in the cotton and woolen industries there and consequently, according to the social conditions which identify poverty with industry, were poor people, the boy himself was compelled at an early age to help eke out their scanty wages by leaving school and becoming a child laborer for long hours in unsanitary factory surroundings and at grinding pay. He worked in a "protected industry." Like scores upon scores of thousands of other children in that factory town and in other "protected" towns, his intellectual development was hampered by denial of educational opportunities and by severity of toil, but unlike most of them he was gifted with a physique that enabled him to break through the barriers by which the minds of so many of his fellow workers were weakened and dwarfed.

Young Flaherty was favored also with a taste for music and a natural aptitude for the cornet. To the extent that their narrow means permitted, his parents promoted the development of the boy's musical faculties, and in spite of the enervation of his toilsome work he had mastered technique sufficiently in his later youth to secure employment in a local band. It was in connection with this employment that he became a labor unionist.

Labor at Cohoes was not and never has become strongly organized; but early in his career as a professional musician, Flaherty succeeded in interesting enough of his fellow musicians to organize the Cohoes Musicians' Union, and not long afterward he was chosen its president.

At the age of 26 he left Cohoes and settled in Brooklyn, then an independent city but now a borough of the City of New York. Here he became active in the Knights of Labor, in which he was continuously a delegate to District Assembly 220 from 1887 until well into the 90's.

In the Fall of 1894, Mr. Flaherty first appeared in the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn as a delegate from the musicians' organization. The same definiteness of purpose, continuity of effort, faculty of making friends, and ca-

capacity for work which had made him a labor leader in Cohoes when yet a young man and later in the Knights of Labor in Brooklyn, singled him out only a few months after his appearance as a delegate in the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn for the important though onerous work of secretary of that body. His first election to this office took place in March, 1895. Reelected every six months since that time, he is now completing his twenty-second term.

Incidentally during the past 20 years he has served as delegate to various State conventions of labor bodies, one of which was the Knights of Labor Congress at Albany in 1889, when Father Huntington was one of his fellow delegates.

In all his service as a labor leader Mr. Flaherty has used voice and influence as loyally as any of his associates in supporting distinctively labor measures. But unlike some of his associates he has not stopped there. With the same earnestness he has always taken ground for broader measures—those that make for the common betterment regardless of class, and such as facilitate opportunities for the promotion of these. Among the latter his activities are identified with the movement for ballot reform, the initiative and referendum, the recall, etc. He is of course a pronounced advocate of municipal ownership and operation of municipal utilities, and in Brooklyn he is widely known as a disciple of Henry George.

Though a Democrat by party affiliation Mr. Flaherty took no very active part in party politics until 1896. Previous to that year he had supported candidates for legislative office with especial reference to their sympathy with the labor movement. Among these were Henry George in his campaign for Mayor of New York in 1886; Alfred J. Wolf, a single taxer whom the Democrats nominated for the legislature in 1892, and Robert Baker (afterwards Congressman), a single taxer who was an independent candidate for the legislature in 1894. But in the Bryan campaign of 1896, Mr. Flaherty took a leading as well

as aggressive part in support of Bryan; and for his activity in supporting Henry George for Mayor of Greater New York in 1897, he was expelled from the Democratic organization of his district.

Doubting the democracy of Judge Van Wyck, the Democratic candidate for governor of New York in 1898, Mr. Flaherty was inactive; but in 1899, he was in the thick of the fight for radical democracy against the Democratic machine, with a temporary county organization called the Independent Labor party, of which he was secretary. Though working almost without funds, the effectiveness of this improvised organization appeared in the defeat of five legislative and five aldermanic candidates whom it especially opposed. Flaherty was himself one of its legislative candidates, yet he disregarded district lines and devoted his time and energies to the whole county campaign. His zeal and industry may be inferred from the fact that habitually after his campaign work, sometimes lasting until midnight, he turned to his work as secretary of the Central Labor Union, and kept that continually in good shape. As he was dependent entirely upon his earnings as a musician and principally at evening engagements, this campaign work involved not only an expenditure of time and energy, but a direct pecuniary loss.

When the politics of 1900 began to crystallize with Bryan as Presidential candidate, the Democratic leaders in Brooklyn were better disposed toward fundamental democrats of Mr. Flaherty's type, and he and his friends returned to work for radical democracy within the party. It was not plain-sailing, however, for their one distinct demand, that Altgeld of Illinois be invited to speak in Brooklyn, was opposed by the Democratic manager, Patrick H. McCarren.

McCarren is now the Democratic "boss" of Brooklyn, having in 1903 supplanted his chief, Hugh McLaughlin, the "boss" of many years. A cooper by trade, McCarren is known as a lawyer; and although undistinguished as a practitioner he is in more than comfortable circumstances. It is understood and has been directly

charged without eliciting a contradiction, that he is in the regular pay, for political purposes, of the Standard Oil crowd.

When McCarren opposed the invitation to Altgeld and cut off the necessary financial aid, Mr. Flaherty and Alfred J. Boulton* secured the funds and the Altgeld meeting was held.

During the campaign of 1900 Mr. Robert Baker, who has since become famous for his excellent service in Congress, had been repeatedly importuned to organize Brooklyn for the Citizens' Union. After the election these requests were renewed. He finally undertook the task with the understanding that it would be with the special object of enlisting the support of the radical Democrats. Two men he was particularly desirous of having with him in the work, Flaherty and Boulton, readily joined him, and the services of many of the most active of those who had taken part in former radical movements were enlisted. Writing of this enterprise, Congressman Baker says:

Without disparaging others in the slightest degree, the one man who more than all others made success possible was Michael J. Flaherty. The skill in political management which he has since displayed in so remarkable a manner was then first given full scope. The same attention to and grasp of detail, the same pertinacity of purpose, the same capacity for getting the best and most efficient work out of his coadjutors, the same farsightedness in anticipating the plans of opponents which have won him his present position of unquestioned influence not merely with the radical elements but with the regular organization Democrats, were displayed all through the year 1901. He helped organize every assembly district in Brooklyn, bringing to the Citizens' Union movement hundreds of men who had been affiliated with him in the various political and semi-political fights he had conducted in previous years. Cool and calm in every emergency, at all times resourceful, patient in his dealings with oth-

*Mr. Boulton, also a labor leader of the Flaherty type, disagrees with him as to working within the Democratic party. Mr. Boulton was the People's party candidate for governor of New York in 1904, and was elected Register of Kings county last Fall on the ticket headed by Coler for president of the Borough of Brooklyn and Hearst for mayor of the City of New York.

ers, alert to every probable move of those who wished to confine the movement to a mere "good government" fight, he was the one force that made the victory which the radicals finally won possible.

In that campaign Mr. Flaherty proposed Mr. Baker as the Citizens' Union candidate for president of the Borough. The conservatives of the Union opposed this nomination but named Baker for sheriff. But the Republicans would not agree to that, and Baker withdrew on condition that Flaherty should be accepted as the fusion candidate for coroner. The fusion ticket was elected and for four years Mr. Flaherty held for the first time in his life a public office and experienced the sensation of lucrative employment.

It has been quite unusual to find a prominent labor representative after his election to public office devoting as Mr. Flaherty did as much time and energy as previously to labor matters. Temporarily freed from the necessity of seeking engagements so as to keep the wolf from his family's door, he was even more assiduous, devoted more time, and spent much larger sums than ever to promote labor interests and to advance the broader and more fundamental measures he advocates.

During his entire term the coroner's office was the Brooklyn headquarters for the promotion of labor and reform measures. As a result of four years of intelligent, skillful and unselfish work, under improved circumstances, he had not only increased his influence, but had widely extended it. Nor was his augmented influence due to the use of patronage. The only patronage at Coroner Flaherty's command was a half interest in one appointment, there being two coroners with only one appointee between them in the county.

In 1902 Mr. Flaherty was one of the most energetic and influential supporters of Bird S. Coler for Governor and Robert Baker for Congress. Mr. Coler was defeated by less than 10,000 votes, and Mr. Baker carried a Republican district, afterwards distinguishing himself as the pioneer leader in the anti-pass movement and doing other excellent work.

Although the radicals were now in the ascendancy in the Citizens' Union in the Borough of Brooklyn, that was not so in New York city as a whole; and for this reason Flaherty, Baker and others withdrew from it. Apparently to counteract the effect of their withdrawal a radical was nominated by the fusionists for county clerk in 1903 in the person of Alfred J. Boulton.* Those radicals who remained with the Citizens' Union supported Mr. Boulton under fusion auspices; the others, under Mr. Flaherty's lead, supported him independently. But all the fusion candidates were defeated, mainly because, as the radicals explain, of the failure of Mayor Low's administration to recognize radical tendencies.

Recognition of Mr. Flaherty's political abilities had meanwhile grown, and his influence had strengthened accordingly. In 1904 his activities were in the direction of making the Democratic party nationally representative of the waxing hostility of the people to monopolies. These efforts were continued up to the meeting of the St. Louis convention. Upon the disappointing action of that body, believing that acceptance of its nomination would better promote genuine democracy than severance of party affiliations at that time possibly could, he refused to join the third party movement and maintained his allegiance to the Democratic party. Immediately after the Democratic debacle of 1904 that followed, and which Flaherty doubtless expected and probably did not mourn over, the Brooklyn Central Labor Union under his leadership undertook the task of organizing sentiment for municipal ownership.

One week after the Presidential election a committee of five on organization was formed with Flaherty as chairman. Twice before—once in 1895, and again a few years later—he had made similar attempts, but the officers found they were the only members to attend the meetings. So their club was disbanded. Education had spread in the meantime, however, and while the third effort did not evoke riotous enthusiasm,

*See previous foot note.

yet it met with a far more general and hearty support than before, and the movement grew. Here again as is so commonly the case, a large part of the work devolved upon one man, and Flaherty's office in the Borough hall became for the municipal ownership movement what it had for three years been for the labor and radical movements.

In this work Flaherty is said to have been a host in himself. Almost nightly through the Winter he was engaged in visiting the different assembly districts, and urging labor officials and others to organize for municipal ownership. From lack of funds—nearly the whole cost of the movement being borne by himself—he was forced to repeat his experience of 1899, doing much of the onerous secretarial work of the movement upon his return at night from speaking at meetings. He was almost unaided, but his zeal never flagged, his courage never failed him, and when the organization was completely effected it naturally chose its most energetic, industrious, patient, persistent and resourceful worker for chairman. Quite as naturally it presented him as its candidate last Fall for the office he now holds—that of sheriff—to the other bodies subsequently formed to promote the municipal ownership cause, and without hesitation they accepted him. The campaign for municipal ownership in Brooklyn was completely successful at the election of 1905, all its candidates being elected, and Sheriff Flaherty has just been unanimously re-elected chairman of the Brooklyn Municipal Ownership League.

That Mr. Flaherty retains the confidence of the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn is evident from the complimentary banquet tendered him on the 6th of March by that body at the Labor Lyceum building, at which over 600 persons were present. Although this banquet was under labor organization auspices, the trend of nearly all the speeches was political and democratic, and in their democracy they were largely of the Henry George type. Mr. Flaherty's attitude toward the relation of labor interests to new par-

ties and old parties was indicated by his speech at this banquet, in the course of which he said:

Let us stop to think, and let us not be misled into a false step. There were over 80,000 votes cast for Municipal Ownership at the last election. Of that number 35,000 came from the Republicans and between 45,000 and 50,000 from the Democratic party. I hold the 35,000 Republicans responsible for the condition in that party, because if they had done their duty that party would have declared for municipal ownership long ago. I hold the 45,000 in the Democratic party responsible for the condition in that party, responsible for Patrick H. McCarren, because if they had done their duty he would have been driven out of the party. Let us stop and consider. Some of us have been carried away in independent movements before. Some of those movements have been successful—most of them have failed. I don't want to see the principles of municipal ownership die out. I want to see them carried out to a successful conclusion. Let us stop to think what is best to do. We have a great opportunity the coming Fall. There are congressmen, State senators, assembly men and justices of the Supreme Court to elect. There is not a representative of labor in the houses of Congress. We must try to elect men to Congress and to the State legislature.

It is a healthy political sign, this spectacle of a labor leader rising to a place of power and influence in the Democratic party and in the public administration of a populous municipality, without sacrificing principles or abandoning policies that menace great corrupt and corrupting financial interests. In his case neither he nor the labor organization of which he has so long been the secretary, has held aloof from politics. Yet politics has not been admitted into the organization he represents, in any such sense as to make it an asset of self-seeking politicians. But the organization has been led into politics in such a way as to secure the best results soonest and with reference neither to personal interests nor class interests but to the common interests of that general public of which the members of labor organizations are an important part. And with it all, the labor leader in this case has been not only true to his personal convictions but loyal to his constituents.

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, March 15.

Final victory for Chicago in the traction case.

At last the legal question which the traction interests have most magnified and utilized for baffling the municipal ownership movement in Chicago (pp. 456, 707, 766) has been completely removed; and as a result the traction companies of Chicago have no longer even the shadow of a basis for any proprietary claims beyond their equipment and a few outlying franchises. This is the result of a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, reversing the decision of Judges Grosscup and Jenkins (p. 456) in the case of the Union Traction Company.

The decision, which is of interest to every municipality, was rendered on the 12th, with six judges concurring and three dissenting. The crucial point was the validity of the so-called 99-year act. That act, passed in 1859 and amended in 1865, gave corporate life until 1958 to the original traction companies. It also gave them property rights in and to certain street franchises, etc., "during the life hereof." The traction companies contended that the phrase "during the life hereof" gave them those property rights as well as corporate life until 1958. This contention is rejected by the court. No formal opinions have yet been delivered, but the substance of the decision on this point was stated from the bench on the 12th by Justice Day, as follows:

The act of Feb. 6, 1865, amending the act of Feb. 14, 1859, had the effect to extend the corporate lives of the Chicago City Railway Company, the North Chicago City Railway Company and the Chicago West Division Railway Company for the term of ninety-nine years. It affirmed the contracts with the city prescribing rights and privileges in the streets of Chicago in all respects as theretofore made, including time limitations as contained in the

ordinances previously passed. It recognized and continued in force the right of the city and the companies to make contracts for the use of the streets upon terms and conditions, including the time of occupancy, as might be agreed upon between the Council and the corporations. Corporate privileges can only be held to be granted as against public rights, when conferred in plain and explicit terms. The ambiguous phrase in the act of 1865, 'During the life hereof,' did not operate to extend existing contracts for a term of ninety-nine years or limit the right of the city to make future contracts with the companies covering shorter periods.

In this decision Chief Justice Fuller and Justices Harlan, Day, White, Holmes and Peckham concurred.

A dissenting opinion, to be elaborated hereafter, was announced by Justice McKenna, in behalf of himself and Justices Brewer and Brown, to the effect that they agreed with the rule of interpretation announced, but dissented from the application made of it.

Municipal ownership in Seattle.

Municipal ownership questions, although necessarily local in their practical application, are of national importance politically, no matter where the locality may be in which the contest is waged and the victory won or the defeat suffered. For this reason the recent election in Seattle (p. 822) is as interesting to intelligent students of the general struggle, though they be as far away as San Francisco, New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago or even New York, as to the actual participants in Seattle. The victory in Seattle was the result of long and laborious agitation and organization, in which George F. Cotterill, ex-Mayor W. D. Wood and Judge William H. Moore have been conspicuous leaders.

Seattle is a city of 200,000 inhabitants, and increasing rapidly. In politics it is Republican, with a normal majority (nearly doubled for Roosevelt) of 8,000. It has had successful municipal ownership of the water supply since 1890, and of an extensive and economical lighting and power plant for public service for more than a year. At the recent election, this service was extended to private consumers, by a popular vote of 9,968 to

1,510. Every step forward in the direction of municipal ownership has been secured by direct popular vote and against the opposition of the local Republican machine manned by monopoly mercenaries.

In 1905 an unusually favorable opportunity for beginning the establishment of a municipal traction system occurred, and a definite plan was formulated and presented to the Council last November, with a petition requesting submission to popular vote. The statutory right to municipalize had existed since 1897. But the Council pigeon-holed the petition. This did not, however, allay the agitation, which culminated in January in the calling of a mass convention. Attended by labor representatives and professional and business men, this convention on the 20th of January organized the Municipal Ownership party, promulgated a declaration of principles and nominated a ticket with Judge Moore for mayor. The Democrats made no nomination; the Prohibitionists endorsed some of the Municipal Ownership candidates; the organized Socialists, as usual, as well as the Republicans, nominated straight tickets. The contest, therefore, was between the Republican party and the Municipal Ownership party.

At the election, which took place on the 6th, the nominal Republican majority was cut down from 8,000 to 3,000 on administrative officers other than mayor, and the Municipal Ownership candidate for mayor and 2 out of 13 councilmen were elected. The majority for mayor was only 15, although he carried 7 wards out of 11. That the victory was not more complete is explained upon the ground that the returns from 96 precincts were fraudulently tampered with, and that the Republican machine had the prestige of power and organization as well as campaign funds and newspaper support; whereas the Municipal Ownership party was a new organization of poor men with no daily newspaper support. But the effect is regarded as sufficient. "With a municipal ownership mayor," says a leader of the new local party, "and two councilmen to force the issue and make the record, and every Republican

councilman pledged by his platform and promises to certain definite action towards municipal ownership of street railways, and a recall provision of law with which 25 per cent. of the voters can 'yank' their councilman out to the test of a special election to hold his seat, Seattle is fairly equipped."

The recall in Seattle.

Another result of the Seattle election, also of national importance though only of local effect, was the adoption by an overwhelming direct vote of the people (9,312 to 1,271) of an amendment to the city charter, whereby the city establishes the Recall. By a petition of 25 per cent. of the voters, any elective member of the city government may at any time be forced to face the test of a special election for continuance in his office.

Land values taxation in British municipalities.

The municipal question most pressing in Great Britain is the taxation of local land values for municipal purposes—"rating" as it is called. This question came before the new Ministry on the 26th of February in significant form. The report on the American side has been delayed until now because the event has not been noticed in cable dispatches. A petition for land value taxation, signed by 518 municipal councils was laid before the ministry by 15 official representatives of 115 municipal bodies, being a deputation from the Conference of Rating Authorities throughout England, Scotland and Wales (p. 599). The deputation was introduced by J. H. Whitley, M. P., and its spokesmen were the Mayor of Manchester, the Mayor of Glasgow, and ex-Baillie Ferguson of Glasgow. The Mayor of Glasgow reviewed the history of the movement for the taxation of land values, and urged action by the Ministry. He was followed by the Mayor of Manchester, who testified to "the intense feeling of interest which the general body of the people took in the question of the taxation of land values," and presented the question as one of urgency, regarding which he believed that municipalities "cannot wait." Although there are many things

for the Ministry to do, "none is of greater importance than this." Ex-Baillie Ferguson also pressed the urgency of the matter, saying that—

No such influential combination of responsible rating authorities had ever before been organized for a reform. Their united demand is that the ever-increasing burdens upon the ratepayers should be alleviated by the restoration to public uses of a portion of the increasing wealth which was created by the whole community.

Owing to the illness of the Prime Minister, the answer of the Ministry was made by Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Among Mr. Asquith's assurances as reported by "Land Values" (Glasgow) for March and the Manchester Guardian of February 27, were these:

I suppose almost alone in the category of social and fiscal reforms, this is one which meets with practically the unanimous approval, without distinction of politics or party, of all the great municipalities. . . . I have always regarded this movement properly understood as being not a derogation from, but an assertion of the rights of property. What are the two principles upon which, as far as I understand it, it is founded? They are very simple. They seem to me to be based upon common-sense and equity. The first is that those who benefit by public improvements, should contribute their fair share of the cost of them. The next is—and I think it is right and just—that the community should reap the benefit of the increased values which are due to its own expenditure and its own growth. These two principles appear to me not to be inconsistent, but are a necessary corollary of the doctrine of the rights of property if equitably applied. I am not going to say a word to you now about the precise machinery which ought to be adopted for carrying this into effect. I suppose we are all agreed on some things, one being that it is necessary, at any rate, that as a preliminary step there should be a separate assessment on site values. . . . It has been said that no mention was made of the subject in the King's Speech. That is true. The reason is not that the Government in any sense undervalues either its importance or urgency. The reason that it finds no mention there, apart from the fact that we have, as I think you will all acknowledge, a somewhat ample programme to carry through quite apart from that, and without going into the question of the competitive merits or the precise order of precedence which ought to be

given to one reform as compared with another, the reason is that we desire to have time to carefully consider the best way of giving effect to the principles I have enunciated, and which I think all here hold in common, and in particular to review the subject in relation to all its bearings upon the general question of local taxation and local expenditure. I believe we are more likely to produce a satisfactory and permanently adequate remedy if we allow ourselves a little time for the consideration of the problem than if we at the moment introduce a comparatively small and piece-meal installment of the reform which we all desire. I do not think I need say more to-day on behalf of the Government. I assure you we are in hearty sympathy with the objects of your movement, and as time and opportunity offer, we shall be ready to do everything we can to put these objects into legislative form.

Mr. Bryce, Chief Secretary for Ireland, said—

they were all agreed in the principles laid down by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but, clear as the principles were, some little care was required in working them out in the most convenient form, and therefore he was sure the deputation would not ask for any hasty disclosure of what the Government might find it necessary ultimately to adopt.

Mr. Burns, President of the Local Government Board, added that—it was neither necessary nor relevant that he should add much to the practical, sympathetic, and direct observations which Mr. Asquith had addressed to the deputation. The Government sympathised with and desired to help the deputation in their objects and do adequate justice.

The new French Ministry.

Immediately following the resignation of the Rouvier ministry of France (p. 821), President Fallieres asked Jean Marie Ferdinand Sarrien to form a new ministry. Mr. Sarrien accepted on the 10th. The Ministry he formed is as follows:

Premier and Minister of Justice, Sarrien; Minister of Interior, Clemenceau; Foreign Affairs, Bourgeois; War, Etienne; Marine, Thomson; Instruction and Worship, Rand; Commerce, Dumergue; Public Works, Barrou; Finance, Poincare; Colonies, Leygues; Agriculture, Ruau.

The new Ministry outlined its policy on the 14th by declaring its intention regarding the separation of church and state, of carrying out the law firmly; and

concerning the Morocco question, of following the policy of the preceding Ministry.

Further fighting in the Philippines.

Another battle with Moros (p. 489) was reported officially from the Philippines on the 9th. The battle occurred at Mount Dajo, a lava cone with a crater at the top, near Jolo; it lasted two days, from March 6 in the afternoon until March 8 in the morning.—and the American loss was 18 killed and about 40 wounded. The Moros left 600 killed; no wounded are reported. Gen. Wood describes these Moros in his report to Washington as "a band of outlaws who, recognizing no chief, had been raiding friendly Moros and, owing to their defiance of the American authorities, had stirred up a dangerous condition of affairs." Owing to the horrible slaughter of the Moros, including their women and children, the Senate of the United States has ordered an investigation.

Progressive Democracy in New Jersey.

Pursuant to a movement for the revival of genuine democracy in New Jersey (p. 695) a conference to meet at Newark on the 20th has been called by representative democratic Democrats from all parts of the State. The call is led by ex-Congressman Allan Benny, and is signed by James F. Minturn, Charles H. Ingersoll, A. C. Pleydell, James E. Martine, Charles O'Connor Hennessy, John Moody, Joseph R. Buchanan, Albert Brandt, George White and other leaders among the progressive Democrats who think "the time has come for the citizens of New Jersey to take charge of their own affairs" and dismiss the public utility corporations which now control both parties in that State. In the call it is declared that—

The machinery of the two old parties has fallen completely under the control of corporate influences and other privileged interests, and the spirit of independence has reached its highest point in the history of American politics. While this statement is true of the country as a whole, it is peculiarly descriptive of the condition of New Jersey. In this State party leadership has been and is completely dominated by corporation influence. Party principles have been trampled under foot, party honor has been bartered for corporation pelf, party banners have

been trailed in the filth of political corruption. . . . It has been said that "when things get thoroughly bad they will right themselves," implying that, in public affairs there is a point in the decline at which the people will revolt, and inspired by the spirit of honor and pride will rally at the call of duty and check the downward course. We believe that New Jersey has reached that point. Dishonored in our party councils, betrayed in our legislative sanctuary, chained to the wheels of unbridled monopoly, a butt for the jokes of one-half the world and commiserated by the other half, the citizens of New Jersey have come to the time when they must assert their manhood and their patriotism.

In further explanation of this call, its sponsors state:

The movement is being started not in the interest of any men or set of men in or out of the State of New Jersey. It is the particular purpose of those who are starting the movement to make distinctively an organization for the promotion and propagation of what they feel to be the principles of fundamental democracy. It cannot, therefore, be said that the movement is in any sense inspired by, or organized in the interest of any particular individual. It is not a Parker movement, nor a Cleveland movement, nor a Black movement, nor a Hearst movement, nor a Bryan movement. It is, however, a distinctively State movement, which is calculated to crystalize and put into definite action the present more or less dormant but vital sentiment of true democracy in the State of New Jersey.

Progressive Democracy in Illinois.

A conference of the Majority Rule League of Illinois (p. 103) was held at Chicago on the 12th, to perfect details for ousting from control in the Democratic party of the State the so-called "Hopkins-Sullivan crowd," who also control the gas monopoly of Chicago. Representatives from every Congressional district but one were in attendance. Millard F. Dunlap, of Jacksonville, presided. Referring to the "Hopkins-Sullivan crowd," now in control of the party machinery, the resolutions adopted declare unalterable opposition to the continued management of the party business by those men or by any men who are directly under their control. A specification of particular acts of perfidy follows, including their gavel rule at the State convention in 1904 (vol. vii, p. 482). The address continues:

Capable, reliable and sincere Demo-

crats must be placed at the head of our party in this State if we would command the respect and confidence of the people. Defeat and disaster were the inevitable result of the outrages perpetrated at the last State convention. By the action of the next State-convention the success of the Democratic principles will be advanced or retarded. Democratic candidates in close counties will gather hope or find discouragement. If by practicing their customary frauds and deceptions these men, who have been characterized as "train robbers," retain their grip on the party organization, Democratic hope and courage will completely vanish. Democrats must not be deceived when these men talk of harmony. They urge harmony in the hope of frightening county candidates and timid Democrats to remain quiet while they are plotting new schemes of diabolism to make certain their power over the new State committee. We therefore invite the co-operation of all true Democrats to aid in placing the party machinery in worthy hands.

To give practical effect to this declaration, the conference adopted the following resolution:

That this League recommends to its members and all Democrats in favor of majority rule that they have presented and adopted at their county conventions a resolution instructing the delegates to the State convention to vote for Congressman Henry T. Rainey for temporary chairman of the next Democratic State convention, at Springfield, May 11, 1906.

Progressive Democracy in Oregon.

At the Democratic mass convention of Oregon, held at Portland on the 7th, a declaration of doctrines was adopted which advocates municipal ownership of public utilities; the abolition of the protective tariff as a special privilege, an unwarranted interference by government in the laws of trade for the benefit of a few and at the expense of the many, one of the causes of those dangerous aggregations of capital called trusts, and a denial of the right of the common man to buy where he can buy cheapest; and the repeal of the ten per cent. tax against private banks as a special privilege and an interference by government with the right to issue notes on good and absolute security and for free banking under proper supervision and direction. Proceeding, the declaration further avows:

We believe the Democratic party exists for the benefit of the masses of

the people, and that one of the monopolies which keep the many poor and make the few rich is the monopoly of valuable lands for speculative purposes by nonusers. It is a monopoly by nature, and any system which results in unborn generations finding themselves barred from the use of lands which lie idle awaiting a speculative profit from the growth of the community must be worthy of examination, and we call the attention of the Democratic party and the whole people to some system of taxation or land title by which the evils of land monopoly may be lessened in the interest of the masses of people, and in this connection we declare in favor of a State law limiting the right to the use of appropriated water to the quantity actually put to a beneficial use.

We declare that the principle which lies at the root of regulation of railroads and municipal ownership of public utilities is that the public corporations are only trustees for the people, and may be regulated or wholly ousted from their management and control on paying them for the values which they themselves have created; which would exclude the value of franchises, they being created by gift of the people themselves. So long as the present system of private management of public corporations exists we are in favor of a tax on gross earnings and franchises.

We believe it false to the very foundations of this Republic and wholly opposed to Democratic principles to govern by military force colonies and inferior races. We believe this opens the door to exploitation of these races by the few. That none of our plain people can ever make their homes in the tropics and that our colonial system is an excuse for military expenditures.

These avowals were put forth not as a binding platform, but as a declaration of Democratic doctrine. In accordance with it Gov. Chamberlain was invited to become the candidate of the party for Governor at the primaries under the direct nomination law. Other persons were invited similarly to become candidates for other offices. C. E. S. Wood was a leading figure in this unique mass meeting of a State party. He was invited to become a candidate for United States Senator, but declined.

The striking printers of Chicago.

A curious outcome of the contempt case of the striking printers of Chicago (p. 804) is reported. On the 9th Judge Walker, before whom the habeas corpus proceed-

ings were pending, decided that Judge Holdom had the jurisdiction to imprison the defendants. But he also held that inasmuch as Judge Holdom had ordered them to be imprisoned "forthwith" for 30 days, that their imprisonment began at once constitutionally, and they had served their full term, notwithstanding that the committing judge had issued no writ and the defendants had not been actually in prison until arrested when the prescribed time of their imprisonment had about expired.

NEWS NOTES

—Eugen Richter, the Freisinnige leader of Germany, died at Berlin on the 10th at the age of 68.

—Dr. Manuel Quintana, President of the Argentine Republic, died at Buenos Ayres on the 11th.

—In a gas explosion in the coal pits of the Courrieres district in Pas-de-Calais, France, on the 10th, over 1,000 miners lost their lives.

—Senator Frederic C. Howe's bill for the establishment of civil service in the State charitable and penal institutions was defeated in the Ohio Senate on the 13th.

—The second annual banquet of the Iowa Democratic Club (H. C. Evans, Des Moines, president, and A. R. McCook, Elma, secretary) is to be given at the Savery Hotel in Des Moines on the 2d of April.

—The New Jersey Single Tax League has called its second annual convention, to be composed of New Jersey single taxers of both sexes, for March 20. It is to meet at Achtestetter's, 844 Broad street, Newark, and is to be opened at eight in the evening.

—In the Senate on the 9th the Statehood bill (p. 803) was cut in two, Oklahoma and Indian Territory being granted Statehood as one State, and Arizona and New Mexico being denied it. In this condition the measure goes back to the House.

—Susan B. Anthony, the celebrated leader in the equal suffrage movement of the United States, died at Rochester at midnight on the 13th. She was 86 years of age and had devoted 60 years of her life to the public service in a private capacity, principally in advocacy of the extension of voting rights to women.

—Among the decisions of the United States Supreme Court on the 12th was one holding that while officers of corporations may have immunity from self-crimination in criminal cases, as individuals, the immunity does not extend to their corporations. They

must produce evidence to convict the corporations in which they are interested. The result will be that all corporations must produce their books and papers when actions are brought against them by the government, and witnesses may be compelled to answer all questions.

—On the 8th the Ohio Senate adopted a joint resolution requesting Congress to call a convention of the several States to consider an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

—The monthly treasury report of receipts and expenditures of the Federal government (see p. 822) for February, 1906, shows the following for the eight months of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1906:

Receipts:		
Tariff	\$200,591,117.41	
Internal revenue.....	166,571,796.41	
Miscellaneous	28,680,659.69	
		\$395,843,572.91
Expenses:		
Civil and Misc.....	\$54,989,311.27	
War	66,119,439.51	
Navy	77,041,672.59	
Indians	8,814,607.31	
Pensions	85,767,028.24	
Public works.....	43,735,377.86	
Interest	18,274,831.55	
		394,742,268.83
Deficit		\$1,101,304.08

PRESS OPINIONS

THE CHICAGO TRACTION VICTORY IN THE SUPREME COURT.

Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep. and pro-franchise), Mar. 14.—The court of last resort has decided the Chicago traction controversy. Tens of millions of invested money have been wiped out. Properties that last week were of great value are now little more than old rails in the streets.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep. and pro-franchise), Mar. 14.—Every fair-minded person must admit that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in regard to the 99-year act of 1885, however much trouble it may make for some people and however much comfort it may afford the municipal ownership people, was a just and inevitable disposition of this controversy.

Chicago Daily News (Ind. and pro-franchise), Mar. 13.—With one stroke of common-sense reasoning, the Supreme Court has cleared away the whole fabric of the 99-year contention. . . . Thus it appeared the men who corrupted the Illinois General Assembly in 1885 and put through this piece of vicious legislation were too subtle in their use of language for the good of the traction interests which succeeded to the supposed benefits of the act. . . . Wise action in accordance with sound business principles on the part of the city authorities should lead speedily to the inauguration of a new system of street railways of the best construction and operated in the best manner under the complete control of the city and tending toward municipal ownership as rapidly as the administration can prepare itself for that great responsibility. It is to be hoped that all the citizens can now unite upon a safe and effective programme along this line.

Chicago Tribune (Rep. and pro-franchise), Mar. 13.—The situation has been simplified by the Supreme Court decision for which Chicago is extremely grateful. The city and companies know precisely where they stand. They are in a position to give

their undivided attention to the subject of the best traction service for the public and adequate compensation for the city.—(Mar. 14). Mayor Dunne says the only assets left to the traction companies are their tangible property—tracks and equipment—and some expiring franchises in fragments of streets. They have another asset which can be made of great value to the city if the companies are permitted to utilize it. That is their thorough knowledge of the street car business. . . . If the companies, which are now in a meek and lowly frame of mind, are ready to accept with pleasure the legitimate requirements of the city—scorned by them in the past—it would be folly for the municipality to refuse to make a bargain with them. It needs for the good of its people the constructive and operative ability the companies possess. They will make excellent servants of the public now that the Supreme Court has tamed them. If the city were to refuse to make use of the most valuable asset of the traction companies and municipalize the street car lines there would be an end to all hopes of decent service for the public. Politicians would run the roads and personal injury claimants absorb a large part of the earnings.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep. and pro-franchise), Mar. 13.—The Record-Herald has always insisted that whatever legal rights there were under the 99-year act that act was thoroughly corrupt and immoral. This contention, however, never had any influence with the street railway companies. They ignored the moral question entirely. So indifferent were they to everything but their claims that they stood like the dog, bone in mouth, looking into the water. They snapped for more and lost the bone. They will now receive their "legal rights."—(Mar. 14). What we want above all things is an accurate, definite plan of settlement worked out to the minutest detail. . . . All the developments have emphasized the necessity for getting down to clear, concrete propositions that shall leave nothing to chance and speculation. The demand for first-class administrative abilities in the service of the city is imperative; the opportunity is one that should bring with it the gravest sense of responsibility.

Chicago Evening American (Dem. and municipal ownership), Mar. 14.—The Supreme Court decided that Morgan and his crew and the traction companies are trespassers on the streets of Chicago, and the Supreme Court rules that the people of Chicago can control their own streets and that no public corporation can do business in Chicago without permission of the citizens of Chicago. There is no use talking about settling anything with the Union Traction company, or with the Chicago City railway, or with any other Chicago street car company. These companies are dead or dying. They have no rights; their franchises have expired, or will soon expire. They are poorer than a beggar in a desert. But the men who own them have money, and they have shrewd lawyers, who, though the Union Traction company is dead and rotting, will try to deal with the grafting Councilmen and bluff other Councilmen into making a "businesslike settlement of the traction question." There is only one businesslike way of settling this traction question now, and that is for you to vote to the city power to issue Mueller certificates to take over lines at their present value. (The lines are worth what they will bring as scrap iron.) And the next thing for you to do is to declare at the election in April that no franchise can be granted to any private traction company. And the other thing you must do is to elect municipal ownership Councilmen and to defeat those grafting rascals who sought months ago to run through a franchise for the street car company and who were pre-

vented only because the thieves fell out among themselves over the division of the loot.

Chicago Examiner (Dem. and municipal owners), Mar. 13.—Who have been your real leaders in this traction contest, people of Chicago? Were they the hired attorneys of the traction companies, who received large fees to hold this stunted club over your heads? Were they the subsidized newspapers that kept telling you the 99-year act was impregnable? Were they the aldermen, with traction money in their pockets, who told you it was necessary to give new 20-year franchises to the companies because they already had a 99-year grip on the main streets?—(Mar. 14).—The traction companies within the last ten years, have used up most of their revenues in paying legal fees, retainers, receivers' salaries, bonuses to stock jobbers, and a few other kindred outlays. And the strangest feature is that these consumers of the people's nickels fancied that the game could be played indefinitely. They seemed to think that a mere wand over Chicago, at the proper time, would produce another 20-year franchise. . . . The Supreme Court has killed the traction goose, and the future absence of golden eggs is due to overmastering greed. The leeches will now die off through inanition. Chicago is through with private traction franchises and all that they breed. It will be a deep and lasting relief to a long-suffering community to get rid of several different varieties of hoodlers. The franchise crowd could devise more kinds of lawlessness than any community should suffer from. Good riddance to them.—(Mar. 15).—These are the days when the traction organs are working overtime—sometimes outspokenly, oftener insidiously, but always to the same purpose. Defeat municipal ownership, they cry. Give the companies a limited franchise, but keep the control in private hands. It is the same old song, with variations.

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.

Washington, Mar. 5-9.

Senate.

Consideration of the Statehood bill was resumed on the 5th (pp. 3411, 3416), and continued on the 6th (p. 3477), 7th (p. 3541), 8th (p. 3589) and 9th (p. 3633). On the last of these days the parts relating to Arizona and New Mexico were struck out of the bill, and the remainder, relating to Oklahoma and Indian Territory, was passed (p. 3663). The Senate then adjourned to the 12th.

House.

No business of general importance was done on the 5th. On the 6th consideration of the Indian appropriation bill was begun (p. 3485). Its consideration being continued on the 7th (p. 3550) and 8th (p. 3598), it was passed (p. 3614) on the last of these days; and on the 9th the bill to establish a bureau of immigration and naturalization was taken up (p. 3706), pending the consideration of which the House adjourned to the 12th.

Record Notes.—Extracts from State statistics regarding judicial reviews of rulings of railroad commissions (p. 3400). President's message on railroad discriminations and monopolies resolution (p. 3533).

A man who bought stock in a co.
Inquired if its value would go.
They told them it could.
And it probably would
Provided the price didn't sto.
—Life.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

THE WAKENED HARP.

For The Public.

The flag of Erin waved beside
Old Tara's castle wall;
Below it bloomed, in joy and pride,
An orange-lily tall.
Swayed by the breeze the silken folds
Caressed the lily's head.
"Let us forget the bitter past,"
The banner gently said.
"Why should our colors or our faith
Like barriers fall between?
Thy chalice glows with orange hue,
Thy stem and leaves are green.
Our common hope is God's great love,
Thy Saviour, too, is mine;
And o'er us from His throne above
Shines down the light divine."

"God bless thee for thy words of peace!"
The waving blossom cried;
"We'll bury, with the bygone years,
Their discord and their pride.
Well may thy floating folds of green
In triumph be unfurled!
Thy color is the selfsame one
That gladdens all the world."

Then, scattered at their feet they saw
A nation's broken chain,
And lo! the silent air was rent
By music's thrilling strain.
In rapture at love's glorious dawn
O'er Erin's troubled shore,
The harp, long mute on Tara's wall,
Rang out in song once more.

MARY M'NABB JOHNSTON.

MAYOR DUNNE'S MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

From an interview in the Chicago Chronicle of Mar. 3.

"Are you a socialist, Mr. Mayor?" was asked.

"I am not," he replied. "I believe in what is called municipal socialism. I believe private property should be protected, but I also believe any business which requires the use of city streets and city property should be controlled by the city. I do not believe in giving special privileges to anyone. No corporation or people should be permitted to use any public property for private gain. The public, on the other hand, should not enter upon any undertaking which does not require the use of public property."

KEEPING UP THE FENCES.

From a Kentucky girl's story of a week at an English country house, told in Harper's Bazar.

The talk concerned itself with parish matters. A boy had been found stealing sod to cover the grave of his mother.

"It is against the grange law," said

my hostess, who held some official position in connection with the local government.

"He was honoring his parent," commented the rector, reflectively.

I spoke up hotly. "Surely every person has that much right to the land," I cried democratically.

The rector surveyed me a little superciliously.

I had gained nothing, and the conversation strayed to a question of calling on some new people, described by one of the company as being of the kind "who drive wagonettes and go to Blackpool on Sunday."

"Hardly ladies," commented my hostess, in a tone entire English. This time I held my peace, having learned that not to be a lady, in the English sense, is indefensible.

"RESIST NOT HIM THAT IS EVIL."

Aylmer Maude in reviewing Tolstoy's religious creed. "Tales and Talks of Tolstoy," Review of Reviews Annual, 1906.

"Resist not him that is evil."

That means (to put Tolstoy's teaching on the subject in its best light first) do not injure those who act in a way you disapprove of.

There are two different and opposite ways of trying to promote the triumph of good over evil. One way is the way followed by the best men in all ages. It is to seek to see the truth of things clearly, to speak it out fearlessly, and to try to act up to it, leaving it to influence other people as the rain and the sunshine influence the plants. Men who live that way influence others; and their influence spreads from land to land, and from age to age.

But there is another plan much more often tried. It consists in making up one's mind what other people should do, and then, if necessary, using physical violence to make them do it.

People who act like that influence others as long as they can reach them, but the influence that lives after them, and that spreads furthest, is to a very great extent a bad influence, inflaming men's hearts with anger and malice.

These two lines of conduct are contrary the one to the other. You cannot persuade a man while he thinks you wish to hit or coerce him.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AMERICAN WOMANHOOD.

For The Public.

There are probably few women in our land who would not be roused to action, and who would not with earnest devotion do all in their power

to help expel from our country any force that threatened to overthrow our government and subject us to the control of another power. Certainly our intelligent women would not excuse themselves for inertia by the plea that having no vote they were exempt from the responsibilities of citizenship. Every woman of intelligence and who has any appreciation of the value and necessity of liberty has responsibility as a citizen of this country. Every woman who understands that the object and value of existence, of mortal career, is thwarted and stifled without the liberty of the individual that promotes growth, character and self respect, is responsible as a citizen for the security to all members of the social body of equal liberty.

Some one has said, and truly, "The boon of life may be doubtful, but that of liberty is positive." Life without liberty cannot be a blessing. The physical man cannot develop and enjoy health and strength without an atmosphere that can be freely breathed. The real man, soul and spirit, and all mental faculties and powers, cannot develop in strength and harmony without liberty. This land was consecrated to liberty by souls devoted to human welfare and progress. The mighty truth was sent forth upon the tide of thought, that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. To-day it is well demonstrated that the "almighty dollar" is expected to rule in all governmental bodies, municipal, State and national. Sordid selfish greed has displaced the ideal of justice and equal rights that was the breath of life of our national existence.

Is there a possibility of overthrowing this destructive power? Can a true democracy be restored? Shall the statue of Liberty on our national capitol again truly represent our national character?

Yes. There is just one way to accomplish this. Make this a government of the people, by the people, for the people, by securing the Initiative and Referendum as the first step, so destroying the political machine and the control of plutocracy. Then going on to the Recall of unrepresentative legislators, and Proportional Representation.

Women to-day can do no greater service for their country, and for future generations, than to work diligently for the restoration of sovereign power to the people through direct

legislation. That we cannot vote, no more really exempts us from responsibility than it would leave us irresponsible to help our soldiers sweep out of our land an invading army.

When women realize a personal responsibility in civics, and instead of shirking it, as now, decide to exercise it, they will not have to wait long for the ballot. The moral power of citizenship is the pressing need of our country. It is in the order of evolution that woman should contribute as a citizen to this moral power.

Awake and act, Sister Women, to make this a land of the free, and to establish justice.

LUCINDA B. CHANDLER,
Norwood Park, Ill.

GEN. MILES ON SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Portions of the remarks made by Gen. Nelson A. Miles at the luncheon given in Boston, Jan. 8, 1906, to welcome Mr. Fiske Warren on his return from the Philippines.

The problem of the Philippine islands is yet an unsolved one. I hope it will not remain so long, but it may for a number of months or years . . .

In 1897 and 1898 Spain had nearly if not wholly exhausted her resources. Hers was a decaying empire once the mistress of the world. She had gone down and had lost her possessions in the western hemisphere with the exception of Cuba. She was making a desperate struggle to retain control of that island. Spain had sent there 200,000 men.

The condition of the Philippine islands did not attract our attention so much, yet the same thirst for liberty and independence prevailed there as with the people in the Island of Cuba. The people in the Philippine islands numbered nearly 10,000,000 (now 8,000,000) as against the million and a half in Cuba. For months before the Spanish war the people of the Philippine islands had been resisting the Spanish power. They captured one of the largest cities in the islands. If you will read the dispatches of our own officials giving an account of the efforts being made in the islands for their independence you will see that the same spirit prevailed there as in Cuba, and from the time when the Spanish fleet was destroyed, up to the time when our troops landed, the Filipinos controlled the affairs of the islands absolutely, and I ask any gentleman here if he ever heard of a single case of violence or disorder during the time when the Filipinos had abso-

lute control? This is an evidence of their capacity for self-government. They certainly governed the islands with order, with security, with safety and intelligence.

As far as their capacity for self-government is concerned, if you will take the civil list published at Washington, from the governor general who draws \$20,000 a year and lives in a palace, down to the humblest employe, you will find on that list published the names of 5,000 men, and I was curious to see where the 5,000 men came from. Looking over the list which gives names and occupation, I saw the names of men who were governors of provinces, presidents, marshals, justices of the court, judges, attorney generals. I saw that some of these men were born in Massachusetts, some in Ireland, some in New York, Michigan, Ohio, but over 3,000 men out of the 5,000 were born in the Philippine islands. What stronger evidence do we require than this? I should like to ask how long were our forefathers schooled by any other power in the theory of self-government when they threw off the bondage and oppression of the British power? How long had the 17 republics of the western hemisphere been schooled in the methods of self-government to prepare them to govern their own affairs when they had thrown off the power of European control? Not a moment! The 50,000,000 of people now living south of the Rio Grande, how long were they schooled to fit them for self-government?

A people that loves liberty, and thirsts for it, and hopes for it, and prays for it, and is willing to die for it, is equally willing to preserve and maintain it. There is as much intelligence, virtue, honor, industry and integrity in the people of the Philippine islands as there is in the people of Mexico, Cuba, Brazil, Chili, or any other of the Spanish countries, and I have no sympathy with that theory that we must allow a generation, or two, or three, to prepare them for self-government.

What right have we to say what the people of our country three generations hence from us will do? Will they have any more intelligence or honesty or less thirst for greed and avarice than we? Will they be freer from graft and thirst for gold or mines or railroads than we? Are our own affairs so pure and sweet that we are prepared to say that we are the only people that are capable of self-govern-

ment? Is there not room for a little missionary work here at home?

My friends, we have gone too far in our thirst for what we are going to get out of the Philippines and we are finding out that it has been an unfortunate enterprise. We find that the timber there is not so valuable as we supposed. We find that we can go down to the coast of South America and buy timber cheaper than we can bring the same kind from the Philippine islands. Why, the fact is that timber is being shipped from Puget sound in enormous quantities to build the government buildings in the Philippine islands. The mineral wealth of the Philippines is not what we expected. There is not a gold mine, or a coal mine, or a silver mine in the whole archipelago that is being worked to-day. We have found that our ideas of enriching ourselves there have been a great failure. . . .

Would it not be just as well for us to try the experiment of even-handed justice and humanity, and to do unto others as we would have others do unto us? I have no sympathy with the idea that because a nation is powerful and great it will take advantage of a nation that is weak, and poor, and timid. I would like the government of the United States to do exactly with the Philippines as we would like to have had done with us or as was done 100 years ago. Give them an opportunity to establish their own self-government. I hope to live long enough to see the people of the United States establish the first republic in the orient. As to how long it would require to do so—24 hours would be long enough to make a good beginning. A resolution of congress authorizing the government to call a convention to adopt a constitution similar to that of Cuba, and on the completion of that to recognize that government. That would be the end of it. It is like the man who buys his ticket and gets on the train to go to New York. There is nothing more to be done. A resolution of congress authorizing the governor general of the islands to call a convention for the purpose of adopting a constitution similar to that of Cuba having been adopted, the thing would be accomplished, and every man, woman and child in the Philippine islands would say, Thanks be to God that He has heard our prayers; and everybody in the United States would say, Amen!

[This question was asked from the audience: "I understand that the Filipinos were fighting for their independence when they

were fighting the United States. Now one principal reason why we have tried to prevent their becoming independent has been the fear that they would fall to fighting with one another if we made them independent. I should like to ask Mr. Warren or Gen. Miles how many we have killed off in battle of the Filipinos to prevent their killing one another?" Gen. Miles replied as follows:]

As to the fear of their killing each other or a civil war, it is a curious fact that our government was engaged in something of that nature for four long years, and there was more "blood-letting" in that great war of Americans against Americans in the four years from '61 to '65 than in all the wars where lives were lost in the whole western hemisphere for 100 years, and I think the less we talk about that the more becoming it would be for us, for when 500,000 lives, the very flower of American manhood, went to untimely graves in the civil war among ourselves, we are certainly not the ones to talk about peoples of other countries fighting each other.

DISINTEGRATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

Extract from the serial letter of March 10, 1906, by Lincoln Steffens, as published in the Chicago Record-Herald of March 11.

When I came down here I couldn't tell the difference between a Democrat and a Republican, and it hurt my pride to have statesmen tell me about their parties. The candid thieves who run our States and cities had ceased long ago to try to work off that sort of buncombe on me, and I thought that all talk of parties was for the "peepul," not for me and the railroads and the boodlers, who change parties as we change cars to follow the majority from State to State.

But still they would talk parties, and the speaker, Mr. Cannon, was especially annoying. He sat me down in a big chair, gave me a cigar, stuck another in his own mouth, and then he stood up over me and delivered a regular stump speech.

He called it an interview, but it was the sort of oration he delivers to his constituents out in Illinois. All about "the" party, "the great party which has made this great country what it is—great."

Since he is a humorist, I thought at first that he was "joking," but he seemed very serious, and I put it down to habit, till by and by it dawned on me that he was trying to deceive himself as well as me. I half believe he half believes the G. O. P. brings up good crops.

But he said one thing that is true:

"This is a government by parties." It is.

As I left the room John Sharp Williams, the minority leader, entered. They work together, these two, for government by parties. We have a bipartisan system here as well as in the cities and States. The pension bill graft goes to Democrats as well as to Republicans; no party difference there. If there's a river and harbor bill, the Democrats get their "divvy." They don't get so much as "the" party gets, but—there's no difference in "pork;" which, mind you, is treated as "graft."

So with the other pork barrel—the public building bill. Toledo needs right now a federal building, so does Atlanta, and other places, but they can't have what they need till there's enough money to go around to all the Congressmen of both parties who voted right. And they vote right here without any precise regard to party.

The speaker put his Philippine bill through only with the help of the Democrats, and Rice, the last special interest "taken care of" by "Uncle Joe" Cannon in his free trade measure, was expected to win over enough Southern protection Democrats to overcome the insurgent high tariff Republicans. The party line there is as confused as that sentence. And, as for the Hepburn rate bill, everybody voted to pass that measure up to the Senate to be fixed. So there's no difference there.

And, taking the Senate, what's the difference between Aldrich, the Republican leader, and Gorman, the Democratic leader? Or between Clark, Democrat, of Montana, and Wetmore, Republican, of Rhode Island?

Bailey, of Texas, is a Democrat, but he is not so much of a democrat as La Follette, a Republican, of Wisconsin. And, certainly, Dolliver, Republican, of Iowa, is at least as democratic as McLaurin, Democrat, of Mississippi.

There are differences among these men, and these differences are political. They are broad enough to build political parties on. But the old political parties are not built upon them. The new parties will have to be and, as a matter of fact, the new parties are being built upon them now, here as elsewhere in the United States.

What are those differences? What is the line the President and Mr. Aldrich could not draw in words? What is the American issue?

Out in Chicago some 12 years ago a group of reformers undertook to clear the boodlers out of their council. The street railways, which needed a corrupt council in their business, were in poli-

tics, and they fought reform. The fight has been waging ever since.

"Municipal ownership" is the form the issue has taken out there, but the fight is really between the public service corporations and the people for the control of the government; and men divide according as they are for special interests or the common interest.

In Cleveland the story is essentially the same. The form of the issue is "three-cent fares," but the fight, which has extended into the State, is between the railroads and other public service corporations on the one hand and the people on the other, for representation in the government, and the voters are dividing as in Chicago.

In Wisconsin Robert M. La Follette undertook to tax the railroads like any other property. They resisted. He taxed them. They were going to take it out of the people of the State by means of higher rates. He undertook to regulate rates. The issue there was, as in Chicago and Cleveland, representative government; the fight was between privileged business and the people, and the voters abandoned the old parties and took sides according as they were for the special interests or the common interests.

Everett Colby, Mark Fagin, George L. Record and their friends in Jersey are just beginning to tax the railroads. Their cry is "equal taxation." But the people of Jersey are really fighting against the special interests for the control of their government in the common interest of all of them.

In Wisconsin the common interest party calls itself Republican and it controls the Republican organization, but the La Follette half-breed party contains many Democrats. In Ohio the reformers call themselves Democrats, but they won with Republican votes. In New Jersey the Republican party is the party used, but in the last election the voters paid no heed to old party lines. They were for themselves.

And so it has gone in Pennsylvania, Missouri and elsewhere. Wherever the people have found a leader who would lead, they have crossed all party lines to follow, and they are forming a new party. For Folk (Dem.) and Colby (Rep.), John Weaver (Rep.) and Tom Johnson (Dem.), La Follette (Rep.) and Dunne (Dem.), all belong to one party.

Differ though they may in ideas, in wisdom, in the slogans they have raised and the symbols they vote under, they all are fighting one fight, raising one issue. They are dividing

old parties into new parties, and all that is needed to complete the realignment is national leaders to bring them together.

And the same thing is happening here in the same way and from the same cause. When the President undertook to pass a rate regulation bill he opened up that old crack which runs across the front of both the old parties. That bill is called an attack on the railroads. It isn't. It may not be a wise bill, but it isn't unfair. Purporting to empower the interstate commerce commission to regulate railroad rates, it will do nothing of the sort.

The best friends of the Hepburn bill, as it passed the House, do not pretend that it will solve the railroad rate problem; the most that they claim for it is that it is "a step forward," and the advocates of the effective regulation of rates want to amend the bill to make it do its work.

So while the bill may be weak, it is not harsh. But it is a challenge to the power of the railroads in the national government and they prepared to oppose its passage.

Public opinion put the bill through the House, and the railroads hoped to avoid an open fight by "fooling" the President into accepting amendments. Everybody thought that they would succeed in this, but they didn't. The President saw the game. When Senator Aldrich expressed his concern lest the bill is unconstitutional, the President is said to have answered: "Then why do you object to it?"

When Senator Knox offered an amendment to perfect the bill and Attorney General Moody reported that the Knox amendment did a little more than that, the President lost some of his faith in one of his most trusted advisers and Mr. Knox lost his temper. The fight was on. Further attempts were made toward a "reconciliation," and the President listened to them. But if he won't lead, others will.

It certainly looks as if the fight would go on to the end, the fight the country is waging in so many parts of the country. The apparent issue here is an accident; railroad rate regulation may not be central or essential; but neither is three-cent fare central or essential. The particular issue does not matter, however; anything will do that brings the people (by "people" I mean all men, not alone the "down-trodden") in just conflict (not with the "rich") with the interests which corruptly rule this country.

"What do they represent?" That is the question we have always to ask, and when the fight was thrown out of the White House into the interstate commerce committee of the Senate, the answers came fast. Elkins, Aldrich, Kean, Foraker, Crane, Republicans, were for an amendment to appeal rate making to the courts for delay, and two Democrats, McLaurin and Foster, leaned that way. No old party line there. Dolliver and Clapp and Cullom, Republicans, and Tillman, Carmack and Newlands, Democrats, were opposed to any emasculation. No old party line there.

But there were new party lines, and Senator Aldrich indicated them. When it appeared that the bill must be reported out with a whole skin, he said that this (the Republican President's) bill was a Democratic bill. And it is; it is in "our" interest. Wherefore Aldrich said: "Let a Democrat lead it through the Senate," and he named Senator Tillman, and the Republicans voted the leadership to this Democrat.

This incident was regarded as highly picturesque because Tillman is no friend of the President. But it may turn out to be more than picturesque. Tillman is a Democrat, but Theodore Roosevelt is a democrat. The President isn't an intellectual democrat, else he could not have advocated a ship subsidy bill. But instinctively "that man" is for that government which Lincoln said should not perish from the earth.

Kings used to suppose society would lapse into chaos without their noble support. We know now that the king had the same relation to society that the thermometer has to the temperature.—Goodhue Co. News. of Red Wing, Minn.

The Argumentative Man:—But, my dear fellow, I tell you it's impossible for the moon to be inhabited. When it is full it is all right, but when it wanes down to a little crescent, where the deuce would all the people go to?—Woman's Journal.

There is not an opponent of woman suffrage who is not obliged to deny the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence.—George F. Hoar.

BOOKS

DARROW'S FARMINGTON.
Farmington. By Clarence S. Darrow.
Second edition. Published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. Price,

\$1.50 postpaid. Sold by the Public Publishing Co., Chicago.

You have perhaps seen mention made in *The Public* (vol. vii., p. 430) of Mr. Darrow's *Farmington*. You have no doubt read it and admired it. I, too, have read it, and admired it intermittently. While liking the scheme of the book and enjoying the reminiscent and suggestive tone, I find it yet open to criticism when judged by literary standards, and liable to arouse differing opinions in its readings.

In the first place, it seems to me that the introduction is almost a superfluity. It is too long, too wordy, too explanatory. There is a harping on one string like "the reiterant katydid." I read *Farmington* aloud, and as I read, a seven-year-old girl sat beside me. For all Mr. Darrow's volubility in this introduction, he is clear, and so it is probable that the child understood much of what was read. When those ten pages of apologetics were finished, she looked up and queried: "That book was written by a woman, wasn't it?"

The fault of apologizing is the greatest one. One is reminded of the excellent housewife, who, having set a plain, substantial meal before you, worries you with self-reproachings as to the simplicity of the food and the absence of pie and cake. Perhaps our author does not apologize so much for the quality of his mental pabulum as he attempts to justify having offered it at all. You may say he is telling John Smith's story, but the guise is very thin—it is Darrow, after all. If a book is worth writing, it needs no excuse. If the book is a poor one, the critical will not read it, and no amount of self-depreciation will render it more enticing. *Farmington* is worth the telling, and this introduction weakens it. Were the author a novice, doubtful of recognition, he would remind one of old Uncle Remus: "It's mighty funny 'bout tales. Te'l 'um ez you may, an' whence you may, some'll say tain't no tale, an' den ag'in some'll say dat it's a fine tale. Dey ain't no tellin'. Dat's de reason I don't like ter tell no tale ter grown folks, 'specially ef dey er white folks. Dey'll take it an' put it by de side er some yuther tale what dey get in der min' an' dey'll take on dat slonchidickler grin what allers say: 'Go 'way, nigger man! You dunner what a tale is!' An' I don't. I'll say dat much fer ter keep some un else fum sayin' it."

So, trying to forget the tedium of the "grace," one comes finally to the feast. Who that remembers his childhood with pleasure can do aught but follow this small boy in his simple sports and tasks, with a heart full of sympathy? Whatever may be the benefits of town life to the adult, that child is deprived of his birthright



AN AUTHORITATIVE READING OF HIS PALM.

Madam Supreme Court--Your life-line, sir, extends to ninety-nine years; but your car lines do not run concurrently with your life line; they are broken and practically obliterated. I would advise you to lead a quiet and humble life from this time onward.

who has not spent at least part of his childhood in the country and has not attended district school.

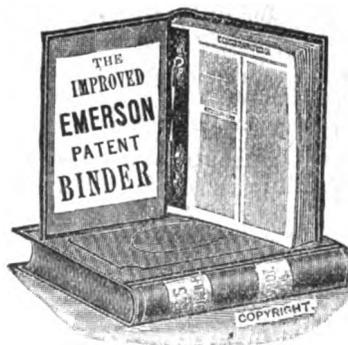
The delineation of the character of the parents is most excellent, but pathetic by its very truthfulness. Our country is full of their counterparts, and is still pervaded by that Puritanic spirit of self-repression that works such sorrow in the hungering human heart.

But to return to the district school. I think Mr. Darrow underestimates the value of the school and leans too strongly to the learning-made-easy methods of to-day. One may pick flaws in the old systems, but who cannot find equally great ones in the newer methods of the city schools. If

the old were narrow, the modern are superficial by reason of their breadth. I very much question if the multiplicity of subjects compensates for the lack of thorough grasp; and by this I mean to imply that the work of the country school is, as a rule, thorough. Children are too young, and, naturally, too lacking in earnestness to learn save under strenuous urging. They must be taught many things whose ultimate value does not appeal to their miniature minds.

There is a weakness, also, in his argument--humorously expressed, it is true, but an argument none the less--

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insipidities fed to the child nowadays. If they at times soared into the heights of intelligibility, is that not better than stooping too low? If we did not at once mend our errant ways after reading some tale fairly oozing with a moral, is that proof positive that we did not unconsciously imbibe some good therefrom? Would Mr. Darrow teach, like Mark Twain, that to be good is to be lonesome, to be honest doesn't pay financially, and that we are happiest when we do as we please? Perhaps he is but indulging in cheerful exaggeration, which is all right if we won't believe him too implicitly.

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