

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII

Number 396

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, NOV. 4, 1905.

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EDITORIAL

Workingmen and savings banks.

Savings bank statistics as evidence of the prosperity of workingmen gets another blow (p. 338) through revelations in the settlement of the estate of Col. Willard Glazier, the wealthy author and lecturer. Nearly all his fortune of \$135,000 was found deposited in the savings banks of more than 50 cities scattered over 15 States. In New York city alone he was a depositor in 18 savings banks. These deposits show up in warm colors through the savings bank statistics, as an indication of that improving condition of the working poor of which statistics are so full and the working poor so ignorant.

"Honest graft."

"Honest graft" is the new

New York name for a kind of graft that is described by a New York expert in this wise:

My party is in power in the city, and it is going to undertake a lot of public improvements. I am tipped off on the place. I go to that place and buy all the land I can in the neighborhood. Then the board of this or that makes its plan public and there is a rush to get my land which nobody cared particularly for before. Ain't it perfectly honest to charge a good price and make a profit on my investment and foresight? Of course it is. Well, that is honest graft.

And what is the *modus operandi* of "honest graft" when "my party is in power" and is going to give away a lot of street franchises?

Thinking workers and working thinkers.

The comment of the American League of Industrial Education, upon a quotation from an unnamed Negro writer, ought to penetrate the dull wits of those who are unconcerned while educational systems are formulating for the creation of a class of culture and a class for service. The criticized writer had said: "Teach the thinkers to think and the workers to work," adding: "It is silly to make a scholar a blacksmith, but sillier still to make a blacksmith a scholar." This was an incautious, perhaps unintended, expression of an idea that has taken root high up in educational circles. We quote the answer of the League, for it goes straight to the mark: "This ideal of 'teaching the thinkers to think,' and not to work, and the 'workers to work,' and not to think for their own protection, if carried to its ultimate, we are sure would again naturally and inevitably lead to just such a state of society as prepared the way for the ruin of the republics of old Greece and Rome, where a small coterie of well educated men 'taught to think' but not to work nor to respect the workers, thought out ways to reduce the 'workers who had been taught to work' but not to think for their own protection, to the most abject and pitiful poverty and slavery that has ever disgraced hu-

manity. And these 'thinkers who had been taught to think' but not to work, became the most arrogant tyrants and profligates in all the world's sad history. This baneful sentiment has always and always will tend to bring men to this condition to the end of time, if carried to its natural ultimate."

Roosevelt and public ownership.

"I do not believe in government ownership of anything which can with propriety be left in private hands," said President Roosevelt in his Raleigh speech. And what can "with propriety" be left in private hands? Can we "with propriety" leave in private hands any public function at all? If we can, then why not all public functions? Or, if some public functions may be left "with propriety" in private hands, where shall the line be drawn between such as may be and such as may not? And why does President Roosevelt so particularly and "most strenuously object to government ownership of railroads"? Does he refer to plant and rolling stock as well as right of way? If he includes right of way in his objection to government ownership, why does he not object to government ownership of paved streets and dirt roads, which are clearly in the same category of public highways with railroad rights of way? Mr. Roosevelt says that dirt roads are not in the same category, because they are simple while railroads are complex. But so was the post office once simple whereas now it is complex. Could we therefore "with propriety" put the post office in private hands?

Pierpont Morgan and Chicago traction.

There was an interesting concatenation of circumstances last week in connection with the Chicago traction (pp. 466, 472) matters.

Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan had come to Chicago. This aroused suspicions. To understand the

reasons for those suspicions two facts must be noted. One is the fact that the traction-extension ring were at a critical place last week in their desperate struggle with Mayor Dunne, who is fighting them with all the power at his command. They still controlled a majority of the Council, but it was a shaky and dwindling majority. The second is the fact, in verification of which we quote the Chicago Tribune, an organ of the traction extension ring, from its issue of Chicago 23, that—

despite the adverse street railway sentiment, J. P. Morgan and a few of his friends bought control of the City Railway company at \$200 a share, or approximately \$40 a share above the market, and at a time when the situation appeared the gloomiest. Mr. Morgan and other friends bought also the Union Traction company, the most hopelessly worthless street railroad proposition here, and bought also the North and West Chicago companies, even when the attitude of the city threatened their annihilation.

Upon his arrival in Chicago, Mr. Morgan indulged in the society of Mr. Marshall Field, and these two were in close communion. Naturally, for the two men are financially birds of a feather. But Morgan's visit to Field just at this time, when the Chicago aldermen were weakening on the ring's traction-extension policy, might be expected to suggest an explanation to the over-suspicious. And suspicion was not allayed when, in the issue of the Tribune of October 28, an interview with Mr. Morgan reported him as saying, with reference to Mr. Field:

We did not talk about the traction question. It is settled.

He was reported as adding: "We were not here on traction matters at all and our visit has no significance;" but it was hard to believe that Mr. Morgan had not come on traction matters when the stock for which he had paid "\$40 a share above the market," was in imminent danger of sinking to \$40 a share below the market. So the impression gained ground that, as the Tribune reported, Mr. Morgan had settled the traction question.

Thereupon Mayor Dunne very properly wrote a letter to Mr. Morgan in which he said:

If the traction question, which interests the citizens of Chicago to the extent of over \$100,000,000, has been settled, it has been settled without the knowledge of the Mayor of this city. If it has been settled, the settlement is a surprise to the 2,000,000 people of this community, who have been under the impression that the City Council and the Mayor are now seriously engaged in considering this great question. The news of the settlement is of great importance to the people of this great community, as well as to myself. Will you kindly inform me when and where the settlement was made; who represented the traction companies and who represented the city in this settlement; how was the settlement arrived at, and what methods were used to settle it without bringing the attention of the Executive of this city to the terms of the settlement? Will you also kindly inform me what are the terms and conditions of the settlement?

And now comes Mr. Morgan's response. Replying to Mayor Dunne, he wrote:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date, and to say in reply that the statement to which you refer as attributed to me in a reported interview—i. e., that "the traction question is settled"—is absolutely without foundation. I need hardly add that I fully understand that there has been no settlement between the traction companies and the city.

Mr. Morgan's denial of the interview is explicit, and in view of the reckless methods of newspaper reporting in vogue in Chicago the presumption would be in his favor if he had stopped with his explicit denial. But what does he mean by adding that there has been no settlement "between the traction companies and the city"? Why this care to state what everyone knows, that no settlement has been made with the city? Was it a thoughtless addendum, unintentionally shifting the emphasis, or has there been a settlement—not between the traction companies and the city, but between the traction companies and the city's bosses? There may be no significance to the fact, but it is a

fact, that in less than a week after Mr. Morgan was reported as saying, "the traction question is settled," the traction-extension ring rallied enough aldermen to come within one vote of two-thirds of the Council on a test question.

Practicability of municipal ownership.

It will be remembered that Mr. Morgan's friend, Mr. Marshall Field, after a pleasure trip abroad, reported adversely (p. 449) on the practicability of municipal ownership in the United States. While Mr. Field's report was giving pleasure to his financial friends who are hanging on vigorously to their franchise flesh pots, its rhythm was seriously disturbed by Octavius C. Beale, president of the Associated Chamber of Manufacturers of Australia, who happened to be passing through Chicago. Mr. Beale appears to be blessed with a good deal more public spirit than Mr. Field manifests, and with reference to public affairs to have a higher degree of good sense. Note this observation:

If a thing in its nature must be or ought to be a monopoly, that monopoly ought to be with the people.

Discussing the subject generally, Mr. Beale said:

I did not come to America to champion the cause of municipal ownership; for, in the land from which I come and in some European states in which I have traveled, the successful results that have accrued to the people through the operation of that principle makes it appear to me as something extraordinary that, in a nation so progressive as the United States, there should be any question as to the expediency of the people controlling public service. . . . Any statement that municipal ownership abroad has not in practice met the expectations of its advocates proves that the maker of that statement has not carefully studied conditions or has his facts sadly mixed.

These statements were followed by Mr. Beale with citations of facts supporting them, drawn from the experience of Australia, Great Britain and Germany; and he touched the core of the munic-

ipal ownership problem when he added:

The whole direction of municipal ownership is toward equalization of opportunities, whereas private monopoly of any public service tends to the increase of inequality. If the cause of corruption so much complained of in America be removed, is it not probable that official corruption itself will disappear and the public will rejoice in the possession of cheap general utilities as in other lands?

Land values taxation in Great Britain.

From a "catechism of land values," which a landlords' union, The Property Protection Society, is circulating in England in opposition to the land values taxation idea to which the Liberal party is committed, we observe that the British landlords are defending their privileges with quotations from a speech made in 1887 by Dr. A. R. Wallace relative to land value taxation in the United States. Dr. Wallace must have been badly informed as to fiscal customs in this country. He is quoted as saying that although every particle of land under private ownership, whether built on or not, is taxed on its full selling value in America, land speculation is nevertheless everywhere excessive. The latter part of this statement is true; the first part never was true, and we question its authenticity as being a statement from Dr. Wallace.

If there is any place in the United States where land is appraised for taxation at its full selling value, the rate or percentage of tax there will be found to be extraordinarily low. In most places it is appraised for taxation at much less than its full selling value; and in all places the tax is so low, relatively to selling value, that a large margin for speculation is left. In Chicago, for instance, land is required by law to be appraised for taxation at one-fifth of the selling value, and the taxes are limited to 5 per cent., so that the tax is only 1 per cent. of selling value. The highest tax appraisals of land anywhere in the

United States seldom exceed 60 per cent. of selling value, and large holdings not built upon are often appraised at only 20 or 25 per cent. of selling value.

It is strange that so thoughtful a people as the English should be misled by such "statements of fact" regarding economic conditions in distant countries. The statements, in so far as they imply that a full tax on the full selling value would not abolish speculation in land, are transparently false. Any British child ought to be able to calculate that if the tax gatherer were to take all, nothing would be left for the speculator. If, however, taxes were levied on full selling value, but the taxes were so low as to leave a margin for speculators, then of course there would still be speculation. Its intensity would depend upon the margin, and the margin would depend upon the rate of tax. We do not understand that the Liberal party of Great Britain advocates taxes high enough to wipe out the speculative margin wholly. It proposes one that would narrow the margin. Consequently, what it now proposes would not abolish land speculation; but it would obstruct land speculation, and the rest would be only a matter of keeping on.

Woman suffrage in New York.

Under the auspices of the Harlem Equal Rights League of New York, a "straw" election is to be held on election day, at which the women of New York are invited to vote for their choice for city and county offices. All women living within the limits of greater New York are invited to attend the woman's polling place in the Harlem Casino, 124th street and Seventh avenue, from 1 to 6 p. m., on the 7th. At that time and place provision for balloting in the ordinary way will be made, including a supply of voting booths and forms of official ballots, and the vote is to be regularly announced and published. It is quite improbable that knowledge of this exper-

iment will become general in time to produce results of much magnitude at the present election; but it is easy to see that if the experiment were to grow into a general custom, it would figure as a formidable practical argument for welcoming women citizens to the official voting places. The experiment is in charge of Mrs. Martha Williams, Mrs. Belle de Rivera, Mrs. Florence Kelley and Miss Maud Malone as the board of election.

Bernard Shaw's play.

Whoever has read Bernard Shaw's "Plays, Pleasant and Unpleasant," on sale this long time at general book stores of good repute, will be rather more surprised than the average newspaper reader at the decorous din over the alleged indecency of one of the unpleasant ones—"Mrs. Warren's Profession." The decorous din is easily explained. It is not because one of the characters is a courtesan, as the newspapers have it; courtesan characters are common in fashionable dramatic productions and there is no din. It is not because her vile business is exploited in the play; that also is common and permissible in fashionable plays, and exploitation is absent from this play. It is not because of any pruriency in Shaw's play, for, common as pruriency is on the stage, it is not present here. The outcry against the Shaw play springs from no sensitiveness at making prostitution a subject for the dramatic stage. It is in truth a pharisaical protest against the awful indictment Shaw launches at the industrial causes and wealthy promoters of prostitution. Prostitution is a fact, a terrible fact, and Shaw recognizes it as such in his play. Had he done this artfully and stopped there, we should have heard no outcry. But he does not stop there. He points at the respectable groups who profit by prostitution, and at those who maintain industrial conditions under which great masses of girls in every generation must choose between Mrs. Warren's profession, and some such industrial servitude as had

been preferred by her sister, who died horribly in her youth of lead poisoning contracted in a factory where she was overworked and underpaid. This is Shaw's sin. We are not saying that his play is a proper one for stage production. It may or may not be, as an abstract question of the dramatic proprieties; but on that question there is no present necessity for expressing judgment. What we do say is that this play is as legitimate as any other sex-problem play, and infinitely cleaner than many that are welcomed and applauded by the very classes by whom this is condemned. The charge of lubricity is only an excuse, based upon prurient interpretations of Shaw's portrayal of vicious results; his real offense in the eyes of the pharisees, is his coincident portrayal of the industrial causes.

WHAT IS THE MATTER WITH THE CHURCH?

The bishops, the preachers, the laymen, all, are asking the question: What is the matter with the church? Why does it no longer attract men?

One Sunday, not long ago, in a rather large congregation, the writer was one of five men in attendance! Only five men in a large congregation!

This was an extreme case, no doubt. But who will deny that it is an example of a general symptom?

Men do not care for the Church. That is not to say that men are no longer religious. True, the failure of the Church to feed the religious hunger of the world is causing increasing numbers to lose faith in religion. But men who intelligently discriminate between merely human institutions and divine principles are just as religious as such men ever were.

And there are prophets in the pulpit to-day. But the Church does not know them, and I dare not name them. To name them would but expose them to the scoffing of the church.

The matter with the Church is that it is wanting in religion.

It may answer the need of the

family, but not of society; of the individual, but not of the mass.

Yesterday was the day of the circuit rider. The family was so loosely connected with the social body—men lived so far apart—that the preacher was forced to go far to find a small congregation. The sermon is the same to-day as then, except as to hell fire; but human society is different. Then the preacher warned his hearers against stealing purses—and it sufficed as to theft. Trade was a thing so simple, and the values were so obvious that each individual was competent to protect himself against inequity in matters of barter. Then the purely social relations were few in kind, but the preacher laid down the law concerning them all.

To-day the industrial life of the country is intensely social, and the individual is extremely dependent upon the integrity of the social mechanism for his equity in the final distribution. Will any man pretend that the distribution is equitable?

Look at the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission; look at the revelations in regard to the great life insurance companies, the beef trust, the steel trust and many other private monopolies, all of which take toll from the masses who work for what they get. It is not merely that these monopolies cheat the public out of hundreds of millions annually; a more direful effect is that they deprive multitudes of the chance of gaining an honest livelihood. Monopoly creates a misbalance between supply and demand, making work scarce relatively to the number of would-be workers. Thus starvation forever lurks in the lower places of the social world.

But what is the organized church doing toward correcting this enormous evil?

A certain sinner of Boston has done more toward eradicating the commercial villainy of the times within the last year than nine-tenths of the clergy have done in all their lives.

"What is the matter with the Church?" This: The Church has abandoned society to the tender mercies of commercial pirates, whose gifts have purchased silence from the clergy in general,

and frantic support from some clergymen in particular.

Here and there a prophet cries aloud from the pulpit, unheard by the Church at large, or, if heard, condemned as an agitator or a sensationalist! The whole secular world, recognizing the prevailing political and commercial diabolism, is boldly calling spades spades, but the clergy calmly and circumspectly continues to call spades "alleged mechanical instruments, used in excavating—perhaps!"

The preacher will valorously denounce the Sunday peanut peddler—and board the Sunday trolley car at the close of his sermon. He will cry anathema upon the boys who play ball on Sunday, and on the same day himself patronize a transportation system that chains multitudes to the wheel of toil seven days a week, year in and year out.

The preacher declares that his duty is to inculcate the fundamental principles of morality, leaving the practical programme to his hearers. Jesus commanded: Thou shalt not steal. But he did not end with merely stating a central principle; he went into the Temple, overturned the tables of the money mongers, and branded them as thieves.

What good is a principle that cannot be applied? If the shepherd dare not interpret his principles in relation to the practical affairs of life, can he expect the sheep to do so? If the learned teacher dare not place his hand upon a thing and say: It is accursed, will the humble learner venture to do so? Will the rank and file go where the captain dare not even point the way with definiteness?

"What is the matter with the Church?"

This: It strains at the gnats of individual peccadilloes, and swallows the camels of social diabolisms.

Here and now the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Let not him who fails to strive for heavenly conditions here and now flatter his recreant soul with the hope of heaven hereafter.

The hypocrite will pretend to scorn wealth; will characterize desire for wealth as sordid;

will advise contentment with poverty; will denounce the poor for their unrest, on the one hand, and on the other will fly to the defense of the rich oppressor, while always his grovelling soul is drunk with the contemplation of the golden streets and jasper walls of the New Jerusalem! a city whose boundless wealth he dearly hopes to share; wealth that he is striving for, tooth and nail, by hook or by crook, to capture.

Justice demands that the social mechanism deliver to every one the equivalent of his contribution to the total of product. Or, to state it in another way: Justice demands that the social mechanism deliver to no one more than the equivalent of his contribution to the total of product. But the prevailing social mechanism delivers countless millions to some individuals, and leaves multitudes in abject poverty.

Some of the sheep are grazing in green pastures, beside the still waters, while many are famishing in the desert. But the shepherd dares not interfere, except to adjure the hungry bleaters to "be content with that condition in life to which," etc., ending with an infamous blasphemy!

And then he wonders why the poor don't go to church!

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CLEVELAND.

Cleveland, Oct. 28.—Have you ever seen a prize fight where towards the close one fighter gains the ascendancy over his wily dodging opponent, and sends him to the ropes? Well, I witnessed such a contest last evening between the two candidates for the mayoralty, Tom L. Johnson and his opponent, W. H. Boyd. Boyd is an intellectual contortionist, who can duck and dodge, who can twist himself up into all kinds of knots, and while unraveling himself spit all kinds of intellectual fire, which would be more or less edifying did the crowd come simply to be entertained in a frivolous way. But when an audience assembles on serious business such antics are as painful as a joke at a funeral.

Boyd is a criminal lawyer, earning his bread and butter as a jawsmith before jurors, trying, as Johnson said, "to make them believe that his client is an angel, when as a matter of fact he ought to be in the penitentiary wearing stripes." This blandishment,

acquired by force of habit, sticks to him through this campaign. Criminal lawyers, when handling a bad case, kick up a lot of dust, make heaps of noise, and paint linguistic colors, in the hope that the jurors' minds may be diverted from the cold facts they are called upon to consider and weigh.

Such was Boyd last evening compared with the staid and ponderous personality of Tom L. Johnson. It was an exhibition of a rapid-firing machine gun going up against a 13-inch gun. Johnson, composed, fearless, without artifice, went direct to the meat of things, and with resistless force repelled the wholesale charges that his administration was one of graft. Had Boyd left out of his campaign these charges of graft he would have stood a better show; but this community will never elect a man who has such a cheap estimate of its citizens as to try to make them believe what he does not believe himself—namely, that Tom L. Johnson is a sordid grafter.

There is something truly great about the personality of Tom Johnson. Shining through his broad face there are lines indicating that he is as gentle as a child, yet interblended with these are other lines showing that he has all the fearless courage of the lion. To be gentle, to be good, to desire the right, and to have the courage of a hero to do battle for one's ideals, is the greatest gift from God to man. Such is Tom Johnson. And as the years come and go, may both his love and his strength filter through the souls of men, and become incarnate in the life of our nation.

GEORGE A. SCHILLING.

AUSTRALIA.

Corowa, N. S. W., Sept. 30.—Several bills have been introduced in the Federal parliament (p. 307), some of which are very objectionable as tending to restrict personal freedom. Among them is one for the protection of trade-marks, which includes a clause providing for the union label, and is arousing most discussion and opposition.

The most important bills before the State parliament of New South Wales relate to local government.

In this respect New South Wales is more backward than Victoria. The whole of Victoria is under local government, the towns being called "boroughs," "towns" or "cities," according to size, and the country districts "shires."

But in New South Wales, while most towns of 500 inhabitants and upwards are incorporated as municipalities, there is nothing corresponding to shires. Outside of the municipalities there is no local government, the roads and bridges being made and maintained by the State government and

paid for out of the general State revenue. Consequently one of the principal duties of members of parliament for country districts is to get as much money as possible expended in their electorates.

This is, of course, demoralizing both to members and constituents. Every ministry in New South Wales for the last 20 years has promised to bring in full local government, and a number of bills have been introduced, but none passed. The present ministry has introduced bills to amend the present local government act, and to bring the whole State (except the western division, where there is very little population) under municipal government.

Under the present law, local taxes (called rates) are levied on land and improvements (not on property generally). The occupier of the property, whether owner or tenant, is the person taxed. Only tax payers are allowed to vote at municipal elections, the number of votes varying from one to four, according to the value of the property taxed. Municipal elections are not influenced in any way by State or Federal politics. The mayor is elected by the council, and has no special powers, being merely the chairman. The council appoints all officials except auditors, who are elected by the tax payers. Judges, magistrates, police and public school teachers are all appointed and controlled by the State government, and the buildings and land used by them are owned by the State, so the municipal government has nothing to do with them whatever. In these respects the local government system of Victoria is very similar.

The most important alteration proposed by the New South Wales ministry is that, both in the present municipalities, and in the new shires proposed to be formed, the local taxes are to be levied on land values only, exempting improvements.

The maximum tax which a council will be allowed to levy is twopence-half penny in the pound. In any municipality or shire where the local tax is one penny or upwards, the present State tax of one penny in the pound will cease to be collected.

By the present State tax, land values to the amount of £240 are exempt, and there is also an exemption in the case of mortgaged land; an attempt, often successful, being made to tax the mortgagee by means of the income tax.

The local government bills are now being discussed by the State parliament, and may be altered, but the ministry seems to be determined to try to pass them.

A woman's franchise bill was passed by the lower house of Victoria in July, but rejected by the upper house. Victoria is the only State which does

not allow women to vote. Queensland adopted adult suffrage early this year. The first woman lawyer was admitted to practice in Victoria on August 1.

ERNEST BRAY.

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, Nov. 2.

The Russian revolution.

A great labor strike in Russia (p. 474) has developed, as was expected last week, into a full-fledged political revolution.

Previous to this strike the important Russian news had related to the action of the Zemstvos congress (p. 409) upon the Czar's call for a Douma or national assembly. Since then, indications of popular unrest over this half way measure of the Czar's have characterized all the Russian dispatches. The signs of an uprising were at first, as already stated, industrial. Workingmen were striking in various places for shorter hours and better labor conditions, and instances of rioting were reported as results. A little later the dispatches suggested political motives for these strikes. They were said to be part of a general scheme attributed to the Social Democrats to compel the Czar to grant universal suffrage and full political freedom. One of the strikes was on the railroads, and on the 24th this was reported to have progressed so far as to have caused complete suspension of operations on several railroad lines, and to threaten railroad communication throughout the Empire. The congress of railroad employes in session at St. Petersburg had on the 23d indicated the political nature of the strike by adopting a resolution in favor of universal suffrage, political freedom, amnesty, the right to organize strikes, the liberation of the arrested strikers, an eight-hour day, school for the employes' children, and the abolition of martial law, the railroad gendarmerie and cap-

ital punishment. Nor did the other strikes subside. So extensive were these manifestations at this time that it was surmised that "the general strike in all branches of labor which the Socialists planned for the end of this year was probably bursting forth." This situation led to the adoption on the 24th by the League of Leagues of resolutions declaring the moment favorable for a general strike of all the professions and recommending doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc., to cease professional activities. Revolutionary tendencies moved so much faster than the cable reported them that on this side of the world news of concessions by the Czar was at hand before any special necessity for that action was understood.

The Czar was reported on the 26th to have made these concessions by signing an Imperial manifesto granting Russia a constitution guaranteeing liberty of the press, free speech, freedom of worship, and equal political rights. The manifesto was not published until the 30th, when it was cabled as follows:

We, Nicholas the Second, by the grace of God Emperor and Autocrat of All the Russias, Grand Duke of Finland, etc., declare to all our faithful subjects that the troubles and agitation in our capitals and in numerous other places fill our heart with excessive pain and sorrow. The happiness of the Russian sovereign is indissolubly bound up with the happiness of our people, and the sorrow of our people is the sorrow of the sovereign. From the present disorders may arise great national disruption. They menace the integrity and unity of our empire. The supreme duty imposed upon us by our sovereign office requires us to efface ourself and to use all the force and reason at our command to hasten in securing the unity and co-ordination of the power of the central government and to assure the success of measures for pacification in all circles of public life which are essential to the well-being of our people. We therefore direct our government to carry out our inflexible will in the following manner:

1. To extend to the population the immutable foundations of civic liberty, based on the real inviolability of person, freedom of conscience, speech, union and association.

2. Without suspending the already ordered elections to the state Douma, to invite to participation in the Douma, so far as the limited time before the convocation of the Douma will permit,

those classes of the population now completely deprived of electoral rights, leaving the ultimate development of the principle of the electoral right in general to the newly established legislative order of things.

3. To establish as an unchangeable rule that no law shall be enforceable without the approval of the state Douma, and that it shall be possible for the elected of the people to exercise real participation in the supervision of the legality of the acts of the authorities appointed by us.

We appeal to all faithful sons of Russia to remember their duty toward the fatherland, to aid in terminating these unprecedented troubles and to apply their forces, in co-operation with us, to the restoration of calm and peace upon our natal soil. Given at Peterhof, October 30, in the eleventh year of our reign.

This action by the Czar is attributed to the influence of Count Witte, to whom it is understood the Czar has confided the task of organizing a ministry on the usual parliamentary model. It has caused the resignation of Pobiedonostseff, the procurator of the holy synod, who has been the ecclesiastical support of Russian autocracy and is unwilling to remain in that office under a parliamentary government. Count Witte has organized a cabinet composed of friends in whom he has personal confidence rather than of leaders of parties or factions. It is as follows:

Foreign Affairs—Count Lamsdorf.
 Marine—Vice Admiral Birilleff.
 War—Gen. Redeger.
 Interior—Prince Alexis Obolensky.
 Finance—Mr. Romanoff.
 Railroads—Mr. Zeigler.
 Justice—Mr. Koni.
 Education—Mr. Kroskovsky.

From the latest dispatches it is evident that the Czar had not signed the grant of a constitution on the 26th, and that there is good reason for fearing that his signing it on the 30th came too late to prevent a bloody revolution. Count Witte had been in conference with the Czar and his reactionary advisers urging a grant of constitutional rights. He did not succeed until the 30th. Meanwhile the fires of revolution were blazing higher and higher. The mere announcement of a constitution on the 26th did not smother them, as it was doubtless intended to do. Throughout the Empire the people had risen, and they were mani-

festly guided by some master hand. Railroad service had stopped; in Warsaw and Moscow provisional governments were in process of formation; in St. Petersburg and Moscow, as in other places, business was at a standstill, famine threatened, small riots and police massacres had occurred, and uncontrollable riot was imminent. The autocratic Romanoff government had lost the power to govern, and the people acted and talked as they pleased. Mass meetings were held in St. Petersburg at which thousands of men cheered speakers who in impassioned oratory and with impunity demanded the overthrow of the Czar. Great crowds marched through the streets carrying red flags and singing the Marsellaise, yet no one dared order the troops to fire. The greatest crisis for the Russian throne was at hand, when the Czar finally issued his manifesto granting a constitution. With the actual publication of this document on the 30th the crisis seemed to pass. Immediately the revolutionary cries were succeeded by shouts of praise for the Czar. But reaction soon set in. According to E. J. Dillon, one of the best American newspaper observers, cabling from St. Petersburg on the 31st—

the scenes of uproarious joy that unfolded themselves to the eyes of the observer last night and this morning bespoke intense satisfaction, but this roseate hue is only surface deep. Down in the depths the blackness was intense. The wind which had subsided now threatens to be succeeded by a whirlwind and a bloodless revolution to be followed by a bloody wanton revolt. Last night between 12 and 2 o'clock jarring sounds brought discord into the general harmony, and the very men who shortly before had hailed the manifesto as a Magna Charta now complained it gave the people a stone in lieu of bread. To-day those sentiments have been clearly formulated and are re-echoed by scores of thousands of Social Democrats and social revolutionists, who will make no pact with the government. The Social Democrats say that they want a democratic republic and will accept nothing less in full settlement of their demands. All these associations, including the League of Engineers and the League of Writers, laid down the following conditions without which they will not agree to abandon the struggle or dispense with weapons already forged: (1) Complete political amnesty; (2) formation of a national militia to guarantee the

rights formulated by the manifesto but given only in words; (3) repeal of martial law throughout the Empire; (4) abolition of capital punishment. The revolutionary party argue that if they relax their zeal in the struggle or disband their organization they will be at the mercy of the autocracy. Altogether the first day of the new era has begun under the most unfavorable auspices, and may end by ushering in civil war.

Sensational reports of rioting were cabled on the 2d, but without explanation of proximate causes. As they come from Odesa, Kieff and Warsaw, it is probable that they are due to the as yet unchecked revolutionary impulse that preceded the Czar's manifesto, and may subside. Large numbers of people were killed and wounded. None of this disorder is reported from Moscow and St. Petersburg.

On the 1st at St. Petersburg the Social Democrats and the revolutionary socialists held a meeting at which they formulated the following demands, as summarized by cable dispatches:

(1) Voting by secret ballot; (2) manhood suffrage; (3) complete abolition of the existing regime; (4) abdication of the Czar; (5) establishment of a republic upon socialistic lines.

Revolt of Finland.

Echoes of the Russian revolution have had their influence in Finland (vol. vii, pp. 711, 805), where chaos is reported to have reigned on the 31st. In the afternoon, at a public meeting at Helsingfors, it was resolved to demand a cessation of Russian dominion, the resignation of the governor and senators, and the formation of a national assembly with universal suffrage. These demands were immediately presented by a delegation escorted by an immense crowd of people, to the Governor. He responded that he had just received a telegram from St. Petersburg regarding the summoning of a diet and the abolition of the dictatorship decrees, and that he was about to start for St. Petersburg to arrange for a new regime in Finland. When this information was communicated to the waiting crowds by palace heralds, the crowd shouted "Too late! too late!" and rushed to the wharf to stop the steamer. They seem to have succeeded, for the Govern-

nor is now reported to be "virtually a prisoner in his palace."

This virtual imprisonment may be due, however, to the general strike which was proclaimed on the 31st in support of the demands for civil liberty, and began at once. The entire train service east of Helsingfors stopped. The students joined in the strike movement, in order to close the schools. All the higher educational establishments were promptly closed, and the telephone and the postal service were suspended. The public offices and banks shut their doors. The police went on strike, the troops made it known that they would not fire on the people; and, although the newspapers appeared, they were uncensored. In compliance with the popular demand, all the senators have resigned.

Resistance to American domination in the Philippines.

Brief reports of the 28th from Manila tell of a fight on the 22d with the "head of the Moro insurgents of the island of Mindanao" (p. 343), in which a detachment of the Third U. S. Cavalry under Capt. McCoy killed the Moro leader and 11 of his party, and wounded 43. Of the American party three privates were killed and two wounded.

The meager reports by the Associated Press of the hearing which Secretary Taft and the Congressmen who accompanied him gave to representative Filipinos last August (p. 343) have been supplemented with reports by mail now in circulation in this country from which it appears that—

the meeting was held in the "Marble Hall," which was crowded, two-thirds of the seats being occupied by persons of education, professional men, land owners and members of important families, and the remainder of the seats and the corridors being packed with members of the laboring class. One of the most important petitions presented was presented by "The Committee of Philippine Interests," established towards the close of the year 1904. It asks for "abolition of the duties on sugar and tobacco exported to the United States or at least a reduction to 25 per cent.," revocation of the "Frye Bill," early calling of a legislative assembly which would "terminate all disorders," suspension of all rail-

way grants until they can be brought before such assembly, and separation of legislative and executive functions. It stated that "the general desire of the Filipino people is to possess independent national existence as soon as possible," and requested that the United States Congress "make an express declaration to this effect." To "assure this independence" it further asked that "either the Philippine Islands may be declared neutral territory or else be placed under a protectorate of the United States." In local administration the following suggestions were made: (a) Exemption from all duties on agricultural machinery, tools and fertilizers, all of which tend to improve and stimulate agriculture. (b) Reduction of the forestry charges in order to permit of our native woods being able to compete with foreign lumber. (c) Reduction also of the international revenue tax in so far as the tobacco and alcohol industries are concerned. (d) Suspension for a period of five years of the land tax, or for such times as may be found necessary for the landowners to recover from their recent losses. (e) Continuation of Spanish as the official language for twenty years. (f) Limitation of the powers of the constabulary to those of a purely police character. Careful selection of its personnel and energetic and immediate repression of all lack of discipline or abuses. (g) Permanence of judicial assignment. The designation to be on proposal of the Supreme Court of the islands. (h) Economical administration in personnel and material for at least until such time as the country is able to support higher taxes. (i) Equality of salaries among officials who do the same identical work. (j) Larger participation in the government by Filipinos, especially in positions of greater responsibility.

Another petition, signed by prominent business and professional men, expressed the hope that the American visitors would permit the signers—

in our country's name, to appeal to the Congress of the United States, through your authorized and worthy means, in its behalf. . . . Notwithstanding their indisputable political capacity, due to their present grade of culture and civilization, the Filipino people are denied in every possible way the conditions for self-government. . . . The Filipinos are capable of an independent government, and among the variety of forms of this class of government they choose an immediate independence with a declaration of perpetual neutrality, in preference to an independence under a protectorate; because the former will yield the most honorable and economical results for America, and will be the surest means to guarantee the integ-

rity and stability of what will be the Philippine state; while independence with a protectorate would be too costly to both protector and protected and a menace of conflicts to the former. By all that we have expressed, and relying upon the justice of the American nation, we petition the Congress of the United States of North America, in the name of the Filipinos, for the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands, with declaration of perpetual neutrality.

Next week's American elections.

State and municipal elections are to be held in many of the States on the 7th, and at some points the excitement is as intense as in a Presidential campaign.

In San Francisco (pp. 321, 407) the contest is between Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz, the candidate of the labor organizations, and John S. Partridge, the candidate of the Republican and the Democratic parties, which have made a fusion ticket for the purpose of defeating the reelection of Mayor Schmitz.

Once more Gov. Garvin (p. 458) is contesting for the governorship of Rhode Island. A Democrat of the Jeffersonian type, and a pronounced follower of Henry George, he has nevertheless been twice elected governor as the Democratic candidate in this Republican State; and he was defeated a year ago for reelection by only 600 plurality, although the Republican plurality for President was 15,000.

The election excitement in Philadelphia (p. 392) is due to a break in the Republican party, for the overthrow of ring rule. No mayor is to be elected, and the head of the ticket is the candidate for sheriff; but the issues cluster about the exposures by Mayor Weaver, a Republican, of the corruption of the Republican State and city ring.

The issue in Maryland is a constitutional amendment, fathered by Senator Gorman, for the disfranchisement of Negro citizens.

New Jersey is torn politically with an uprising against the public utilities corporations (p. 425) which own enormous public fran-

chises and have grossly corrupted the politics of both parties.

One of the most exciting campaigns is that of New York city (p. 472), where Mayor McClellan is the Democratic (Tammany Hall) candidate for reelection. The Republican candidate is William M. Ivins, and the Municipal Ownership candidate is William Randolph Hearst. All these parties have committed themselves to the principle of municipal ownership of public utilities, and Mr. Ivins and Mr. Hearst advocate it in their speeches. The district attorneyship, also, is a center of interest. Each of the three parties named above will have a candidate for this office on the official ballot — Osborne (Tammany), Shearn (Municipal Ownership), and Flammer (Republican). In addition, the present district attorney, Jerome, is the sole candidate of the Citizens' Union, a good government organization. Mr. Flammer has withdrawn in favor of Jerome, but his withdrawal is believed to have come too late to change the ballot, although the question is still before the courts. Walter Wellman predicts the election of Jerome as district attorney; also the election of Hearst as mayor, unless the Republicans "plump" for McClellan. This seems to be a fair prophecy. Jerome's election is probably certain, and that the result for mayor lies between McClellan and Hearst, with the probabilities in favor of the latter, seems equally so.

Auburn (p. 451) is another New York municipality in which an exciting and important local election is on. The immediate issue is good government; but as a means to an end, the end being people's government with all it implies. Mayor Osborne is the Democratic candidate for reelection, and his ticket is peculiarly non-partisan, because half the candidates are Republicans in State and national politics, and are associated with Mayor Osborne not by way of fusion but by direct Democratic nomination.

The municipal campaign in Cleveland (p. 451) has been made especially noteworthy by the series of debates on local affairs between Mayor Johnson, who is the Demo-

cratic candidate for reelection, and his Republican adversary, W. H. Boyd. These debates have been before gigantic audiences. It is confidently predicted in Cleveland that Mayor Johnson will be easily reelected.

The State campaign of Ohio (p. 452) has been made exciting by the attitude of the religious element of the Republican party with reference to liquor regulation. Gov. Herrick having taken sides against a liquor regulation law before the legislature last winter the religious defection from his party has become formidable, and John M. Pattison, the Democratic candidate, is getting the benefit of it, while Herrick is drawing support from the saloon element of the Democratic party. The result is reported as in doubt, which is in itself significant when the great strength of the Republican party in the State is considered. Pattison is reported to be a democrat in more than party name.

Although there is no municipal election on in Chicago, a sanitary district election (p. 200), Chicago being part of the district, is of importance as involving in a measure the question of public ownership of public utilities with reference to the drainage canal.

Chicago traction question.

When Mayor Dunne's proposed order in promotion of municipal ownership requiring the local transportation committee of the Chicago Council to prepare an ordinance for the purpose of acquiring ownership of the street railways of Chicago under the Mueller act as ordered by the referendum of 1904 (pp. 472, 473), came up for consideration on the 30th, Alderman Foreman, the aldermanic leader of the franchise-extension and anti-municipal ownership movement, offered as a substitute the following order with reference to the certificates authorized by the Mueller act:

That the committee on local transportation be and it is hereby directed to consider and report to this Council at an early date a method of making a legal test of the validity of the street railway certificates authorized by said act.

This order was by the following vote adopted as a substitute for

Mayor Dunne's municipal ownership order:

Yes—Dixon, Pringle, Foreman, Potter, Young, Bennett, Jones, Moynihan, Smith, McCormick (21), Reese, Schmidt (23), Schmidt (24), Hahne, Williston, Dunn, Lipps, Stewart, Butler, Raymer, Larson, Wendling, Burns, Roberts, Badenoch, Eldmann, Bihl, Hunt, Ruxton, Hunter (Republicans),—30; Dailey, McCormick (5), Martin, Hurt, Scully, Hoffman, Cullerton, Maypole, Harkin, Conlon, Brennan, Ryan, Powers, Sullivan, Carey (Democrats)—15; total, 45.

Nays—Harris, Uhlir, Beilfuss, Sitts, Harding (Republicans)—5; Coughlin, Kenna, Richert, Fick, Zimmer, Considine, Riley, Nowicki, Dever, Finn, Dougherty, Werno, Reinberg, Bradley, O'Connell, Kohout (Democrats)—16; total, 21.

Railroad-rate regulation.

The regulation of railroad rates, a question that promises to enter largely into national politics, was considered in Chicago last week by two national business conventions. One of these had been called by E. P. Bacon, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Law Association. His call, dated September 18, was for—

a convention of delegates representing the various trade, industrial and producing interests of the country. . . to meet at ten o'clock a. m., on the 26th of October next, the sessions to continue probably into the following day. The basis of representation will be one delegate for every organization, composed of persons engaged in the pursuits above mentioned, of one hundred members or less, and an additional delegate for each additional two hundred members or major part in excess thereof. The object of the convention is to impress upon Congress the extent and persistence of the demand of the people of all parts of the country for legislation outlined in the President's last annual message to Congress in the following language: "The Interstate Commerce Commission should be vested with the power where a given rate has been challenged and after full hearing found to be unreasonable, to decide, subject to judicial review, what shall be a reasonable rate to take its place; the ruling of the Commission to take effect immediately and to obtain unless and until it is reversed by the court of review."

Upon inquiry Mr. Bacon had explained that—

the purpose stated in this call precludes entertaining any propositions to modify the scope of legislation outlined from extract of President's message quoted therein. I doubt eligibility of

delegate not in sympathy with purpose stated.

Having considered this explanation, David M. Parry, and several other business men, as officers of business associations, issued a call in which they said:

•We hold it to be of vital importance that the bona fide shipping interests of the country be represented at this convention, and that these interests should strongly deny the right of politicians to make the issue of this convention and the subject to be discussed therein a weapon for political purposes, which result will unquestionably follow should the shipping interests of the country be denied a right of hearing. To this end you are urgently requested to appoint the number of delegates to which your organization is entitled under the call quoted above, regardless of what the views of your organization on the subject may be, and have your delegation in Chicago on the morning of October 26th.

Such were the circumstances when the delegates arrived in Chicago on the 26th. The convention originally called, met in Steinway Hall. It excluded all delegates who refused to assent to President Roosevelt's proposal. The excluded ones then organized in Fine Arts Music Hall, where they adopted the following resolution:

Be it resolved, That, inasmuch as there is an overwhelming majority of duly accredited delegates here present at Fine Arts Music Hall, we declare this to be the duly called convention. Be it further resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to so notify the minority delegates now in session in Steinway Hall and invite them to be present.

The Steinway Hall convention replied with the following:

Resolved, That the so-called convention, assembled in Fine Arts Hall, for the purpose of aiding the railroad companies to defeat the efforts of President Roosevelt in behalf of the people, is assembled without authority of this Association, but fairly represents the corporate forces under the direction of which it is in session. Second, that its statement to the effect that any duly accredited delegates to this convention are in attendance upon the Fine Arts Hall railroad convention is absurd and false. The delegates to this convention are here in session, enthusiastic in their support of President Roosevelt's declared policy, and do not propose to make any alliance or compromise with the enemies of the people.

Subsequent business was done by

the two bodies as separate conventions.

W. E. Hughes of Denver was chosen permanent chairman of the Steinway Hall convention, officially described as The Interstate Commerce Law convention. On the 27th it adopted the following message to President Roosevelt, which embodies the substance of resolutions also adopted by it:

The Interstate Commerce Law convention, assembled this 27th day of October, 1905, in Chicago, Steinway Hall, representing forty-four States and Territories and a great majority of their producing, shipping and manufacturing interests, did resolve that they unanimously and enthusiastically indorse your position upon railroad rate legislation.

The opposing convention took the name of Federal Rate Regulation Association and declared itself—

unalterably opposed to conferring upon the Interstate Commerce Commission, or any other appointive agency, the power to prescribe rates for transportation.

This convention is denounced by the delegates to the other, as having been assembled not only in the interest but at the expense of the railroads.

NEWS NOTES

—The third conference of the Layman's Forward Movement of the Episcopal Church opened at Chicago on the 29th.

—A statue of J. Sterling Morton, a member of President Cleveland's cabinet, was unveiled at Nebraska City, Neb., on the 28th. The oration was by Mr. Cleveland.

—Leaving Little Rock on the 25th President Roosevelt (p. 474) arrived in New Orleans on the 26th, and left there the same day on the lighthouse tender Magnolia, which conveyed him to the cruiser West Virginia. On board the West Virginia he arrived at Washington on the 31st.

—A beginning in the municipal lighting of public structures in New York was begun in New York on the 30th by the opening of the municipal lighting plant for the Williamsburg bridge. The current is supplied by the city's incinerating plant, where the refuse of the streets is burned.

—Quo warranto proceedings were begun at Akron, O., on the 28th, against the Mutual Life Insurance company and the New York Life Insurance company (p. 427), to oust them from the State. The proceedings are

conducted under the advice of former Attorney General Monett, of Ohio.

—Hugh O. Pentecost is to speak on "Our Dangerous Classes" at the Chicago Opera House on the 5th at 11 o'clock, under the auspices of the Spencer-Whitman Center.

PRESS OPINIONS

CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Buffalo Courier (Dem.), Oct. 26.—The people of Chicago have on three different occasions voted by an overwhelming majority in favor of municipal ownership of street railroads. They are proceeding in an orderly and legal manner to accomplish what they believe in doing, but, as had been expected, they are being obstructed at every step by the corporations which have plundered the people and corrupted their city government for a quarter of a century. These are the men in Chicago who are saying that municipal ownership is not "practical."

EASTWARD THE STAR OF POPULISM TAKES ITS WAY.

Kansas Commoner (Pro.), Oct. 26.—And now the great city of New York is trembling in the throes of a popular uprising in favor of a thoroughbred Populist article of faith, public ownership of public utilities. Who would have thought it? Something less than 15 years ago this municipal satrapy of Tammany Hall was the orthographic mint in which every epithet hurled against Populists was coined. We remember the time very distinctly when a respectable daily paper of New York alluded to the reformers of Kansas and Nebraska as "the strange races dwelling beyond the Missouri river." But now the "heresy" of Populism has so deeply entrenched itself in that city that even the Republican candidate for mayor is infected with it.

POLITICAL MACHINES.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind.), Oct. 31.—The product of the "Boss" Cox "machine" in Cincinnati is "graft." That is beyond question. . . . But it is charged that Mayor Johnson has a "machine" of his own and is working it for the advantage of—whom? That is the important question. What has the alleged "machine" produced so far? Unlike the Cox "machine" at Cincinnati, its product thus far has not been "graft." Hostile investigators with experts at their command have placed every department of the municipal administration under the microscope and failed to find a single case of "graft." Those who shouted loudest in claiming that "graft" exists failed to substantiate the charge and were careful not to name a single "grafter." Explicit denial was made of any intention to charge Mayor Johnson with being a "grafter." . . . Compare the results of the Johnson alleged "machine" in Cleveland with those of the notorious Cox "machine" in Cincinnati. Who cannot see the difference?

LIONS AND LAMBS PROMISCUOUS.

The Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (Ind.), Oct. 24.—What's got into the news? The reader of the daily papers feels as if he must have had a Rip Van Winkle sleep of 20 years or more and just awakened. Here's the New York World saying nice things about William Randolph Hearst and expressing the hope that he will receive a very large vote for mayor of New York. The New York Press acclaims Jerome for district attorney of New York, along with all the New York dailies except the Tribune. Now comes the World with columns of Jerome

editorials from the New York Sun, which it declares, "merit the respectful and intelligent attention of the community." And Henry Watterson trots along proclaiming Roosevelt the Messiah of the South. "Never again shall there be from us acerbity of thought or speech," says Henry. At Akron, O., Secretary Taft tells Republicans in a speech: "If I were able, as I fear I shall not be, because public duty calls me elsewhere, to cast my vote in Cincinnati in the coming election, I should vote against the municipal ticket nominated by the Republican organization." When were so many lions and lambs seen lying around together?

MISCELLANY

SOCIAL SONNETS.

For The Public.

IV.

Why Art hath pictured Satan with a grin
Malevolent and grim I cannot tell;
But if a jest may be enjoyed in hell,
There's one I wot of that the Powers of Sin
Must relish: That a Nation should begin
By naming, as beyond all logic-strife,
'Mongst rights inalienable, right to Life,
O'er all the world and for all souls therein.
And, having thus declared, should then proceed

To tax food, clothes and shelter; that the State

Should put a price on living's primal need,
And thus the right "inalienable" alienate;—
And this while Special Privilege goes free!
Truly, this joke might give the Devil glee!
J. W. BENGOUGH.

WM. M. IVINS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Wm. M. Ivins, the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York City, not only believes in Woman Suffrage, but has intelligent convictions in regard to its operation. In reply to a questioning letter from Mrs. Martha Williams, President of the New York County Woman Suffrage Association, Mr. Ivins wrote, as recorded in the New York Times of Oct. 28:

"The best answer to your questions is that I am a member of the International as well as the National Association for the Promotion of Equal Suffrage. The best and the only reason I know of why woman should not have the suffrage is that she has not taken it. When she wants it she will have it.

"I think the mistake which is made by the advocates of woman suffrage is that they address themselves too much to the men. I think they should rather, for the time being, exclusively address the women. Women make public opinion so rapidly, once there is unanimity of plan and purpose among them, designed or undesignated, that it never becomes necessary to wait until even a majority of them are in agreement. We may take it for granted that when a thoroughly respectable majority of women insist upon the right to vote, and

persist in their insistence, the men will not delay in according it to them. It is natural that the men should not give it to them until they have to, or until they see that it is wise to. They do not want their political plans interfered with. But when they see that the time has come they will not wait for the fortress to be stormed; they will do as they have always done—they will make the best of it, and surrender as gracefully as possible.

"I believe that the wisdom of woman is of that direct and simple kind that, were she enfranchised, she would drive us a long way, and speedily, upon the road of civil service reform. Because there is one thing in which I have noticed that all women are relentless—they pardon anything but incompetency, and in the selection of their servants they are guided, far more independently than men, not by any consideration of sympathy or personal liking, but with an eye mainly to the results.

"And in the same way, I believe that the enfranchisement of woman would be the beginning of economies now undreamed of. If there is one thing woman knows how to do, it is to get value for her money."

TREASON TOWARD IDEALS.

A letter written to a professional friend, a conservative, after hearing a lecture by Prof. Edward A. Steiner, of Iowa College.

My Dear Doctor: The inspiring and prophetic address to which we listened last evening at the Congregational Club, must have touched a responsive chord in the heart and mind of every person present. That such was the fact I have not the slightest doubt, and that fact goes far to show that the sympathies of every decent citizen are enlistable on the side of truth and justice whenever that side is fairly presented.

Most of those present probably said a hearty "amen" to President Strong when he thanked God that we live in a land of freedom, and most of them would have been in hearty accord with yourself in calling me a "pessimist" when I said that the address seemed to me as such an arraignment of the ruling classes in the United States as of those of Russia. You spoke of the high ideals which rule the people of this country, and I ventured to say that we had turned our backs on the ideals which had been the glory of America in the past. You denied this, and probably most of the friends whom we had just left would have supported your contention.

I wonder how many of you have

kept intelligently informed of the history of our country during the past five years.

You doubtless remember that in the early days of the republic the Whig party secured the passage of a so-called "Alien and Sedition Act," and was promptly driven out of power by an aroused and indignant people. No similar insult to the American people has been consummated till recent years. After the death of President McKinley the Republican Congress enacted a statute which was approved by President Roosevelt, which gives the executive officer of the new Department of Commerce the power of deporting an immigrant, however worthy his character and harmless his life, on the mere suspicion that he entertains "anarchistic opinions," and that too without legal appeal or redress. John Turner a labor unionist from England, was so deported; Count Tolstoy might be so deported should he attempt to visit this country; and should you or any other reputable citizen be detected in the heinous act of inviting the latter to come here or harboring such a man here, you would be liable to heavy penalties. As yet no wave of indignant repudiation has swept from power the sponsors of this thoroughly despotic, un-American and contemptible legislation. Only the despised anti-imperialists, with an occasional religious weekly, have protested against this infamy, and for the credit of the masses of the Republican voters of the country it is to be hoped that they have never heard of it.

Look at the indignities and outrages perpetrated upon the Chinese by this same Department of Commerce, and that too in utter disregard of the treaty rights of the Chinese; look at the senseless and barbarous and wholly unnecessary cruelties inflicted upon the poor and ignorant and helpless who seek our shores as the promised land of freedom and a refuge from oppression, as detailed in a late number of *The American Missionary*; look at the hatred which this country has engendered in the Philippines and Porto Rico and in most of the South and Central American countries; look at the dominant political party in this country, divided into contending factions—grafters and their satellites on the one side and more or less unsuccessful grafters on the other. Look at Canada, closely related to us by blood, and a country with which we ought to be on the closest terms of commercial and social friendship; and

what do we see? Not merely commercial rivalry in a friendly way, but bitter antagonisms and hatred have been engendered which will probably for an indefinite period stand in the way of that commercial and organic union which have long been hoped for by the best men of both countries.

A Christian business man, successful and wealthy, said to me the other day that he could see no sense in picking out Mr. Rockefeller for special condemnation for doing more successfully the same things that all other business men are trying to do.

In a discussion on "tainted money" in *The Commons* for September, Professor Graham Taylor says:

If it is the ultimate aim of the protest to rid the earth or at least the church of tainted money, then more effective than to reject every such cent, would it be to line up the forces of righteousness against the conditions which make the acquisition of such wealth possible. But the belief in special privileges and the advantages taken of them, in such ways as the acceptance of rebates and the remission of taxes, are too generally accepted as morally legitimate not only in commercial, but in ecclesiastical systems, to make any such line up for a radical remedy probable.

There is pessimism for you with a vengeance, and just such pessimism as is to be found on every hand among the clergy and other pious advocates of so-called conservatism, who can generally be counted upon to support Republican policies, and to condemn as pessimists and anarchists the men who make an honest effort to "line up the forces of righteousness" against unjust and oppressive conditions.

The good people of our city are making great efforts with reference to the coming revival meetings, and we all hope for the best possible results; but if these same zealous ministers and Sabbath school teachers would spend half the effort in getting into their own minds and the minds of their people an intelligent comprehension of the ethics of Jesus Christ as related both to the simple every day life and the more complex social and industrial life, they would soon have a condition of things so manifestly the work of the Spirit of God that the crowds would rush into the church as on the Day of Pentecost. When men are convinced that the churches are as much interested in the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth as they appear to be in the salvation of sinners, main-strength revivals will become unnecessary.

The McCalls and McCurdys are only extreme developments of the prevalent spirit of getting something for

nothing, and any man who is willing to get a greater value or advantage than he gives in return, is on the same moral plane with other grafters of high or low degree. The practical denial of this truism is one of the chief elements of the dry rot which pervades the modern Christian church and constitutes the most dangerous atheism of the present day.

I have written you at this length because you are a trained physician as well as a Christian man, and so have no excuse for the unscientific and illogical thinking which characterizes the average citizen, whether clerical or lay. No more is it true that "the undevout astronomer is mad," than that the Christian physician who permits himself to rest content with the conventional ethical ideas which seem to satisfy the average clergyman and citizen, is guilty of treason to everything that is worthy of respect.

Engage nine out of ten supposedly intelligent church members in conversation regarding any sociological question, unionism and strikes for instance, and you will find all their sympathies on the side of capital.

I was invited some months ago to join the Minneapolis Citizens' Alliance; but when I had made it clear to the president, an excellent Christian man, that I would be very glad to be a member, provided the Alliance was to be used to secure justice, a square deal for labor as well as capital, the invitation was not pressed.

You and I owe it to ourselves to do some straight thinking, to call things by their right names, and to speak and act with uncompromising loyalty to truth and justice.

Very sincerely yours,

EDWARD J. BROWN.

Minneapolis, Minn.

THE APPEAL FROM TYRANNY.

Portions of a sermon preached by Jenkin Lloyd Jones at All Souls' Church, in the Abraham Lincoln Center, Chicago, Oct. 15, 1906, as published in *Unity* of Oct. 19.

"Strafford," like the other dramas of Browning, is a thought drama. . . . The actors in the drama, some 17 in number, fall easily into two groups: King Charles and his retinue of cavaliers, with the earl of Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, lieutenant general of Ireland, as the leading spirit on the one hand, and the group of Presbyterians, those early Roundheads, who, in the interest of freedom and democracy, sent Charles and Wentworth, the "poor, gray, little old" Bishop Laud, as he is called in the

drama, and many others to the block. At the head of these Puritans are the stalwarts, Pym, Hampden, Harry Vane, Fiennes and the others. . . . With the character studies we cannot at present concern ourselves. The main issue, the central purpose of the drama, is clear. It is a struggle between private preferences and public duty. Shall a man stand by his friends through thick and thin, or shall he if need be sacrifice friend and family in the interest of country?

Thomas Wentworth, who, in due course of time was made Earl of Strafford by the weak King Charles, was born with a silver spoon in his mouth, if indeed it was not a golden spoon. In his veins ran the proud blood of the Conquerors; his family tree was laden with earls, barons, dukes and duchesses, kings and queens innumerable; he inherited a princely fortune and an active brain; he was precocious in the university and early led a noble lady, the choice of his heart, to the altar. He loved the weak King Charles, and in the ardor of his youth swore fealty to him. To this oath he was true to the end of his life, although he found long before the end that the king was unworthy of such fealty and incompetent to reciprocate. Over and over again he found him balking and interfering with and frustrating his plans, and in the end consenting to his execution, although he had privately given his pledge that no harm should come to his person or his property.

As lord lieutenant of Ireland, Wentworth ruled with a strong and relentless hand, holding that a subjected country had no rights which a king and his representatives might not overrule. When affairs at home became unmanageable and the weak hand of the king could not control the uprising of the people under such splendid leadership as Pym, Hampden, young Harry Vane and their Presbyterian colleagues, Wentworth was sent for. He received his earldom and tried to direct affairs in the interest of his friend, the king. According to the evidence brought out by the great trial, he advised transporting his Irish army to intimidate the free spirit in England and proceeded to plot to make "King Charles as absolute as any prince of the whole world," to use Strafford's own words. He was a sick man, but thought it was worth while to live and to have foes, "just for the bliss of crushing them." This towering ambition, this loyalty to his friends, this devotion to politics for

the sake of what was in it to himself and to his friends, made him indifferent to, if not insensible of, the self-sacrificing love of Lady Carlisle, whom he persisted in calling a child.

Over against this man who "sold his soul for a title," was set first and foremost his old friend, Pym, who loved him to the end; who never loved but one man, "nor did Jonathan love David more." Remembering the happy days of their childhood, for awhile Pym hoped that England and the right would win back this ambitious nobleman, but never for a moment did he allow his personal friendship to cloud his judgment or to interfere with his loyalty to England and to the right. So Pym and Hampden and Harry Vane and others forced the issue, compelled the weak king to call his Parliament, and they dragged this courtier friend, this splendid soldier, this brilliant thinker and magnetic orator to trial. It was one of the great trials of the world, graphic glimpses of which we catch in and between the lines of Browning's drama. Strafford was impeached for having "procured power subversive of law;" for having declared that "the king's little finger was heavier than the loins of the law;" for having boasted that "the Irish was a conquered nation and that the king might do with them as he pleased;" for appropriating public funds to private uses, securing and maintaining a profitable monopoly of tobacco; for, to use a modern phrase, "cornering certain manufacturing interests in flax." He was accused of proposing the coining of base money and trying to revise the iniquitous levy of ship money; of advising the hanging of good citizens by their heels, and much more to that effect. . . .

Strafford went to his doom unfree from the toils of the expedient, from the paralysis of the luxurious, from the logic of the successful, saying: "O God, I shall die first! I shall die first!"

Pym was true to country and sacrificed his friends; Strafford tried to be true to his friends and sacrificed his country. Which is better? Let history answer. . . .

The sermon which Browning preached in this drama of "Strafford" is imminent, imperative; it is in the present tense. The United States, Illinois and Chicago are to-day cursed with large-headed, efficient, subtle, attractive and lovable Straffords. The floors of the United States Senate ring today with the feet of men who are there by intrigue, who have bought their places with money or with favor; who

have traded in the ambitions, the prejudices and the cupidity of friends and henchmen. The story of Strafford is being written again in bold headlines in our daily papers.

What has been going on in the State of Illinois these last weeks? What means this barter of federal favors, this bargaining with senatorial aspirants, this attempt to persuade the President of the United States and the Governor of Illinois to use their patronage (a smooth word for a damnable practice) to exploit this candidate and that, with supreme indifference to the will of the people, in open defiance to such methods as will give the people free expression of their choice. . . .

Let me bring the sermon of "Strafford" nearer home. The problems of politics are complex; the problems of statesmanship are simple. There are many wires to pull by the selfish; for such it is a long way to go around in order to get there. But the prophet and the patriot, the sage and the saint, the statesman and the savior of men, know but one way to the solution of every difficulty, and that is the shortest way there, the straight line of duty and the right.

What would the prophet and the philosopher say to all this confusion concerning the transportation problem of Chicago to-day? From the standpoint of Strafford, the streets of Chicago have proved a gold mine to the lucky investors. The fortune that awaited the investors came through the signal growth of Chicago, the geographic and historic significance of the situation. Long ago the unsuspecting or the depraved gave to private investors a chance to turn to personal advantage a great public necessity. Because individuals have been allowed to make money off the public in the past, sagacious Straffords are still greedy to continue this speculative advantage. The honeyed promises in lieu of 20 years more of privileges are born, not out of patriotism, not out of love of the city; they seek not to promote its interests, but to further fill private pocketbooks. The people of Chicago have expressed in no uncertain terms their desire to control and eventually to own their means of street transportation. This position is justified by the highest academic reasoning and by practical experience, so far as such experiments have gone.

For Pym-like statesmen there is but one thing to do for Chicago to-day in this matter and that is to carry out as soon as possible and as directly as

possible the expressed wishes of the people. From the standpoint of Strafford the thing to do is to delay, entangle, embarrass, harass the public and public officials until they are nagged once more into further concessions to private speculation and personal investment.

Will Pym surrender to Strafford in Chicago on the score that the need is urgent and the complication hopeless? Will Strafford succeed in defying the people's judgment and persist in the belief, which Strafford always honestly holds—that the people do not know their own interests, that they cannot be trusted with their own affairs? The Straffords of Chicago believe that the aristocracy of selfishness is safer than the democracy of public spirit. The logic of expediency is always conclusive at short range; there are plenty of incidents to justify the pessimistic standard. But the Pym statesmen believe that the people have a right even to make fools of themselves if they so elect, for in exercising this divine right to blunder they educate themselves into the competency of wise self-government.

What ought we to do about it? Hang on to the straps if need be for 20 long suffering years more. Patiently endure the inconveniences until selfish capital is persuaded that there is no speculative value in the streets of Chicago, nothing but the minimum rate of interest that is warranted to a sure investment. When this fact is established beyond all doubt, capital will sue for that adjustment by the long processes of the court or the short processes of arbitration that will give private corporations its equity and the people their liberty.

But "Lo: the incompetency and the corruption of public service!" This is the old cry of Strafford, coming from Strafford-like men who have themselves debauched city politics through these many years and whose logic will keep city politics forever corrupt. Only solemn responsibilities and great trusts will develop the efficiency to control them. Chicago politics to-day needs to be purged of its King Charleses, its Wentworths and its cavalier conceits. It needs stalwart protestants—Pyms, Hampdens and Harry Vanes—to fall back on the primal demands of justice; to appeal from the entanglements of the selfish to the courts of God.

When Strafford found himself in the tower the "place was full of ghosts"

to him. Elliot, the great Commoner, who but a few years before had died within these walls, was "all about the place with his most uncomplaining brow."

On the eve of the trial Pym said to the King:

"Elliot laid his hand
Wasted and white, upon my forehead once.
How can I breathe and not wish England
well?"

Strafford in the entanglements of his own tricks was compelled to confess, "Elliot would have controlled it otherwise." In the most devilish moment of Strafford, he confessed that his last hope was that he might win the sunshine sometime where he would have to "think of Elliot no more."

In the early part of the play the patriots felt the sanctity of the humble room "where Elliot's brow grew broad with noble thoughts," and when the noblest spirit of England was invoked it was with the thought of "the Lion Elliot, the grand Englishman!"

Have we within the narrow circle and short history of Chicago no great statesman, no noble citizen, no self-denying leaders with names to conjure by, no Eliots who trusted ideas, who preferred defeat in the right to success in the wrong, who could not be intimidated by inconveniences or balked by poverty? If there be such a name in Chicago history, let it be invoked in this time, in these days when again the main issues of municipal integrity and civic righteousness are being confused and confounded by the clamor and the clatter of the accomplished Straffords and gracious men who are engaged in the graceless task of retarding progress, defying public spirit and discounting the place of conscience in public affairs.

THE LION OF TULA.

For The Public.

The Lion of Tula, brave Lyof Tolstoy,
With vision and voice of a seer,
Has shown the conditions mankind must
enjoy
Ere Freedom, in truth, shall appear.

The force of injustice is man-made in law,
Granting favors to some on the earth;
With power, attested by parchment, to
draw
On each generation from birth.

Conveyances, title-deeds, cover the lands,
Revealing monopoly's bedrock;
Wringing a tribute of souls and of hands—
True cause of humanity's deadlock.

For Privilege stands at iniquity's source,
From Nature's rich bounty to press
The children of men—by craft or by force,
Their birthright to void or distress.

This evil, continued from ages long past,
Has tainted the life-blood of nations;

The perishing people in bondage held fast,
Or rising in savage impatience.

The Primate of Russia, in soul and in mind,
The teachings of George well applies
In showing the fetters that everywhere
bind,
And weaken man's best enterprise.

With voice as of trumpet the truth is de-
clared.

Will the wakening Slav lead the way?
The soil of the nations world-wide is pre-
pared.

Shall righteousness never have sway?

With the doom of the Great Iniquity
wrought

By conscience's quickened decision,
Mankind will progress to marvels un-
thought,
Foreshowing conditions Elysian.

Which race shall be foremost in gaining its
own,

Upholding strict justice unbuffed;
Seating, forever, the Truth on the throne—
Condemning the Wrong to the scaffold?

D. D.

Landlords are God's trustees—to re-
ceive and administer the earth and
its bounties. These receivers inti-
mate that the Creator of the universe
is a bankrupt, and can pay but a few
cents on the dollar of his obligation
to furnish a place to live and work for
the creatures He has made. But no-
tice what a rake-off the receivers have.
Isn't it time to inquire into the valid-
ity of their appointment?

BOOKS

JOERN UHL.

This novel, by Gustave Frenssen, was published three years ago in Germany, where it has been widely read, and has been hailed by many as a genuine classic. The translation by F. S. Delmar (Dana Estes & Co., Boston, pp. 416, \$1.50) was published in this country in April of the present year. The translator's work has been so well done that nowhere would one suspect the book of being a translation if he did not know it to be one. The occasional use of Scotch expressions is happily justified to suggest the provincial and rustic atmosphere of the story.

The scene is laid in Holstein, North Germany. The time is the last half of the nineteenth century. The people are farmers and their humble associates. The book tells the story of the fourth son of one of these farmers. "In this book," says the first sentence, "we are going to speak about life, and life's travail and trouble." This is what it does. It gives a picture, which you feel to be genuine, of a man's life. The life is full of trouble, as all lives are that are worth living, and it is triumphant, as only a

life of sorrows and failures can be. "Although his path," we read at the close, "led through gloom and tribulation, he was still a happy man. Because he was humble and had faith."

The book is one that constantly raises thoughts about the deep things of life. Gustave Frenssen until recently, was a Lutheran pastor in a little German village. He is now devoting himself to literature, having said some things in such a way as to displease the unco-orthodox, but the earnestness of the preacher has followed him from his pulpit to his books. There are many earnest bits of speculation and philosophy that he puts into the mouths of his honest, simple, homely characters. One of the best of his people is Wieten Penn, the housekeeper, one of those faithful, unselfish souls that are a blessing to any household. In Joern's despondency she said to him:

"There lies a mystery behind this life of ours. We don't live for the sake of this life, but for the sake of the mystery behind it."

"Yes, Wieten," he says, "there you're right. What you say about the mystery I believe is right. But I don't believe we'll ever find it out or solve it. It's like a man trying to leap over himself. Man just remains man, the same as an ash remains an ash, and our ignorance and blindness in these things goes without saying, just because we are men. For all I know, the secret is open, broad, and living, and is here, lying or standing, laughing or weeping, all around about us. But we have no organ or sense by which to see or hear it."

"Maybe, maybe," she said, sadly and thoughtfully; "but we must just go on working away till evening falls, and always be as kind and loving as we can."

"Right, Wieten. That's in the New Testament."

"What? That's in the New Testament? What does it say, then, about the secret?"

"Well, as far as I can make out, Wieten, it says we won't get behind it here. But we're to have faith that everything has an aim and an inner meaning. And afterward, after death, we'll get on a bit further, and come behind the secret, and see things not as they appear, but as they are."

"Well, well! And that's what Christ says! It astonishes me. And it must be as you say. But from a child I've always been so hungry for knowledge. I always wanted to know what was the real meaning of this life of ours. I remember when I was in service with Joern Stuhr in Schenefeld I never did anything but try to fossick it out. But we could never find anything. And then Hans Stuhr got drowned in the Mergel Kuhle."

The translator in his preparatory

note tells how the book has touched the heart of, and speaks for, a great part of modern Germany. Another quotation is interesting as showing how land-hunger is felt by a part of this modern Germany—the lower farming class, and how literature is beginning more and more to take account of it. Jasper Cray is one of this class.

"Joern," he said, "what does it say in the New Testament? Of course, you don't know! No; you Uhl's don't know. It says that every 50 years all property must be divided and allotted afresh. You Uhl's have been too long there on that land of yours. We Crays ought to have a turn on you—broad, flat acres. . . . Look, Joern, if you open your mouth to the west wind, and gulp in as much as you want to live on, there's not a soul will say to you, 'Hey, be off, there, that's my wind.' But if you set yourself down somewhere or other, and in the sweat of your brow begin turning over as much land as you need in order to fill the bellies of yourself and your children, then men will say, 'Be off from there; that's my land!' Both lungs and stomach, Joern, have got from God the right to be filled."

The book is not to be set down with ordinary novels. It belongs, at least, in the class with the greatest. It is original. It follows no novels. Its style is well-nigh perfect in its simplicity. It writes itself, without apparent consciousness of style and rhetoric. Now and then comes a figure of speech, but it seems as natural as one of Homer's. Like this: "But he never had a chance of enjoying his happiness. He drank of it, as a stag fleeing before the hunters kneels down in haste on the edge of a brook, and then, its thirst half-quenched, has to rush off once more at the sound of horns and hounds growing nearer." The description of the battle of Gravelotte, which critics have praised, ranking it with Victor Hugo's picture of Waterloo, is wonderfully vivid; but, just because the art here seems more-conscious, it is not the best writing in the book. And one or two digressions seem carried too far. But in everything the author has his own way, and we surrender to the originality of his genius.

J. H. DILLARD.

MUNICIPAL TRADING.

An unfamiliar term on this side of the Atlantic, "municipal trading" is in common use in England as a name for the policy of supplying private needs through municipal agencies. Nominally, this policy makes no distinction between such trading functions as are in their nature monopolies and such as are not; but in actual experience the difference is pronounced, monopolies being almost exclusively meant. Writing on the subject, in "The Common Sense of Municipal Trading" (London: Arch-

bald Constable & Co., Ltd.), that always delightful author, Bernard Shaw, makes a socialistic argument in support of the policy.

Mr. Shaw contributes to this work two of his qualifications for the delightful playwright that he is—charming literary style and superficiality of treatment. In many respects superficiality is a genuine merit, for what is needed is for the most part not profound argument, but vital presentation, and this little book is really almost as interesting as a historical novel. One is astonished at times at the author's woolly analyses, as when he fails to see the economic identity of private ground rent and interest on ancient public debts. Both are only different governmental modes of taxing some persons for the benefit of others; yet Mr. Shaw identifies the former with land and the latter with capital. He points unerringly, however, to the special difficulty of the "housing" question, when he refers to "the extraordinary manner in which the question of cost price is complicated by the phenomenon of economic rent," and expresses a tremendous truth, but one which brings forth only a slight echo from his own economic philosophy, when he describes the phenomenon of economic rent as "that rock on which all civilizations ultimately split and founder."

Referring to the same subject farther on, he insists upon the admission "that until the municipality owns all the land within its boundaries, and is as free to deal with it and build upon it as our ground landlords are at present, the problem of housing cannot be satisfactorily solved." If Mr. Shaw were to consider the economic effect of making each parcel of land within the municipal boundaries subject to annual taxes approximately equal to its ground rent possibilities, he might realize that the problem of housing would satisfactorily solve itself without our making a landlord of the municipality.

But apart even from the advantages of that realization, Mr. Shaw, as might be expected of him, makes a dry subject interesting and a dark one luminous when he discusses municipal trading. His conception of the London shopkeeper is one of his entertaining touches. "The small shopkeeper does not understand finance nor banking nor insurance nor sanitary science. The social distinction between him and the working class is so small that he clings to it with a ferocity inconceivable by a peer, and will concede nothing to a laborer that is not either begged humbly as a favor or extorted by force of trade minimum. A proposal to give women living wages instantly brings before him a vision of 'the girl at home,' encouraged in up-pishness and asking another shilling a week." That is not a bad description of our own more or less "penniless plutes."

MAYOR JONES'S LETTERS OF LABOR AND LOVE.

These letters were written by the late Mayor Jones of Toledo to his workmen, and delivered to them in sheets with their wages. During his lifetime they were privately printed in a little volume for circulation among Mayor Jones's friends. Not until after his death was the idea of general publication considered. But they are now given to the public with an introduction and explanation by Mr. Jones's close friend, Brand Whitlock. Of course the spirit of brotherhood runs through them all. It expresses itself in many ways. Over and over its expression takes some such form as this: "If you know of any way or any plan by which the liberties of *all the men* employed in this shop may be enlarged, by which the conditions may be improved, we hope that you will kindly communicate this knowledge to us. As we said a year ago, you may feel perfectly free to write anonymously if you have any suggestions to which you do not care to put your name." Is it any wonder that Mayor Jones had the love of his brother workmen, or that his shop could, in spite of his expectations, underbid other shops for important work?—[Letters of Labor and Love. By Samuel M. Jones. With an introduction by Brand Whitlock. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.]

THE IMPENDING CRISIS.

This analysis of prosperity is a very faithful one. It is brief, pointed, clear and fundamentally sound.

Of course it deals with the subject of government, for we find government related in some way to the common understanding of prosperity; but the author places the idea of government on a higher plane than is usual with governmentalists. No system of government, he says, can have a permanent existence without justice as its primary conception. And as justice implies liberty, or equality of rights, privilege is an anomaly in government. His ideal of government is one which maintains conditions of "free land, free trade and free men."

The author's economic philosophy is a delight in comparison with the incoherent miscellany that usually passes for economic philosophy. On the subject of interest, however, while he is clear and strong he is incomplete; for, although he very justly distinguishes interest from usury, and attributes interest to the element of time, he does not explain why or how time produces interest.

But he leaves nothing to be desired on other economic points, either in substance or in method of presentation. He explains the conflict of labor and

capital by showing that "capital is divorced from labor because labor is divorced from land;" that "a tax upon imports is virtually a tax upon exports;" that public revenues can be raised in only two ways—"by a tax on land or by a tax on labor;" that "labor is taxed wherever the products of labor are taxed;" and that exchanges of wealth are in the last analysis exchanges of labor. The presentation of the money question, also, is an excellent piece of work.

The author's thrust at hypocritical employers' unions is well put and well deserved. Of them he writes: "Their suggestions, summed up, amount to saying: 'Yes, I believe that stealing is wrong, but please do not stop me from stealing; I believe in the equality of all men, but please do not make me equal with other men by taking special privileges from me.'"—[The Impending Crisis, or Prosperity Analyzed. By George Whichelle. New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company. Price, \$1.00.]

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Preparation of Manuscripts for the Printer. By Frank H. Vizetelly. New York and London: Funk & Wagnall's Company. Price, 75 cents net. To be reviewed.

—The Changing Order. A Study of Democracy. By Oscar Lovell Triggs, Ph. D. Series I. Chicago: The Oscar L. Triggs Publishing Co. Price, \$1.50 postpaid. To be reviewed.

—Civics; Studies in American Citizenship. By Waldo H. Sherman. New York and London: Macmillan. This book, "for students who have at least reached high school age and are ready to work out thoughtfully and independently, political problems," seems admirably adapted to the purposes of education in the details of American citizenship. One part is a text book, while another is a guide for practical experiment. Its comprehensiveness and accuracy make it useful for reference as well as study.

PAMPHLETS

Readers of Tolstoy's "Great Iniquity" who infer from it that the single tax movement has lost ground in England will be interested in reading the address of Charles Trevelyan, a leading Liberal member of the British Parliament, on Land Taxation and the Use of Land (No. XX. of Coming Men on Coming Questions, edited by W. T. Stead, London), in which Mr. Trevelyan illuminates an able discussion of the subject as a burning political issue, with information regarding its recent history. Mr. Trevelyan, who has been in Parliament since 1899, is the son of Sir George Otto Trevelyan, a nephew and the biographer of Lord Macaulay. He has taken a distinct lead in parliament on the question of the taxation of land values, is a single tax moderate, and a man of whom Stead remarks that "on all the great fighting questions he has always been found in the right place at the right



THE GREAT UN-WORKER.

(Illustration for a popular song of the day.)

Everybody works but Father,
He sits around all day;
Feet in front of the fire,
Smoking pipe of clay;

Mother takes in washing,
So does Sister Ann;
Everybody works in our house
But my old man!

time." His address, what we in this country would call the "keynote" of the approaching parliamentary campaign in Great Britain, is the best presentation of which we know, of the present practical position of the single tax movement.

"The Sociology of a New York City Block," by Thomas Jesse Jones, B. D., Ph. D., sometime University Fellow in Sociology, now head of Department of Sociology and History at Hampton Institute (New York: The Columbia University Press, the Macmillan Co., agents) will impress the untutored reader as a stupendous example of patient industry to little purpose, and at the same time as an illustration of superb impertinence. The author systematically and intrusively visited the tenement house families of a New York block, on a mission that would have got him unceremoniously kicked out of other homes. The only justification for such intrusiveness anywhere is the bare fact, when it is a fact, that the intruder does not get kicked out, and that the sacrifice of good manners is in the interest of sociological science. But what has sociological science to gain by it? Nothing whatever unless it be the understanding every sensible person ought to have without breaking into the homes of the poor, that in given circumstances there is no essential difference between one human biological specimen and another.

No race, nationality, class, family or individual can be studied through collections of facts and figures, any more than an unfamiliar book can be studied through its index or table of contents. As you have to read an unfamiliar book whole heartedly to understand it, so, in order to understand an unfamiliar people or class, you have to become as one of them. Dr. Jones's report is rich in instances, reported as distinctive of race or nationality, but which are common to all people and classes. He reaches the conclusion, for instance, "after a careful investigation, that the controlling principle in the life of the Jews of the upper East Side is not religion, but the desire 'to get along' and to prosper in every sense of the word." Do we have to investigate

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PERIODICALS

The Arena for October leads with an article by John Moody, the Wall street observer, whose portrait accompanies the article, in which Mr. Moody traces the evil of trusts to monopoly power. For illustration he makes a significant comparison of the shipping trust with the Reading "holding" company, the former "a dismal failure, and the latter a tremendous success." Mr. Moody discusses the dangers of public control or ownership of monopoly power, and urges that monopoly be killed by taxation and the repeal of the laws that conserve it.

"Why Are We Imperialistic?" is the title of the leading article in the International Journal of Ethics for October. It is by Prof. James H. Hyslop, and is well worth reading. Prof. Hyslop seeks to go to the bottom of the matter, and his very thoughtful paper must be read throughout to be fully apprehended. "The anti-imperialists," he says, "stand for the old moral ideas. They are trying to stem the tide against them by appeals to standards which are no longer effective." In attempting to account for the change, he says: "The full answer to this question is a complex one, but the fundamental cause is an alteration in religious beliefs," and his conclusion is that "nothing but the recovery of a spiritual ideal will redeem us from the rule of imperialism."—J. H. D.

Prof. Calvin Thomas, the distinguished scholar in modern languages, writing under date of September 26 from Copenhagen to the Nation, adds his testimony that a majority of the Norwegians desire a republic. "I have asked," he writes, "many Norsemen to tell me what was going to happen, but they all refused to commit themselves. . . . From personal observation I surmise that there is a clear preponderance of sentiment in favor of a republic."—J. H. D.

There is an editorial of very unusual power in the Independent of October 12 entitled "The Greater Wrong." It would be well if it could be separately printed and circulated over the country as a tract for the times. The wrong spoken of "is the handing over of opportunities created by nature or by society, or necessary to the well-being of society, to a small minority of the whole population." "The true function of the social order, including human government," continues the writer—and the following words are italicised—"is to create equality of external conditions to the greatest extent possible." It is hard to see how the writer of this editorial could go

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so far without making mention of the only sure way of attaining the end desired, but his doctrines are sound, and his words enlightening.—J. H. D.

Of course whatever Thomas Wentworth Higginson writes makes delightful reading, and probably a majority of the Atlantic Monthly's readers will turn first in the October number to his paper on the "Cowardice of Culture." The article is somewhat desultory, but has a number of good sayings. What could be better than this? "If all the scholar's education in a republic gives him no infallible advantage over the man who cannot read or write, let the scholar have the manliness not to whine over the results of his own inefficiency."—J. H. D.

Every organization that ever was formed under the blue dome of heaven has a tendency to fall into the clutches of a clique. Then the clique, with unctuous efficiency, proceeds to run things, and whoever raises a voice against any resolution of the inner circle is a most disagreeable person indeed. It is to be feared that the inner circle of the National Educational association considers Miss Haley a most disagreeable person, but there is no back-down in Miss Haley. In a letter to the Springfield Republican, of October 13, she returns to the charge, and quotes the opinion of her attorney. After a detailed discussion, the lawyer concludes as follows: "The most important changes which I note are: First, that the National Council of Education becomes a separate part of the corporation; and, second, that a different provision is made for the disposition of the permanent and annual surplus funds. Whether these changes have the vicious effect which you indicated in your several protests, I am not prepared from a practical point of view to determine, but advise as a matter of law that they are altogether unauthorized, and were not legally adopted."—J. H. D.

The President, in his Southern address, has revived discussion of the regulation of railroad rates. "His original plan," says the Independent, "for the regulation of railway charges has undergone no change, except that it now would empower the Commission to fix a maximum rate." Why the feeling among the best Republicans, like the President and Secretary Taft, is that something must be done, is revealed in the speech of the Secretary at Akron. He was frank enough to say that it is due to the apparent fact that Mr. Bryan is resuming control of the Democratic party and is advocating Government ownership of railroads, and that the design is "to meet such attacks upon our present economic, social and political conditions."—J. H. D.

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