

The Public

A Journal of Fundamental Democracy and
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

8th Year. No. 395

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1905

Price 5 Cents

LOUIS F. POST
EDITOR

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Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as
Second Class Matter

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION

Yearly \$2.00
Half Yearly 1.00
Quarterly50
Single Copy05

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The Public

LOUIS F. POST, Editor

Volume VIII

Number 395

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, OCT. 28, 1905.

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EDITORIAL

The Chicago park job.

The park referendum on which the people of Chicago are to vote next month (p. 450) raises no question of more parks, yes or no; it raises a question of another State House ring, yes or no. This is the issue to be kept in mind when voting.

Arraying rich and poor.

Secretary Taft expresses a fear that Bryan and Tom Johnson may succeed in arraying the poor against the rich. Our ponderous war secretary misses the issue. Bryan and Johnson are not trying to array the poor against the

rich; they are trying to stop the rich arraying themselves against the poor.

The Shakers for peace.

The Shakers of Mount Lebanon, N. Y., are preparing to urge upon Congress appropriate action upon the resolutions adopted at their peace convention in August in favor of international arbitration and the reduction of national armaments. The Springfield Republican advises that the first thing done be an effort to arrest the movement at Washington for enlarging this nation's armament. That is truly good advice, for little headway can be made toward securing universal peace in the face of universal increase of armament, and if we are to ask other nations to reduce their armaments we should prove our good faith by first reducing our own. Not only our good faith but our power to control our armament builders' lobby. If President Roosevelt's present peaceful mood were taken advantage of to induce him to advise Congress against a greater navy, a substantial advance toward peace would be made.

The New York campaign.

Advices from New York, confirmed by significant between-the-line indications in the New York papers, point to a change in the election probabilities there. It seemed last week (pp. 449, 457) that McClellan would easily be reelected, and that Hearst would lead only a third party protest. Now, however, the appearances are strong that the Hearst movement has swung at least into second place. Mr. Ivins is trying to convince the Republicans that they can win if they remain true to their party and do not run off in a panic to McClellan in order to "save society," as in 1886. But he is apparently making no headway. The plutocratic Republicans of the big business man class, would rather depend upon McClellan to "save society" than upon Ivins, and the democratic Republicans

distrust both. These are the circumstances which seem to have pushed the local Republican party into the background, and turned the campaign into a contest between McClellan and Hearst.

Death of Jerry Simpson.

After a long and painful illness from an aneurism of the aorta (p. 266), Jerry Simpson died at Wichita, Kansas, as the sun rose on the 23d. In a later issue we intend to describe this remarkably useful man's public career. At present we content ourselves with paying to his memory that tribute which few of his contemporaries in public life would deserve themselves nor any deny to him. He was an honest man—not honest enough merely to keep out of jail, but honest enough to go to jail, if need be, for honesty's sake. It is one of the most encouraging signs of the times that our Republic is beginning to honor its Jerry Simpsons who try to serve it, instead of its business statesmen who try to bleed it. When it trusts men who are true to republican ideals instead of men who have no ideals that are not personally profitable to themselves, it will be in the way of realizing its high destiny. Jerry Simpson was such a man. He was a Democrat whose democracy tolerated no legal limitations of race, class or sex, and a patriot to whom love of country meant love of man. These are more than friendly epithets, and they are not lightly bestowed. They are accurately descriptive of the kind of man Jerry Simpson was.

American indifference to republicanism.

The Independent for October contained a brief communication from John Lund, a veteran Norwegian statesman, who replies to the question, Will Norway become a republic or continue to be a kingdom? that if the Norwegian people were to vote on the subject, he feels sure the majority would pronounce for the republic. Yet every indication is

that the Norwegian people will not be given a chance to vote on the question. It is the old protective spirit that is combining with commercial conservatism to prevent the free expression of the people's will. And right relevantly does the Independent ask: "Why are our newspapers dumb on the subject of Norwegian republicanism when they are fluent with their advice to all other nations on their internal affairs? Has our President followed the traditions of his office in proffering the hand of fellowship to any possible republic?" Nothing in fact shows more conclusively the change that has come over the spirit of our dreams than the indifference in America to the possible establishment of a republic in Norway. Time was when our shouts in such a crisis would have reached across the Atlantic. But since those days we have ourselves destroyed the first republic in Asia, and helped the Tory party in Great Britain to destroy two established republics in Africa. Toward small republics we have hung out the black flag of imperialism.

Cat's-paws for genteel grafters.

When the people of Kansas City, Kansas, elected a city government to fight franchise grafters, and this government set about doing what it had been elected to do, the State government suddenly discovered that the prohibitory liquor law of Kansas was not being enforced in that city (p. 419) and proceeded forthwith to try to "ripper" the city government. The law never had been enforced there, no new or more extensive methods of evasion had been adopted, it was not being enforced in any other Kansas city on the frontiers of the State, and it was not and is not now being enforced even in the interior city of Topeka. The proof of this is simple. Under the Federal internal revenue laws, all sellers of liquor have to pay a special Federal tax. The penalties for non-payment are severe and certain, and the tax is light. Consequently even lawless liquor sell-

ers pay that license tax. Now, in the State of Kansas, according to the Kansas City (Kan.) Weekly News, there are 4,500 such licenses, and 95 per cent. of them are for "joints" outside of Kansas City. In Topeka, the capital of the State, an interior city, there are 138, while in Kansas City, a frontier city of one and a half times the population of Topeka and adjoining one of the large cities of Missouri, there are but 213. Yet the State authorities are proceeding only against Kansas City. Isn't it pretty clear that it is franchise graft (which the present local administration is fighting), and not evasions of the prohibitory law (regarding which the local administration has made no innovations), that is the real cause of this virtuous crusade against the Kansas City officials?

Something similar is occurring in Chicago. At a critical point in Mayor Dunne's contest with the traction ring, a preacher of the name of Bartlett furnishes the traction ring organs with ammunition to fire at Dunne, by preaching two Sunday sermons demanding Dunne's indictment for refusing to enforce an obsolete and overwhelmingly unpopular saloon law. Mr. Bartlett makes no demands upon the State authorities, nor upon the county authorities, whose duty in the matter, if there is a duty, is as imperative as Dunne's. He doesn't even denounce the prosecuting attorney for refusing to proceed against Dunne. But then the State and county officials are not disturbing any genteel grafters and Dunne is.

Republican modesty.

An instance of Republican modesty is afforded in connection with the Chicago charter convention. Chicago needs a new charter. The Illinois legislature responds with an invitation to the people of Chicago to hold a non-partisan convention and "frame up" a charter which they can unite upon. But the legislature, being Republican, could not trust the people of Chicago, being in the main Demo-

cratic and to a great degree democratic in their Democracy, to elect their own convention delegates. It wished a non-partisan convention. And in order that this non-partisan convention might be truly non-partisan, it authorized the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor and the Speaker of the House, all Republicans, to assist the Mayor, a Democrat, and the City Council, Republican, in choosing a convention for this Democratic city, giving to each of them full power of appointment of a specified number of delegates. The generosity of the Republicans in allowing a Democratic mayor to appoint about a fifth of this convention when they might have reserved all the appointments to themselves, is doubtless greatly to their credit. Likewise the modesty with which they have exercised the power of appointment they did reserve. They have appointed as many as 13 Democrats and only 41 Republicans; and of the Democrats, a few are quite democratic and wholly outside of Republican combinations. Mayor Dunne may now appoint 15 delegates, and if all of them are opposed to the franchise grafting to which the Republican party of Chicago is committed, there wouldn't be enough of them to be heard above the rest in a viva voce vote. With profound respect for the delicate generosity of the modest non-partisans who have packed this convention, we fear it may enter upon its task under somewhat of a cloud of popular prejudice.

The late Josephine Shaw Lowell.

One of the distinguished abolitionists of the '50's and early '60's, was Francis George Shaw, in whose heart the fires of liberty continued to burn so brightly long after the chattel slaves were freed, that he welcomed the advent of Henry George as the leader of a new crusade for freedom. Free trader as well as abolitionist, he was also what would now be known as a single taxer. A man of fair means, he distributed the first edition of

Progress and Poverty widely, and by a bequest at his death made it possible for George to write Protection or Free Trade. George's Social Problems is dedicated to his memory. It was this man's daughter, Josephine Shaw Lowell, whose recent death has evoked tributes of the highest praise from the leading journals of the land for her useful public life. Mrs. Lowell's brother, Col. Robert G. Shaw, led the first Negro regiment of the Civil War, and was "buried with his niggers" near Charleston after the dusky regiment had been reduced from a thousand to a score in front of Fort Wagner. One of her sisters married George William Curtis and another Gen. Francis C. Barlow, while she herself, in 1863, married Brig. Gen. Charles Russell Lowell, who was killed in action at Cedar Creek in 1864. Becoming an army nurse after her husband's death, Mrs. Lowell entered upon a notable career of public service which continued until her own death. In 1876 she was appointed State Commissioner of Charities of New York by Gov. Tilden, a position she held until 1889, and in which she initiated and promoted reforms in charities and correction that needed the help of a woman's hand and thought. She was influential in the social settlement movement, in the merit system of civil service reform, in labor troubles, in municipal reforms, and in the maintenance of national ideals; always, of course, in behalf of the same essential democracy that had inspired her father. It has been said of her that "she devoted herself to public affairs without sacrificing her womanliness." It were better to say that by devotion to public affairs she fulfilled her womanliness. Mrs. Lowell was no dainty dabbler in what doesn't concern her sex. She was no trifter with masculine affairs regarding which she not only had no rights but claimed none. She was a high-minded citizen, so jealous of the rights of citizenship that she demanded equal suffrage for women as well as men, yet so sensitive to

the duties of citizenship that she neglected none which the laws allowed her to perform. With her death one of the first citizens of New York has passed away.

Mayor Johnson's campaign.

Mayor Johnson's administration has introduced a novelty in campaigning (pp. 451,457) in the form of a report of progress to the people. This is done on the sound theory that "the citizens are entitled to a full and complete report of the conduct of their city affairs, and Mayor Johnson's administration, believing that no other campaign document can be so strong, is glad to submit its record and to stand or fall on that record." The record, presented in a clean and attractive piece of printing simply illustrated with appropriate pictures, is explicit though brief in its story of a municipal administration that well deserves its encomiums of "efficient and progressive."

General interest is concerned more, perhaps, with what this report has to say of the street railroad question than of anything else, and we quote it in part:

In the five years since 1900 a remarkable struggle has been made to secure a reasonable settlement of the street railroad question. In spite of dozens of court injunctions, of ripper legislation and of unjust State laws, the street railroad has been held in check, and with each tick of the clock the hour draws near when the railroad must come to the people and ask terms. When Mayor Johnson was first a candidate, his opponent said three-cent fare was a fad, and he stood for a settlement with the street railroad on a basis of six tickets for a quarter; two years later Mr. Gouldner, the Republican candidate for mayor, would settle for seven tickets for a quarter, and this year Mr. Boyd, the Republican candidate, says he thinks the company ought to be willing to give eight tickets for a quarter (with five cents cash fare). Meanwhile, the people of Cleveland have been steadfast in their determination not to give up their fight. The courts, some day, will dispose of the mass of clever lawsuits which have been tied around the people by the street railroads. The clock ticks on, and existing franchises are expiring. . . . The street railroad question is still up to the people. Victory is as

surely theirs as the fact that the people of this city are more powerful than any possible combination of money, lawyers and politicians.

On other phases of municipal government this unique campaign document reports:

Waterworks.—The merit system in this department, which was formerly a political dumping ground for broken-down ward heelers, has been continued. The department is now run on a business basis, independent of politics, and the result is much more satisfactory to the owners—the people of Cleveland.

Garbage.—Under the McKisson administration a five-year contract was entered into for the collection and disposal of garbage at a cost of \$69,400 per year. On January 1st, 1905, the city purchased the entire property of the Newburg Reduction Company, including 50 acres of land and all horses, wagons, cars, etc., at a cost of \$87,500. Since that time, under municipal operation, the collection of garbage during the first six months was increased one-third over a corresponding period of the previous year, giving much better service to householders without any additional cost to the taxpayers.

Public Health.—Since Mayor Johnson's first election the health office of the city has never been closed—day and night, holidays and Sundays—the battle against filth and disease is waged. Under the ancient theory and practice of city government, money was saved on the health department so that there would be funds to fight epidemics. The modern method is to spend enough money on the health department so that there will be no epidemics to fight. The old health department used to cost the taxpayers \$35,000 per year. The new one costs about \$88,000 per year. Under the old plan smallpox alone cost the city over half a million dollars, to say nothing of the losses to trade and business. Under the new plan there are no epidemics.

Charities and Corrections.—The work being done in Cleveland by Director Harris R. Cooley and his assistants is not duplicated in any city in the world. The common idea of municipal "relief" is to dole out the bitter bread of charity through a relief department. . . . The common idea of "correction" has been bread and water and hard labor. Dr. Cooley believes that, instead of throwing a crust to the poor, more good can be done by extending a strong, helping hand that will enable the unfortunate to earn his own bread. He believes that, although prisons and workhouses are necessary, and law-breakers should and must be punished,

a far more important mission than to punish is to reform. . . . The Infirmary is no longer the "Poorhouse." It is a refuge for those who have been jostled and crowded out of the race in the rush of modern life. . . . Out at "Boyville," the Hudson Boys' Farm, the earmarks of the usual "Reform Farm" are not seen. The boys are not "reformed" by law. They are simply removed from temptation, kept busy, and nature does the rest.

Parks.—No longer are the parks reserved for carriages and automobiles. The "Keep off the Grass" sign is a thing of the past. Shelter sheds, children's play grounds and baseball diamonds have been provided; frolics for the children have been given in the Summer season, and skating carnivals in the Winter.

Police.—Merit instead of political pull now prevails. . . . The members devote themselves to their duties, instead of to politics.

Fire Department.—Formerly the fire department was almost wholly dominated by politics and politicians. Men were transferred at the snap of the politician's fingers. Firemen refusing to work for the administration that happened to be in power were told their jobs were in jeopardy. The fire department, as is the case with the police department, is now actually in the hands of the chief. While the mayor is the legal head of both departments, yet their conduct is left entirely to their chiefs.

If these statements were false, the people of Cleveland would know it. The fact that such a document, the only one of the campaign on Johnson's side, can be circulated without responsible contradiction, is evidence of its truth. Here, then, is a good municipal government in reality.

Bribing Newspapers.

Further evidence of a systematic and expensive attempt to circulate false news regarding the life insurance investigation in New York has been brought to light. The Star-Chronicle made the first reference to this species of plutocratic rascality. That paper (p. 435) had received from the New York Life Insurance Company a dispatch with a request that it be printed as news and without advertising marks of any kind. The request was accompanied with notice to make the price "whatever you like." When the Star-Chronicle rejected the dispatch as news but offered to print it as a paid advertisement at regu-

lar rates, the publicity agent of the New York Life replied: "Your proposition does not go. I ordered telegraphic news printed. When I order terrapin I do not propose to accept tripe." At least one St. Louis paper published the "news" which the Star-Chronicle rejected; and as it furnished "terrapin" it presumably charged "whatever it liked." And now it transpires that the Mutual Life, as well as the New York Life, has a newspaper bribery bureau. At the investigation in New York on the 24th the Mutual Life's publicity expert was produced as a witness, and under Mr. Hughes's cross-examination he explained that he has lately been sending reading notices by telegraph to such papers as the Boston Herald, the St. Paul Press, the Toledo Blade, the Buffalo Courier, the Atlanta Constitution and the Florida Times-Union. The same special from New York appeared in each of these papers as written by the Mutual's publicity expert, and without any indication that it was an advertisement. For this service to the insurance companies, which consisted in deceiving their readers, those papers received prices ranging from \$1 a line to \$5 a line. In every case the heads and general makeup were those of legitimate news items, and the matter in each case was favorable to the company. It would be interesting to know how much current "news" favoring insurance graft, beslobbering John D. Rockefeller, and opposing municipal ownership, etc., is furnished in this way by the publicity experts of great grafters, to the respectable press, and printed therein as "terrapin" at so much a line.

Lawson and the insurance grafters.

Thomas W. Lawson, to whom the public are indebted primarily for the wholesale exposure of the genteel grafters of the insurance ring, is asking for proxies from policy holders. He explains that under the best advice procurable he has come to the conclusion that—

the one thing for policy-holders to do now is to authorize some one in whom they have confidence to select a committee to take their proxies and at once seize possession of the two great mutual companies, the New York Life and the Mutual.

I omit the Equitable at this stage, because litigation may be necessary before the Equitable, being a stock company, can come into the policy-holders' hands. But in the other two, no obstacles can be placed in the way of the policy-holders' taking control.

To empower this committee to bring action at once to compel full restitution and enforce full punishment, and then to change the present method of conducting the insurance business.

The vital question is. Whom can the policy-holders trust to do this? The "Big Three" are at present spending vast sums of the policy-holders' money to prevent some such action as this, in the following ways: First, by molding public opinion through paid news and editorial items; next, by the collection of proxies; and third, by the inauguration of different moves and dummy suits and investigations. There are already three of these affairs under way. Almost any way the policy-holders turn for relief they are confronted with traps which, if they fall into them, will make relief and rescue impossible. Any man or body of men who go to the great expense necessary to collect proxies must have some hidden scheme for reimbursing themselves, or they must be working in the interests of the thieves now in control. I therefore make bold to say: I am the natural one to make this move. Just a minute before you pass judgment. Let us see if I am: (1st) I have already spent in my work over a million dollars of my own money; (2d) I am willing to spend, if necessary, two millions more; (3d) I will absolutely prove I want nothing in return; (4th) I will absolutely prove on the face of my plans that I cannot in any way benefit beyond the satisfaction I shall derive from putting another spike in the "System's" coffin. I ask of the policy-holders simply this: Fill out the following form of proxy; sign and seal it, and send it to me. Quick action is most desirable in view of contingencies.

The form of proxy Mr. Lawson asks for can be cut out of the November issue of Everybody's Magazine. It contains an agreement on Mr. Lawson's part that—

(1) It will only be voted for a set of men who shall be nominated as trustees by a committee to be selected; said committee to consist of representative governors of different States, representative labor leaders, and representative clergymen. That when this committee has selected the men in its opinion best fitted to serve as trustees, and they have accepted, their names shall be announced to the policy-holders.

(2) Said Lawson, in accepting this proxy, agrees he will not use same un-

til ten days after he has announced to said policy-holders the names of the trustees selected, and so give said policy-holders opportunity of revoking same.

(3) Said Lawson agrees that, in accepting said proxy, he will not use same to elect any one a director of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, the New York Life Insurance Company, or any other insurance company who will not first agree to do all in his power after he is elected to exact full restitution of all moneys filched from these corporations, and enforce punishment of officers, directors, agents, or other employes who have been in any way guilty of wrongdoing.

This proposal of Mr. Lawson's is fair. The proxies are so hedged about with conditions that they could not be misused if Mr. Lawson intended to misuse them, an intent from the suspicion of which he has proved himself entitled to be exempt. In the present uncertain condition of these grossly mismanaged companies, policy holders will doubtless serve their own best interests by holding aloof from the grafters and all their overtures and promptly sending their proxies to Mr. Lawson.

The crime of the "sweat box."

That this infamous institution exists in connection with the administration of the criminal law in the United States, is commonly doubted. Yet every now and again the news department of the daily press describes it as one of the commonplaces of the day. Here is an example, taken from a Pittsburgh dispatch of the 20th as it appeared in the Record-Herald of the 21st:

Cunliffe reached here in care of detectives early this evening. He was heavily manacled and was hurried by a circuitous route to the Pinkerton offices, where he was turned over to a few fresh Pinkerton men by the officers who had come with him from Bridgeport. Tired and travel-worn as the fugitive was, he was told that he must reveal the location of the missing \$10,000 before he slept. He was at once entered on the "third degree" in the "sweat box" in an effort to force him to confess the whole truth. Until a late hour to-night Cunliffe was being walked up and down the floor, but nothing had been secured from him. The detectives declare they are willing to stay with Cunliffe for days if he does not tell what he knows. The finding of additional money in Bridgeport

to-day, after Cunliffe had said he turned it, leads the detectives to believe that the \$10,000 yet missing can be located if they keep Cunliffe awake long enough, and he will not be allowed to sleep.

The sweat box is not recognized by our laws, but is condemned by them. If it ought to be used, it ought first to be legalized. But in defiance of the law police officials, and now it seems private detectives, use this torture with impunity. The modes of torture are various. In their milder forms they consist in questioning an accused person under circumstances calculated to excite his hopes or his fears, for the purpose of tricking him into giving or manufacturing testimony against himself. This is in plain violation of the law, but it is not the worst. When questioning fails to convict the guilty or confound the innocent, nerve-racking expedients are resorted to such as producing horrible objects or reproducing gruesome scenes of crimes. But deprivation of sleep is probably the worst of the tortures, and throwing strong electric lights into the face of the victim when he drowns is a favorite method. These cruelties are practiced commonly. Police officials practice them, prosecuting attorneys know of it and encourage it, judges are aware of it but are silent, and a profession once quick to maintain the integrity of the law hears of it with indifference.

A judge who should be judged.

There was an extraordinary scene in a Chicago courtroom last week. Judge Barnes placed himself in contempt of the court over which he was at the time presiding, by insulting a jury which had simply performed its duty. Instead of convicting a prisoner, as he hoped it would, the jury found a verdict of not guilty. At the close of the trial the judge had lawlessly invaded the jury box by saying: "Let the jury go out and bring in its verdict; the guilt is obvious." Then, when the verdict of "not guilty" was returned he riotously exclaimed:

What? Not guilty? That is a travesty on justice. It is a shame that such stupid and unintelligent men should be taken as jurors. In

this case the evidence was so conclusive that I did not think it necessary to instruct you. Not guilty! I won't have such a set of men in the jury seats. You are all discharged without pay. You don't deserve a red cent. Such a jury is a detriment to justice. You are about as useful as a set of ninepins, so far as brains and common sense go.

Such a man is unfit to sit in a court where liberty and life are at stake; and our legislature would impeach him if it had any regard for judicial propriety and dignity. Judge Barnes, instead of studying the landmarks of the law he is assigned to administer, must be a student of Alice in Wonderland, for there we read:

"I'll be judge, I'll be jury,"
Said cunning old Fury—
I'll try the whole case
And condemn you to death."

TWO CHAPTERS IN CHICAGO TRACTION HISTORY.

Mayor Harrison had proclaimed the "tentative ordinance" as "the best practical solution of the traction question" in the circumstances (vol. vii, p. 305), and had notified the people of Chicago to petition by 100,000 signers or more for a referendum against it, in default whereof the Council was to pass and he to sign the ordinance.

Judge Tuley had in an interview analyzed that ordinance and exposed its vicious character (vol. vii, p. 343), and Judge Dunne had denounced it in a public speech (vol. vii, p. 357); while the Referendum League had protested (vol. vii, p. 342) against Mayor Harrison's proclamation as violative of pre-election pledges and defiant of the emphatic result of a previous popular referendum.

The Hearst papers of Chicago had accepted Mayor Harrison's challenge, and by securing a referendum petition with 135,000 signers (vol. vii, p. 521) had balked the plan of Mayor Harrison and the Council to railroad through the "tentative ordinance" with what he had cynically called "a silent referendum."

The two financial groups (vol. vii, p. 609), one controlling the City Railway Company through local investment and the other controlling the Union Traction

Company through Wall street investment, had made a financial adjustment of their long and bitter quarrel, and under the business leadership of J. Pierpont Morgan were planning to go into the approaching municipal election with franchise-extension candidates for mayor at the head of the tickets of both parties.

Judge Dunne had loomed up (vol. vii, p. 610) in the public mind as the one man whose candidacy on the Democratic ticket could frustrate these franchise-extension plans, and in the minds of franchise advocates as the one man whose election must be prevented if possible.

Such was the situation in Chicago at the time when the first of the two following chapters in Chicago traction history opens at Los Angeles, California.

I

Among the political celebrities of Chicago who were lured to Los Angeles during the races there in December, 1904, was Alderman Thomas Carey. Along with Carey was Edward M. Lahiff, formerly Mayor Harrison's private secretary and then as now one of Mr. Harrison's loyal lieutenants in the local politics of Chicago. There were also Alderman Charles Martin; Mr. Michael J. Doherty, then and still an important functionary of the Chicago department of public works; Mr. Preston Harrison, Mayor Harrison's brother; and Mr. Roger Sullivan and ex-Mayor John P. Hopkins, whose interests in politics relate more directly to gas than to traction, albeit the relation is similar and their feeling for traction interests therefore sympathetic.

Alderman Carey and his Chicago friends while gathered at Los Angeles were in the habit of dropping into the Angeles buffet for physical refreshment and intellectual exercise, and there they fell quite naturally into discussions of Chicago politics. To their mutual astonishment, no doubt, they found themselves of one mind regarding the traction question and Dunne's nomination. As to the traction question, they were agreed that municipal ownership must be defeated and the franchises of the existing companies extended; as to Dunne, if he could not be headed off for

the nomination nor sacrificed at the election, he was to be made a victim of misplaced confidence.

In the course of the development of this unification of thought and purpose, communication had been opened with kindred spirits in Chicago, and in consequence the telegraph wires between Chicago and Los Angeles vibrated assiduously for a time.

Among the correspondents at the Chicago end was Col. Bliss, the ingenious attorney for the Chicago City Railway Company; and pursuant to a message from him, sent under cover to a middleman by whom it was delivered to Alderman Carey at Los Angeles, the group came to the following decision:

First.—To defeat Judge Dunne for the mayoral nomination, if possible with safety to the Democratic organization as it then existed.

Second.—If upon their returning to Chicago it was found unsafe to the organization to try to defeat Dunne, then to urge his nomination, ingratiate themselves into his confidence and treacherously defeat him at the polls.

Third.—If Dunne should be elected, to invite his confidence by supporting his administration in general; but to balk him at every turn on the traction question.

Fourth.—To organize an inner Democratic circle in the City Council, which should assist in winning Mayor Dunne's confidence by appearing to support his policies, and then, having learned his traction plans in advance, cooperate with the opposition to frustrate them.

The common sentiment of the Los Angeles group was usually phrased in the course of these consultations in some such form as this: "The easiest way to beat Dunne is to be with him both before and after the election."

Upon the return of these industrious local statesmen from Los Angeles to Chicago, Alderman Carey began experimenting with the possibilities of heading off Dunne's nomination. He first urged Mayor Harrison to be a candidate for reelection. But Mr. Harrison had different plans. He had already arranged with Mr. Victor F. Lawson, the dictator of

the Daily News as proprietor and of the Record-Herald as mortgagee, to stand aside for John M. Harlan, the Republican candidate. Thus the way was to have been opened for the nomination of a weak Democratic candidate, the consequent election of Harlan, the settlement of the traction question under Harlan by the passage of extension franchises in accordance with Mr. Lawson's views, the promotion of Harlan to Deneen's place as governor of Illinois, and the return of Harrison to the City Hall in 1907 as the only Democrat capable of carrying Chicago—a return under circumstances which would have removed from the path of his political ambitions all the embarrassments of municipal ownership issues.

When Mayor Harrison had positively refused to consider a re-nomination, Alderman Carey approached Alderman Dever with the suggestion that he become a candidate. Alderman Dever has long been a consistent supporter of the municipal ownership movement. He is an honest alderman, a high type of politician without a flaw in his record, a citizen of strong and conscientious though slow judgment, and a man of honorable ambitions. But he had not then acquired that prominence in the whole city which was necessary to make him an available candidate. This he knew, and he must have suspected the good faith of Carey's proposal. At any rate, he rejected the offer, and advised the nomination of Judge Dunne.

By that time Judge Tuley's emergent letter (vol. vii, p. 669) had produced its intended effect. Public opinion having found expression, a political tidal wave, both inside and outside the Democratic party, was carrying Dunne on its crest; and the Los Angeles group were convinced that they could not hope to prevent Dunne's nomination without losing control of the local Democratic organization. They therefore abandoned the first tentative clause of their agreement, and turning to the second began to ingratiate themselves into the confidence of the inevitable candidate. Incidentally they burdened his candidacy by adroitly "loading" his ticket.

In spite, however, of treachery during the campaign, Dunne was elected, and with this climax the first of our two chapters comes to an end.

II

Our second chapter will lead the reader into the soulless sanctuary of the traction companies, but it begins with the efforts of the Los Angeles group to carry out the third and fourth clauses of their tentative programme.

Pursuant to these clauses an inner circle of franchise-extension Democratic aldermen was formed, as there is good reason for believing from the circumstances, and efforts by aldermen of that ilk were made to betray the confidence of Mayor Dunne. The Mayor was both fortunate and unfortunate in his method of defense against this subtle species of assault. By discreetly guarding against enemies professing to be friends, he fortunately forced some at least of these enemies out into the open, but he unfortunately offended friends who were too slow at distinguishing aloofness from caution. The important consideration here, however, is that the Los Angeles group of Democrats did not succeed in gaining the Mayor's confidence sufficiently to enable them to balk him as friendly advisers, and have been forced to attempt their frustration of his municipal ownership plans by almost open cooperation with the traction companies.

There were numerous maneuvers for the purpose of gaining Mayor Dunne's confidence, but the most important and baffling complication with which he was forced to contend was the teamsters' strike (p. 274), the circumstances of which were strongly indicative of a purpose to break the force of the popular demand for municipal ownership, by discrediting the administration at the outset. One of the many peculiarities of this strike was its mysterious revival on several occasions after it had come to an end.

The business concerns involved in the strike had for their principal legal adviser Mr. Levy Mayer, a prominent corporation lawyer of Chicago, who is reputed to be largely interested in local gas franchises along with Roger Sul-

livan and John P. Hopkins, of the Los Angeles group named above. Mr. Mayer made several attempts to supersede the civil authority with a military force, but without success.

As soon as Mayor Dunne had been given opportunity to turn his attention from the menacing complexities of this strike, he set about obeying the popular mandate which had charged him with the duty of establishing municipal ownership of traction facilities.

The problem in itself was a simple and easy one — legally and financially. What made it difficult, and all that made it difficult, was the fact that the companies occupied a position which gave them a tactical advantage in every contest. Delay would count for them and against the municipal ownership movement. Every accident, every blunder, every possible opportunity for pettifoggery either in the courts or through newspapers, would count for them and against the municipal ownership movement. Obviously, therefore, the proper first step was to deprive the companies of this tactical advantage and give it to the city; and that was what Mayor Dunne endeavored to do by means of what is called his "contract plan" (p. 228).

He proposed a construction company, to construct and operate in trust for and under the direction of the city, the entire traction system of the city, as fast as it could be acquired, and to turn it over to the city as soon as authority to pay for it had been legally obtained under the Mueller law. The adoption of this plan would have taken the advantage of position from the companies and given it to the city. From that time onward all the accidents and delays incident to legal acquisition of the traction system would have counted for the city and against the companies, and the battle for municipal ownership would have been virtually won at the first blow.

Had the friends of municipal ownership appreciated the importance of this first step half as well as the companies did, the local transportation committee would not have dared to ignore Dunne's plan as it has done. But under cover of the opposition among the

friends of municipal ownership, the companies have been greatly facilitated in shelving Dunne's plan and promoting their own.

The companies also have been at disagreement among themselves. But they have had the advantage of being able to fight out their differences in secret.

These differences did not arise as heretofore, between local capitalists and Eastern capitalists. They arose over a question of method.

One faction urged the rushing through the Council of company ordinances extending their franchises, and overcoming the Mayor's veto with a two-thirds vote of the aldermen. So far as Republican aldermen were concerned, party regularity was counted on for the most part, influences of various kinds having made franchise-extension virtually a party measure. As for the rest of the necessary two-thirds, this faction was brutally frank. It proposed turning the whole matter over to Carey and one or two other Democratic aldermen, with power.

The other faction strongly opposed this method. They do not seem to have been so much inspired by civic principle as by considerations of business policy. In their view such a course would arouse Chicago as the aldermanic ring had aroused Philadelphia, and as with Weaver there, make Mayor Dunne overwhelmingly popular here. Their own plan was to make an appeal to the people by referendum, under circumstances calculated to assure a favorable popular result.

While this internal war in the counsels of the companies raged, Mr. Victor F. Lawson was called in for consultation. He supported the second faction, and gave orders to his two newspapers to begin an agitation for a referendum on the franchise-extension ordinance which a majority of the local traction committee, assisted by Col. Bliss and a galaxy of other traction lawyers, are now "framing up."

Mr. Lawson's papers responded (p. 418) promptly, but in the traction sanctums the battle of the factions continued nevertheless to rage. It was not until the 9th of October that a settlement was reached. The referendum faction

then achieved a victory over the other faction, whether permanent or not remains to be seen, and Col. Bliss drew the referendum resolution for presentation to the Council meeting that night.

The alderman chosen to present Col. Bliss's referendum resolution, Milton J. Foreman, Republican and franchise-extension leader in the Council, performed that service (p. 439) with what must be regarded as consummate grace, when his frequently expressed opinion of referendum voting is considered. Mr. Foreman had theretofore declared himself so strongly in opposition to the referendum, and in sneering terms so contemptuous, that it is extremely doubtful if any other advice than that to which he yielded on this occasion could have prevailed with him to reverse his attitude.

The Bliss-Foreman referendum resolution was amended on the 16th (p. 456) at the suggestion of two municipal ownership aldermen. Whether these amendments, which Foreman accepted, have prejudiced the plans of the traction companies is not yet revealed. But according to the plans of the traction interests and their representatives in the City Council, as now indicated, the franchise-extension ordinances which the majority of the local transportation committee and the lawyers for the companies are "framing up," are to be approved by majority vote of the Council in committee of the whole, to be accepted in writing by the companies, and then to be laid before the people at the municipal election in April under the public policy referendum law. A campaign of popular education in favor of the ordinances is then to be made by the traction company aldermen, presumably at their own expense, and in consequence of this campaign the result of the referendum is expected by its promoters to be favorable to the companies. Should the vote be adverse, then a slightly different form of franchise-extension ordinance is to be put through a similar routine next year, but there is to be no action on municipal ownership. Every attempt in that direction is to be frustrated. Meanwhile the companies, being

in possession, lose nothing by delay.

The sequel to these two chapters in Chicago traction history is yet to be written, and it cannot be written until further facts develop. Whether the referendum faction among the traction capitalists will succeed, first in continuing to restrain the militant faction, and second in securing a favorable popular vote; or whether the militant faction, concluding to take no chances on a referendum, will break the bounds of their enforced patience, and precipitate a movement in the Council to overwhelm Dunne's veto—these possibilities depend upon contingencies some of which are of hair-trigger delicacy.

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, Oct. 26.

The municipal campaign in New York.

Appearances regarding the municipal election in New York (pp. 449, 457) have changed completely since the nomination of Hearst and his associates—Ford, Shearn, Stokes, Seabury, Boulton and Bird S. Coler—by the Municipal Ownership League. Indications favorable to the election of this ticket are now very strong. From sources in which we have great confidence we are informed that indications of the political doom of a candidate are seldom so clear as those which point to McClellan's defeat by Hearst. One of our informants adds that "McCarren in Brooklyn and Odell in the State will go down with Murphy, McClellan and Tammany." Through these sources also we learn that Hearst will receive two-thirds of the total vote among the salesmen of one of the largest wholesale grocery houses in the city. The significance of this "straw" is confirmed from other and more public sources. Among the "straws" reported by the Brooklyn Eagle, for instance, is a vote at the shops of the Long

Island railroad, where Hearst received 825, McClellan 5 and Ivins 2. These facts are not in themselves important, of course, but they could hardly exist if there were not a "groundswell." There are many general facts pointing in the same direction. For instance, it seems certain that almost without exception the workers who supported Henry George in the campaign of 1897 are supporting the Hearst ticket; and so far as the public meetings are concerned, we are reliably advised that "the enthusiasm is all for Hearst, and that it cannot be suppressed even at the McClellan meetings." A peculiarly significant fact is the respectful treatment Hearst is receiving from all the papers except the Daily News, which is owned to the extent of a majority interest by Mr. Murphy. It is reported that a campaign fund of \$750,000 has been raised for Tammany Hall by the corporations.

Jerome, the independent candidate for reelection as district attorney was (p. 457), reinforced on the 25th by a published request of the Republican candidate that his party supporters vote for Jerome. It was too late for him to withdraw his name from the Republican official ballot.

Municipal ownership and operation in New York.

On the 25th the municipal ferry system between Manhattan and Staten Island (p. 455) was formally opened. The ferry fleet consisted of five boats—the Manhattan, the Brooklyn, the Richmond, the Bronx and the Queens. The Mayor with invited guests was on board the Manhattan, which left Whitehall street, New York, after the others, and passing in review before them proceeded to St. George, Staten Island. Upon the return of the fleet, the Richmond made the first trip of the system, for general service, under municipal ownership and operation. On one of her later trips she became unmanageable for an hour and a half, in consequence of an accident to her machinery. Otherwise everything went off smoothly and satisfactorily.

The traction question in Chicago.

Continuing his efforts to force

the local transportation committee of the City Council of Chicago to obey the referendums heretofore had, by ceasing to negotiate with the traction companies for an extension of franchises (p. 456), and proceeding with plans for municipal ownership, Mayor Dunne submitted the following message on the 23d:

At the last session of your honorable body a resolution was unanimously passed providing for ascertaining the will of the people by popular vote upon any ordinance or ordinances for the extension of street railway franchises to the present companies. As it now appears of record that your honorable body is unanimously committed to the wise method of popular referendum upon the question of street railway policies, I wish to call your attention at this time to such a referendum had at a general election held in the city of Chicago on April 5, 1904, when the following question was submitted to the voters of this city: "Shall the City Council upon the adoption of the Mueller law proceed without delay to acquire ownership of the street railways under powers conferred by the Mueller law?" which was voted upon in the several wards of this city as follows:

Ward.	For.	Against.
First	3,153	785
Second	2,271	1,237
Third	3,097	1,687
Fourth	3,200	924
Fifth	3,742	919
Sixth	4,111	3,897
Seventh	3,625	2,850
Eighth	2,993	853
Ninth	2,156	685
Tenth	2,928	653
Eleventh	3,479	1,033
Twelfth	4,144	1,257
Thirteenth	4,500	2,042
Fourteenth	3,680	1,526
Fifteenth	3,628	1,412
Sixteenth	3,014	813
Seventeenth	2,659	772
Eighteenth	2,781	747
Nineteenth	3,586	739
Twentieth	4,505	2,152
Twenty-first	4,247	2,307
Twenty-second	2,947	1,120
Twenty-third	3,125	1,472
Twenty-fourth	3,186	1,384
Twenty-fifth	3,652	2,943
Twenty-sixth	4,028	2,235
Twenty-seventh	4,213	1,578
Twenty-eighth	4,672	1,457
Twenty-ninth	2,417	535
Thirtieth	4,048	957
Thirty-first	4,340	1,900
Thirty-second	3,911	2,389
Thirty-third	3,722	1,302
Thirty-fourth	3,226	1,189
Thirty-fifth	2,915	1,095

Total 121,957 50,807

It appearing upon an analysis of the vote then taken, as here set forth, that

every ward in Chicago voted in favor of municipal ownership under the powers conferred by the Mueller law, and it further appearing that by an even greater majority the people of this city, at the last general election, voted against the policy generally and specifically of granting any extensions to existing street railway companies. Now, therefore, in accordance with the will of the people, as heretofore determined by the method unanimously adopted by your honorable body at its last session, I recommend the passage of the following order.

The order recommended by the Mayor was as follows:

It is hereby ordered by the City Council of the City of Chicago that the local transportation committee, in cooperation with the legal advisers of the city, are hereby instructed to proceed without delay to prepare an ordinance for the purpose of acquiring ownership of the street railways of Chicago under powers conferred by the Mueller law and that the matter of the preparation of said ordinance take precedence over all other matters now under consideration by the local transportation committee.

Passage of this order was moved by Alderman Kohout; but Alderman R. R. McCormick moved postponement for a week, and his motion was carried by a viva voce vote.

At the meeting of the local transportation committee on the 24th, Mayor Dunne's message and order of the 9th (p. 438), requiring the committee to cease negotiations for franchise extensions and to report the Mayor's "contract plan" for municipal ownership back to the Council, which message and order had been referred by the Council to this committee, were taken up by the committee, and, on motion of Alderman Bennett placed "on file," which is the form for ignoring. The motion was carried by the following vote:

Yeas—Carey and Maypole (Democrats), and Raymer, Bennett, Hunter, Foreman, Young, and R. R. McCormick (Republicans). Nays—Dever, Finn, Zimmer, Bradley (Democrats).

The committee thereupon proceeded with the consideration of the franchise extension ordinances proposed by the traction companies.

A traction question in Berlin.

A traction situation exists in Berlin, Germany, which is very similar to the Chicago traction

question, except that the majority of the city council in Berlin are opposing the traction companies and standing firm for municipal ownership. The city of Berlin owns two surface lines. Other lines are owned by traction corporations—the Siemens-Halske Company, the Greater Berlin Tramway Company and the Suspension Railway Company. The Siemens-Haske Company holds a franchise for the extension of the present subway into the heart of the city, and has started its construction. The Berlin Tramway Company wants a franchise for subways under the Leipzigerstrasse and Unter den Linden with connecting branches, also an extension of the present franchises for ninety years. The city has the right to acquire this company's plants in 1919 at cost, but the company has surreptitiously got of the Prussian government an extension of its franchise until 1940. Consequently, while the city may acquire the tracks at the end of 1919, it will have to contest the right to the use of its own streets. Efforts have been made by the city to compromise by giving the company the subway franchises it asks for, in exchange for its acknowledgment of the city's street rights after 1919. But the company refuses. Therefore the municipal council on the 19th voted against granting it subway rights. Litigation is anticipated, owing to the complexities of traction privileges and the determination of the council, backed by public sentiment, to establish general municipal ownership. Besides the two lines which the city already owns it is preparing to construct seven more, together with a subway connecting the northern and southern edges of the city by way of Friedrichstrasse.

The situation just before the action of the council was thus described by a Berlin dispatch in the Chicago Daily News on the 19th:

Acting on the popular demand for municipal ownership, Berlin's city council tonight will reject the Grosser Berliner Street Railway company's application for an extension of its franchise for ninety years. The company has offered to spend \$14,400,000 for the purpose of relieving the traffic congestion by building subways under two of the chief thoroughfares provided the

city prolong its franchise to the year 2009. Chairman Leopold Rosenow of the council's traction commission said to the correspondent of the Daily News: "Our decision means the beginning of a struggle similar in its bitterness and its complications to that in which Chicago is engaged, but the city is prepared for a sharp fight and is determined to protect the menaced public interests. The real aim of the traction company, which has enjoyed a fat monopoly of our streets for twenty-five years, in proposing this subway scheme, is to force the city to buy its plant at an exorbitant figure before the existing franchise expires in 1919. In the meantime the company trusts to the Prussian government to come to its assistance, as it did once before, in granting to the corporation operating powers after 1919, at which time the city will enter on the municipal ownership system.

William J. Bryan in Japan.

From Japan there come occasional dispatches relative to William J. Bryan, whose first stopping point in his tour of the world (pp. 408, 458) was Tokyo. While there on the 23d he was introduced by Mr. Grisco, the American minister, to a large audience, and spoke upon the "Prince of Peace." His address is described in the dispatches as a magnificent sermon, with which the audience was profoundly impressed.

President Roosevelt in the South.

After speaking at Richmond on the 18th (p. 458), President Roosevelt went to Raleigh, where he arrived on the 19th. He visited his mother's home at Roswell, Ga., on the 20th, and made an address at Atlanta on the same day. Jacksonville and St. Augustine were visited on the 22d, and Mobile on the 23d. On the 24th he spent the morning at Tuskegee Institute (Booker T. Washington's educational establishment) and the afternoon at Montgomery and Birmingham; and on the 25th he was at Little Rock and Memphis. Several brief stops were incidentally made. One of these was at Charlotte, where he called upon the widow of Stonewall Jackson. At Little Rock he rebuked Gov. Davis for apologizing in his speech for Negro lynching.

NEWS NOTES

—A great railroad strike in Russia, which has been for several days in progress, is reported as a probable rev-

olution in the incipient stages. Both St. Petersburg and Moscow are isolated.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 443) for the month ending September 30, 1905, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for September were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M	\$361,393,827	\$281,821,293	\$79,572,534 exp.
G	2,842,162	13,589,857	10,747,695 imp.
S	14,358,228	9,067,875	5,290,353 exp.
	\$378,594,217	\$304,479,025	\$74,115,192 exp.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE ROBBER TARIFF.

Springfield (Illinois) State Register (Dem.), Aug. 10.—The Robber Tariff lays its heavy hand on every man and exacts tribute—a tribute that goes into the pockets of the trusts and monopolists. The people of Springfield who have built or are building houses this Summer have paid hundreds of thousands of dollars to the tariff-protected trusts, that if it had not been for the Robber Tariff they could have kept for their own use and profit.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), Aug. 18.—When the Western producers of breadstuffs and provisions go to Congress to ask for legislation which will prevent the closing of the markets of continental Europe to them, they will have to fight the trusts and some industries which, although insignificant in themselves, control Senatorial votes.

CONCENTRATED PROSPERITY.

(Cleveland) Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), Sept. 18.—At the international convention of factory inspectors, held in Detroit, it was shown that the number of boys between the ages of ten and fifteen employed in factories had increased 100 per cent. from 1880 to 1900, and that of girls for the same period 150 per cent.—an increase out of all proportion to the increase of population. Industrial development is everywhere marked by the increase of child labor, which must be looked upon as a calamity and not a blessing.

TOLSTOY'S LAND QUESTION LETTER.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), Sept. 25.—Count Tolstoy displays the zeal of a new convert in his advocacy of the single tax as a cure for all the evils from which Russia suffers. The surprising thing about it is not that Tolstoy is struck by George's theory, but that he should only just now have studied it. An omnivorous reader of what may be termed radical literature, he can hardly have failed to peruse "Progress and Poverty" long ago. Evidently its doctrines were slow in taking root in his mind. However that may be Tolstoy may justly be hailed by the single taxers as a distinguished recruit. Nobody will dispute his sincerity, no matter how widely one may differ from his conclusions.

HOPEFUL NEW ORLEANS.

(New Orleans) Harlequin, Sept. 14.—The finest business season in the history of New Orleans, Louisiana and the South is near upon us—the most brilliant social season. Hope is the heart of high spirits. High spirits compose the basis of great business and brilliant social enterprises. The difference between our present outlook and that at the close of former fevers is that then we were crushed and hopeless, because ignorant and helpless. To-day we are buoyant with hope. To-day we know that a future fever will be our fault.

Heretofore it took us years to forget our disaster. It was through forgetfulness that hope ebbed back. To-day we dwell in the light. There is something for us to do; and done, it will rid us forever of danger. This we know, and knowledge is not alone power, but light and hope and confidence. Watch for the biggest boom in our history. The only great drawback has been removed, the fear of possible epidemics. Watch the tidal wave set in.

THE HANNA MEMORIAL.

(Akron, O.) Times-Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 8.—It is not necessary—perhaps not decent, to cast a single stone at the memory of Mark Hanna; he has passed beyond the reach of human praise or censure, and silence at least is his due. But when his so-called friends surviving go about raising an enduring memorial to methods in practical politics admitted on all hands to be in morals indefensible, and call it "political science," and then ostentatiously plant it in a seat of learning as matter of instruction to the plastic intellect of the young, to be molded into precepts for political guidance and action in a government by the people, it is time some one should speak against this proposed testimony to a grinning hypocrisy.

MISCELLANY

SOCIAL SONNETS.

For The Public.

III.

One method hath Injustice—only one,
Effective 'gainst the Truth self-manifest;
Its voice must at all hazards be suppressed;
Its voice must at all hazards be suppressed;
An so the devilish instructors run:
Ignore it; make no mention of it; shun
All arguing of it; or, with studious care,
Pervert it, and denounce with noisy blare
The substitute; for Justice may be done
If men but know. Thus, if one should de-
clare

The Earth the heritage of all mankind
And not the entailed realm of Vere de
Vere.

A speedy end Monopoly should find
Unless it were contrived the fateful word
Were smothered, ere the soul of man had
heard.

J. W. BENGOUGH.

RELIGION IN EVERY DAY LIFE.

From a sermon preached by the Rev. Thos. P. Byrnes, Oct. 8, 1905, in the First Unitarian Church of Erie, Pa.

Men and women are coming more and more to see that the religion that is to touch them in the every day life and amid the week-day affairs, must be one with all the other natural forces and great realities of daily life, one with nature's laws, one with human reason, and the moral sentiment in man; one with the growing grass, the eternal hills, and one with the lessons of the class room, the laboratory, and the foundation principles of successful business.

Religion to-day must be presented as such a natural, living force that it will grip men and lay hold upon their lives in the very thickest centers of human struggle to-day. It

must grip men in the very heart and center of the fierce business and industrial world, in the very heart and center of modern commercialism and greed, in the very arena of modern business wonders and triumphs.

AN OPEN LETTER TO DR. LYMAN ABBOTT.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, My Dear Sir: In view of the unassimilable nature of the race inhabiting the Philippine islands, the failure to develop commerce and industry in the archipelago and harmonious personal and social relations with the Filipinos, the gap yawning wider and wider between them and their rulers, do you feel that it is fair to describe the question of Philippine independence as being a question as academic as that of "American sovereignty in the Louisiana purchase"? This I see you are reported to have done at Lake Mohonk, in spite of the latest declaration of the President concerning the Philippines, of the hope that they might some day occupy "the same relations to the United States as Cuba;" and in the very face and eyes of what has recently been said and done at Manila by representatives of the Filipino people, unanimous in petitioning for that freedom which the United States can give them by causing the "neutralization" of the islands—fulfilling any responsibility we may have been supposed to have assumed there, while getting rid of a burden which we ought never to have assumed and which has become too grievous to be borne. At least the question should be faced manfully and honestly, and not shirked by an ostrich policy which ignores the actual state of facts. To ignore it or to repress the discussion of independence while the education of the people goes on in contact with the traditions of American liberty, is only to prepare for revolution by and by. I am your obedient servant,

ERVING WINSLOW.

20 Central St., Boston, Oct. 21, 1905.

MR. ROCKEFELLER'S PATHETIC EFFORTS TO REHABILITATE HIMSELF.

Silent as the deepest depths of silence was John D. Rockefeller when Miss Tarbell told the criminal origin of his fortune, and Lawson exposed its criminal uses. But silence has proved a flimsy shield. Rockefellerism was fast becoming a synonym for all that is heartless and wicked in American plutocracy. That wasn't pleasant, and at last the silence is broken. Not directly; not defensive-

ly; but with the skill of a practiced press agent, who has shrewdly advised that the people be allowed to think what they please of the Rockefeller exposures, provided they learn to think well of Rockefeller himself. If this is not the meaning of the recent overwhelming flood of Rockefeller dispatches from Cleveland, then the journalistic signs are out of joint. It appears to be very cleverly done. But alas! is it not too late?—Editorial in The Public of Sept. 16.

Cleveland, Oct. 13.—Patrick Lynch, gatekeeper at Forest Hill, is mourning the departure of John D. Rockefeller.

"I wish the master were going to be here the year round," he said today. "He is the only real friend I have in the world. He is the kindest, best, and the most modest and humble man I have ever known. He treats me like one of the family. In England I have worked for royalty, and there are none of them as good as Mr. Rockefeller.

"People generally don't know what a kind heart the master has. Just a little while before he left he picked up a little colored boy and took him riding in the automobile. He said when he bought the automobile that he couldn't get one large enough. He wants to give everyone a ride. He often gets little, dirty, foreign waifs from the sidewalk and takes them out. All the time he talks to them and asks questions. He certainly is the kindest man in the world."—Special to the New York Times.

Tarrytown, N. Y., Oct. 13.—John D. Rockefeller and party arrived here from Cleveland to-day. They were met by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and the father kissed his son. James Burns, an elderly street sweeper, was an interested spectator. Dragging his broom behind him, Burns tottered up to the Lillonaire.

"Howdy, Mr. Rockefeller," exclaimed the sweeper, extending his soiled hand.

"And who are you?" asked Mr. Rockefeller.

"Just plain Jim Burns, a street sweeper, sir," replied the man, extending his hand a little farther.

Mr. Rockefeller seized the hand with a firm grasp. "I'm glad to know you, Mr. Burns," he said.

The oil man reached into his pocket and drew forth a roll of greenbacks that nearly gave Burns heart failure. Then he handed a dollar to the aston-

ished street sweeper.—Special to the Chicago Record-Herald.

THE FUNCTION AND THE FUTURE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

Extracts from the inaugural address of Dr. Edmund J. James, president of the University of Illinois, delivered Wednesday afternoon, Oct. 18, 1905, at Urbana, Ill.

The State University, following its practical tendencies, is destined to become a great group of professional schools preparing its students for the various occupations of life for which an extended scientific training based on adequate, liberal, preparatory training is necessary or desirable. It will abolish the old-fashioned American College as one of its departments, relegating a part of its work to the high school and absorbing another part of its work in the university proper. It will cut off the Freshman and Sophomore years, letting the high school and college take them, while it will consolidate the Junior and Senior years with the graduate school into a general university faculty of arts and science. It will be a place for training men and women and not boys and girls as is so largely the case now.

The idealism which many people fear will be lost with the disappearance of the college will be found anew in the training for the profession itself which will receive a new position of dignity and power through the scientific preparation which will thus be secured for it in the enlarged and liberalized university.

In a word, the State University which most fully performs its function for the American people will stand simply, plainly, unequivocally and uncompromisingly for training for vocation—not training for leisure nor training for scholarship; except as scholarship is a necessary incidental to all proper training for vocation or may be a vocation in itself. But training to perform an efficient service for society in and through some calling in which a man expresses himself and through which he works out some lasting good to society. Such a training for vocation should naturally and would inevitably, if the training be of the proper kind, result in the awakening of such ideals of service as would permeate, refine and elevate the character of a student. It would make him a scholar and investigator, a thinker, a patriot and an educated gentleman.

The State University will be essentially a democratic institution; as comprehensive as the population of

the State itself. It will stand ever beckoning to the young men and women of the Commonwealth to come up and prepare themselves to render the service of highest value to the community. It will train to an ever-increasing extent the leaders in the learned professions—the men and women who in teaching, in law and medicine, in farming and engineering, in business and commerce, will give the tone to the life and activity of the State.

But the State University . . . is in a certain sense the scientific arm of the state government as the Governor and his assistants are the executive, and judges and courts the judicial. Modern government is becoming very complex. Its problems are many and difficult. For the solution of many of them extensive laboratories, well equipped and under the direction of trained investigators, are necessary. All this work should go to the State University. How far this is already carried may be seen in the case of the University of Illinois. Here are located the National and State Agricultural Experiment Stations, the State Engineering Experiment Station (the first of its kind in the United States), the State Geological Survey, the State Laboratory of Natural History, the State Entomologist's Office, and the State Water Survey. This combination of public administrative work, scientific investigation and educational training has the most happy results.

HEROES OF THE COMMON LIFE.

Readers of the daily press know that a terrible storm raged on the Great Lakes on Friday, Oct. 20, and that some 30 vessels were wrecked or foundered. A dispatch from Port Huron, Mich., to the Chicago Chronicle of the 23d, tells how one doomed crew saved the lives of another crew, when they found they could not save themselves.

Nine heroes went down with the schooner Minnedosa Friday night. The angered, raging wind sent mountainous waves to batter to pieces the wooden boat wherein eight men and one woman were imprisoned. The vessel creaked and groaned and timbers snapped. The bulwarks went over. The wind hissed through the rigging and sent it piece by piece into the lake. Great seams were opening and water poured into the schooner's hold.

Ahead tumbled the steel steamer Westmount, stanch and able. Behind pitched the Melrose, a frailer vessel than the Minnedosa and faring worse, it must seem. The Minnedosa was going to the bottom. Every one of the

nine human beings aboard her knew it. Why should they take others with them? Perhaps if cast loose the Melrose could save herself.

Capt. Jack Phillips' voice rose in command over the howling storm. One of the crew held a sharp ax. It fell and a blow set the Melrose free. A few moments later the Minnedosa with its nine heroes, and a cargo of 75,000 bushels of wheat, lurched to the bottom off Harbor Beach, Lake Huron.

When the trailing towline was pulled aboard the steamer Westmount, which had been towing the Melrose and Minnedosa, the tow post of the Minnedosa came with it. The towline had not broken.

Those who went down with the Minnedosa were: Phillips, John, captain, Kingston, Ont.; Phillips, Mrs., the captain's wife; Waller, Arthur, mate, Nova Scotia; McDermott, George, Belleville, Ont.; Allen, James, Nova Scotia; passenger and three sailors, names unknown.

For 30 years Capt. Alexander Milligan, of St. Catherine's, Ont., on the steamer Westmount, and Capt. R. A. Davey, of Kingston, Ont., on the schooner Melrose, have sailed the lakes, but the story they told when their boats were lying at Sarnia to-day was of a battle with wind and water the like of which they had never before experienced.

Capt. Milligan, of the Westmount, stated that the Minnedosa was carrying an unusually heavy load. Her usual cargo was 60,000 bushels, but she had carried 75,000 before and it was thought perfectly safe to have her carry as much this time.

"The Minnedosa went to the bottom without a signal of distress," he said. "We did not know how serious was her condition."

"We never expected to see land again," said Capt. Davey, of the Melrose. "The Melrose is an old boat and in the gale that swept the lakes Friday night she had small chance to get into shelter alone. Suddenly there came a snap and the severed ten-inch hawser that had held the Melrose to the Minnedosa was pulled in. A clean cut marked the work of the ax. The crew of the Minnedosa had realized their doom and sought in the last moment to save the Melrose. The timbers were cracking, death seemed upon us. And then help came, and none too soon, for the Melrose was badly battered."

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in sharing its burdens, by no means excluding women.—Abraham Lincoln.

"TRUSTEES FOR THE COMMON GOOD."

A speech delivered by C. E. S. Wood at the reception and dinner to Mr. James J. Hill, of the Great Northern, and Mr. Howard Elliott, of the Northern Pacific, and others, at the American Inn, Portland, Ore., October 2, 1905, to celebrate the construction of the Railroad down the North Bank of the Columbia River. Mr. Wood's was the last speech of the evening, and to the lateness of the hour is probably attributable the fact that it was not reported in the daily press. The Public takes pride in its exclusive publication of a speech at once so witty and so wise.

Mr. Hill, Mr. Elliott, Ben Campbell—our little Benjamin—and all you other railroad magnates:

This is your dinner, and if you haven't had enough, just say the word. You are all awfully welcome—just as welcome as pumpkin pie to a school-boy or a rich bachelor uncle to a poor nephew. Portland is glad to see you. I don't believe Portland has had within her gates at her fair and festival board such a bevy of railroad magnates since Henry Villard brought his personally conducted trainload of German barons and English dukes to the driving of the last spike of the O. R. & N. That was the greatest bunch of real railroad magnates ever seen in captivity. I hesitated to apply to you the epithet "railroad magnates," but a newspaper reporter told me the term was often used, and did not necessarily imply any reproach. I know very little about such matters. I never was a railroad magnate myself. The only real railroad magnate I ever knew intimately is Mr. Wheelwright. He owns a railroad reaching from Oshkosh or St. Petersburg through the wolf-haunted forest of Siberia, and across those snowy and wind-swept wastes clear to Port Arthur. It starts right here at the end of the Trail, and no one should miss it. But it hasn't spoiled him a bit. He is just the same genial old Wheelwright—not a bit stuck up. In fact, since he has owned that magnificent property, I think he has been rather depressed. You other railroad magnates ought to see that road. I don't think you have ever seen just such a railroad, and if you would only take the time to go and pay your way, it might help a brother magnate out of trouble. I know that would be unusual, but you might make an exception this once. Wheelwright is a good fellow, and he needs it. It is the best show on the Trail, and well worth the price of admission. I say this at Mr. Wheelwright's request. Or if you wish annual passes over the line, I have no

doubt Mr. Wheelwright will exchange with you. He is very liberal.

While I am on that subject—and speaking for myself—I want to call the attention of you magnates to the pass evil. I haven't had an annual for years. Something ought to be done about it.

There was a time—before I knew Wheelwright—that I used to long to be a railroad magnate myself. It seemed to me the most enviable of all the professions. Nothing to do but just ride around in a special car free, and eat free dinners and listen to free speeches. Plenty of money, no troubles, and nothing whatever to think about. I nearly was one once. They nominated me here for United States senator, but I found out afterwards that was a joke.

But, gentlemen, every man has his troubles. Man is born to trouble, as the sparks fly upwards. There is no man can escape the clutch of the skeleton hand. Trouble is the echo of that wall with which the new-born infant salutes life. It is the narcotic which, at the last, makes rescuing Death not unwelcome. Railroad magnates are not exempt from the common lot. In spite of a growing belief to the contrary, they are almost human. But as I used to view them sporting—no, I don't like to say "sporting." As I used to view them gamboling on—"gambling" is worse. (You have to be mighty particular in these palmy insurance days in your language when you are addressing a bunch of millionaires.) I say, I used to envy them, the butterflies of fortune, as I saw them fluttering in the playful breezes. But I know now that all is not gold which glitters—and even magnates have troubles.

I have a suit pending against the Southern Pacific, and, since talking with Mr. Fenton, hardened as I am, it makes my heart ache to think of those poor magnates. The world little knows their fearful struggles with consuming poverty. I know what it is to be poor, and I would despise myself if I could not feel a human sympathy for even a railroad magnate who was riding the brakebeam of adversity. Since talking with Mr. Fenton I have lain awake nights, wondering if Mr. Harman, Mr. Stubbs and Mr. Krutchnitt know where their next meal is to come from, and I want to say right now, if they will come out here we will be only too glad to give them a dinner.

Mr. Hill, a city which is set on a hill cannot be hid, and Portland is stuck on you. Portland's Psalter

reads: "Blessed is he who hath made two railroads blow where only one blew before." All our merchants praise thee. All our millers praise thee. All our farmers praise thee—though possibly that is habit. All our city works, including the city council, praise thee, and when the whistle of the Portland & Seattle Railroad is heard on the north bank of the Columbia, then the little hills shall skip like rams. Dr. Morrison is responsible for that statement. He says he has authority for it. But I want to tell you that the man who sees little hills skipping like rams needs attention. My own idea about that hill business is that we would be nearer to the cold, hard facts if we said that when that Portland & Seattle locomotive goes shrieking through those expectant hills, the little rams will skip like hell. When that day comes, Mr. Hill, Portland will clear for you one whole end of her Hall of Fame, and will stretch across it a colossal canvas on which you shall be painted striding the continent, holding Seattle tenderly in one hand and Portland in the other, your coat tails fluttering in the breeze of prosperity, your pig tail stiffly curling up behind, and on your face that mysterious but inspiring grin, and underneath we shall write in letters of polished steel: "A Man of Force—Our Sunny Jim."

I am glad that pleased you, Mr. Hill. I thought it would, knowing your love for art.

Mr. Hill, they tell me you are a railroad man. Well, maybe you are. I am not going to deny it. But I wouldn't give your roomful of Corots and Rousseaus, Daubignys, Tryons and Millets for the Great Northern and Portland & Seattle railways put together. What are your railways but steam and iron, which rust doth corrupt and where receivers break through and steal? They are the things perishable. But those bits of painted canvas of yours are of the stars. They, and such as they, will endure when the rails which clamor to the thundering wheels shall have fallen into silence.

It is worthy the curious investigation of some deep philosopher, how love of railroads and of art go together. Here is Mr. Hill and his beautiful Barbazon gallery; Sir William Van Horne, who will sit up all night to paint a forest—and here is Mr. Cotton who will do the same thing to paint a town. Art and railroads go hand in hand. Look at dear old Uncle Russell Sage, the artful dodger.

Where now stands the City of Spo-

kane, I have lain on my back in the sagebrush, watching the hawks circling in the faultless blue, as I waited for the Indians to come into council; and I have seen the Children of the Desert come in twos and threes and twenties and thirties, their horses gay with yellow ochre and vermilion, their own locks and the horses' tails braided with eagle feathers, bonnets of lynx skins and otter upon their heads, and the skins of the cougar, the coyote and the bear hanging from their shoulders; a troop of young Herculeses, their bronze skins glistening in the sunlight; the young men galloping in circles and firing their rifles, and the old Chiefs coming on sedately, as chieftains should. And when the council teepee was built and the humming of the council drum had ceased, then the Chiefs and the head men and the old men spoke first, and after that those who were not of much account. And so, to-night, after the Chiefs have spoken, I who am not of much account in the railroad world, have a few words to say. And as each speaker in the council tent began by laying his hand upon his heart and saying quietly that he must be excused for what he said, because he spoke from his heart, so I say, if I should say things which seem not in tune with the general welcome, you must excuse it, for I am not less glad to welcome you than any here, and what I say is from the heart. What I say I say with the modesty which becomes the last speaker in this council, he who is not of much account; and I well realize that I with no experience, am addressing the great Chiefs of great experience. But while I do not pretend to know the intricacies of rate fixing, yet some elemental truths I think I know. The railroad is the successor to the river and the King's highway, and by economic laws it has driven both the river and the highway into disuse. The railroad is a public servant, not because it is a corporation enfranchised by the state, not because it exercises the right of eminent domain, but because in fact and in crystallized daily life it is the only highway for modern life. It is a trustee for the public, and unless it gives to the public that same equal, fair and indiscriminating service which the river and the highway gave, it is false to its trust, and instead of a public servant it assumes to be a master.

Mr. Hill has deplored the tendency to meddle with railroad rates by legislation. I shake hands with him on that as a fellow Anarchist, and I deplore not only that, but all and every meddling with the free course of commerce by any legislative interference. The laws of trade and of intercourse are natural

laws, as much as the force of gravity; and they find their own best solution when let alone. But, gentlemen, you cannot let alone a specially privileged institution as the railroad is, unless that institution appreciates those duties which are the balance to its privileges. The railroads have themselves to thank for the socialistic drift toward state regulation. The railroads have believed (and though mistakenly, I believe honestly) that they have the same right to do as they pleased with their railroads that a man has to do with his personal property. Every railroad is, within certain limits and in a certain sense, a monopoly, a necessary monopoly in management and a highway monopoly as to certain districts; and they have failed to apprehend that though their money has put down the rails and equipped the road, yet they are not absolute owners of that highway, but occupy the soil and are permitted to manage the road only by the consent of the whole people, for the general benefit as a public highway. Mr. Hill has well said, and has well practiced in the past, the truth that only out of the prosperity of its territory can a railroad prosper; but the prevalent railroad idea has been that of a territory bound in feudal vassalage to the road by bands of iron—a territory to be developed or retarded at the will of the railroad. There never was a falser railroad maxim or one surer to bring retribution than that of "All the traffic will bear." It was the maxim of the feudal baronage of France which in Paris and Versailles sat at the gaming tables—while their peasantry gleaned for their masters' pleasures from the generous fields all the traffic would bear, and they and their children slept upon straw and fed upon acorn bread. These nobles who gleaned their fields so harshly to feed their greed, reaped the whirlwind of the French Revolution; and unless the railroads recognize the broad fundamental truth that they are not masters and makers of Destiny, they will reap the whirlwind of Government ownership. All men recognize the right of a stockholder to his fair and just reward, and were the railroads to well perform their public duty, with a full and high sense of their public trust, there would be no clamor for regulation or change.

I have said I do not know the intricacies of rate making, and I do not; but I do know that it is not so important what the rate is, as that it and all other transportation facilities shall be equal in exact justice to all alike.

There are certain moral laws, as far above the reach of man and as unchanging as the snow peak of Mount

Hood, now roseate in the sunset and now cold beneath the moon—moral laws upon which human society rests; slow of operation, but as inevitable in final result as that the waters of Mount Hood will leap past crag and bowlder, under the spreading fingers of the pine trees, between the emerald and sapphire mountains, down to the restless eternity—the ever hungry sea.

Man is a vain-glorious insect. What is he but a mist of the morning? a spark in the night? the momentary flutterer upon the wind? We think because we know a little of scientific truth which has been piled brick by brick through the ages till we stand in a modest portico—because we know a little of electricity and steam—that we are supreme in our knowledge and unconquerable in our power. But it is not electricity or steam or armies which make power. It is the recognition of, and submission to, the great moral truths. Behold Egypt. She was a great nation—rich in the gold of the harvest and the mine, strong in her glittering hosts, and her abundant people were masters of glass and metal working and of many crafts and arts, and they knew the courses of the stars. But where is that nation to-day? The Sphinx looks out upon the sands in inscrutable silence, and the pyramids brood upon a desert solitude. The Greeks were a great people. Have we greater men than Pericles? better minds than Socrates, Plato and Aristotle? grander artists than Phidias and Praxiteles? stronger poets than Homer, Aeschylus and Sophocles? Yet to-day the Parthenon, mutilated by the neglects of the centuries and the bullets of the invader, stands in ruins upon the Acropolis, and the feet of the worshippers have trod back into the abysmal vault of Time. And Rome—are our armies greater than her conquering legions which subdued the world? have we better and greater than Caesar and Marcus Aurelius? Is our oratory more seducing than Cicero's or Cato's? Are our lawyers more profound than the makers of the pandects, whose laws Europe and we ourselves in equity obey to-day? Have we relatively greater engineers than those who 2,000 years ago made the roads which are still in use, and the aqueduct which still brings the waters of the mountains to the Eternal City? But the Coliseum, tragic and deserted, seems in the moonlight the warning finger of Time pointing to the truth: Nothing of man shall long endure. And Nebuchadnezzar—he of the luxurious court, guarded by his panoplied battalions, amid flowers and gardens, the tinkle of the cymbal and the

zither and the whisper of feet on the marble floors in time to the fluting of the fountains—where are the cohorts, glittering in purple and gold? The lizard and silence hold place where once sang the songs of the conquerors of the world. But captive in the courts of Nebuchadnezzar was a tribe from which we have taken our God, our Decalogue and our Christ; and out of the captive race came a young Galilean peasant, who, sitting amid the vines and under the figtrees about the shores of Galilee, laying his hands upon the heads of the little children, gave to the world the immortal truth, that he who lives for himself alone, shall die; but he who liveth for all, though he die, yet shall he live eternal.

Gentlemen, that is as true of railroad building or oil refining as it is of ministering to the poor or visiting the sick. Build your railroads, gentlemen, down that great river which once flowed on in unbroken solitude to the sea—and if you build into your iron and into the heart of this republic the truth that ye are but trustees for the common good—in honor bound to serve the weakest as the strongest; to take no sordid advantage, but in all things and to all men to do as ye would be done by, rendering to each his righteous due—then, though our cities fade and the trees grow over them and your railroad crumbles to nothing and the Columbia once more flows in primeval silence between her sentinel hills, then even though the race of man has perished from the earth, this truth shall still be translated to the stars—for it cannot dim and it cannot die.

GOVERNMENT BY TELEPHONE.

Lieutenant-Governor Lawrence Y. Sherman, speaking to the Young Men's Good Government Club at the Sherman House, said: "The long-distance telephone is a curse and a preventive of good government in Chicago. By it men are voted and controlled by some one whom the people did not elect."

True for you, Larry! You've hit it exactly. That's how we're governed, we cannot deny.

There in a nutshell you put it compactly.

Telephone government. Devil a lie!

Public opinion is quite unavailing;

Law may be dodged, that is easily shown.

Only one method is ever unavailing:

Call up the boss on the long-distance phone.

If you have wealth and no sense of compunction,

If your encroachments your victims would fight,

If you've no law, but you need an injunction,

Call up the judge and he'll fix you all right.

If you want laws making robbery easy,

Giving it quite a respectable tone,
Don't waste your time on the populace
greasy;
Call up the boss on the long-distance
phone.

If you're an Alderman, duly elected,
Chosen and called the dear people to
serve;

Don't do the thing that they hoped and ex-
pected;
Don't let their clamoring weaken your
nerve.

If you've a franchise for sale, don't con-
sider

Any one's profit at all but your own;
Vote for the cheerful and liberal bidder;
Call up the boss on the long-distance
phone.

—Kennett Harris, in Chicago Examiner
of Oct. 23.

Eighteen languages were spoken in New York before the war of the revolution and that number has now risen to 66 or 67. There is a school in the Syrian district of the city in which, it is reported, 29 languages and dialects are used. The greatest problem to be solved in New York, not only as a municipality, but as the gateway to the United States, is the naturalizing of this host of children—not by the forms of law, but in spirit, temper, habit and speech.—Harper's Magazine.

BOOKS

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

How far man is influenced by natural environment, and how far history is influenced by geography, are unsettled questions. Certainly even the unthinking eye can see that mountain ranges, seas and rivers have something to do with the political divisions of the continents. On the other hand, there are occasional instances where natural marks seem not to have determined nationality. Some boundaries are purely conventional, the line, for example, between Prussia and Russia.

These questions are discussed in a scholarly way by H. B. George, of New College, Oxford, in a recent work (*The Relations of Geography and History*, Clarendon Press). A good test of such a book is to take a definite region and see how it is dealt with. Bohemia will be seen to furnish a fair example of the author's method:

"Roughly square in form, it has its angles towards the four principal points of the compass, and each of its sides is formed by a well-defined chain of mountains or hills, with only a single outlet for the whole of its river drainage. This outlet is at the northern angle where the Elbe emerges on the German plain. The principle most in favor with physical geographers, that of dividing up the earth's surface by the watersheds, would, therefore, make Bohemia belong to northern Eu-

rope. As a matter of history, it has always been closely connected with the regions to the south and east, and for good geographical reasons. The two northern sides of the square are real mountains, not rising to the level of perpetual snow, but sufficiently lofty and rugged to constitute definite obstacles to intercourse. And the defile through which the Elbe passes is not wide enough to neutralize the separating effect of the mountains on either hand. The other two faces are, on the contrary, mere hills, through which roads can readily pass."

Here we see that mountains have been more potent than river drainage. Indeed, the author assigns less importance to rivers, either as centers of nationality or as boundaries, than is generally supposed to be due. The idea, for example, that the Rhine is a natural boundary between France and Germany he scouts as quite absurd. If France has any natural border to the east, it would be, according to him, the mountains from which flow the rivers westward. The extension of the eastern lines of France over a part of the Rhone basin and a part of the Rhine basin is shown to be one of the interesting features of European history.

The book is mainly devoted, as might be expected, to the geography of Europe. The central chapter, entitled "Outlines of Europe," supplied with two maps facing each other, the one political, the other physical, is well worthy of close study, and will be an enlightening assistance to students of European history. Following this chapter the author takes up each country of Europe in detail, and throws light on many important problems of nationality. The last chapter of the book deals with America in a general way, and contains nothing that is strikingly new or suggestive.

It is a pity that the book is not written in a more entertaining style. The author, with all his learning, lacks the touch of a master; but he has given us a book that has really been needed, and students cannot expect to have their food always handed to them by Greens, Froudes and Flakes.

J. H. DILLARD.

MARRIAGE.

That "marriage is character growth and is gained through service," is the theme of Mrs. Mills's little book on the purity and the service of marriage. She includes chapters on "the marriage of the unmarried," and on marriage laws. It is a good and useful as well as timely book, such as only a good and useful woman could write.

Readers prone to regard marriage as a ceremonial institution licensing lust, may think it a dangerous book. For, treating of marriage as in all its functions a sacred relationship,

"made up of all the best of the man and all the best of the woman, with an increasing elimination of their evils," it places marriage above and apart from ceremonial licenses for physical procreation. Yet the importance of the marriage ceremonial is not denied. On the contrary it is approved. But it is assigned its true relative place and value. According to Mrs. Mills, the arbitrary holding together of two characters who never can grow into one is a mockery of marriage. On the other hand, she regards the shifting of marital relations with every changing mood as destructive of marriage possibilities.

Mrs. Mills writes of marriage from the woman's point of view, speaking the word about it which, as she believes and is doubtless true, "only a woman could speak."—[*Marriage*, by Jane Dearborn Mills (Mrs. James E. Mills), author of "Leaves from a Life-book of Today" and "The Mother Artist." Philadelphia: The Nunc Licet Press.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

—The Dark Side of the Beef Trust. By Herman Herschauer. Jamestown, N. Y.: Theodore Z. Root. To be reviewed.

—Forty Thousand Miles of World Wandering. By Helen M. Gougar. Chicago and Philadelphia: Monarch Book Company. To be reviewed.

—An Eye for an Eye. By Clarence S. Darrow, author of *Farmington*, *Resist Not Evil*, etc. New York: Fox, Duffield & Company. Price, \$1.50. To be reviewed.

—The Elements of Taxation. By Newton M. Taylor. Edited and published by C. L. Taylor. Philadelphia: Equity Series, 1520 Chestnut street, Philadelphia. To be reviewed.

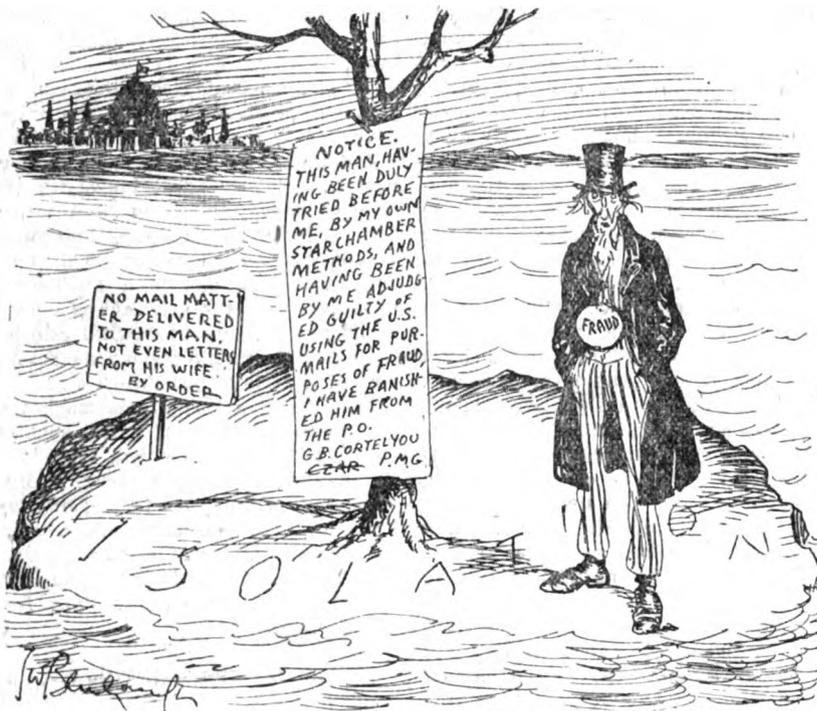
—Government Regulation of Railway Rates. A Study of the Experience of the United States, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, Russia and Austria. By Hugo Richard Meyer, assistant professor of political economy in the University of Chicago. New York and London: Macmillan. Price, \$1.50 net. To be reviewed.

PAMPHLETS

In a British pamphlet (T. Fisher Unwin, Paternoster Square, London) Arthur Kitson attributes periodical industrial depressions to interest. Regarding interest as a premium for money, he argues that "wealth is not produced at a sufficient rate nor continuously enough to keep pace with even five per cent. interest charges," and that in consequence "matters reach a crisis about once every nine or ten years." The writer seems to have been influenced unconsciously, and at times in astonishing fashion, by the notion that "wealth is always distributed in money." It is, in fact, distributed for the most part, not in money, but in terms of money. If interest is a burden, the reason is not monopoly of money, but of commodities.

PERIODICALS

Now, when several of the most earnest men of France are beginning to rid-



TO SIBERIA, BY ORDER OF THE AMERICAN CZAR.
(A fate which might easily happen to any citizen.)

cule their Academy. Mr. A. C. Benson revives, in the National Review (London), the question of an Academy of Literature in England. Let us hope that the plain, good sense of Englishmen and Americans will not be taken with this absurd notion. At any rate, if it should ever come, we may trust that the majority of us will take it about as seriously as we do the manufactured Hall of Fame in New York.—J. H. D.

"The world is yet waiting," says the Nation, "for a volume of hymns on the scale of Palgrave's 'Golden Treasury of Songs and Lyrics,' the choicest, and nothing else. The number of selections would probably range between 200 and 300. The task has been more than once attempted, but never with great success." It is a pity that this work has not been done with success. There is not a hymnal used in any of the churches which does not abound in painfully poor stuff—poor not only in poetic form but as the expression of worship and spiritual aspiration.—J. H. D.

In reviewing Mr. Albert R. Carman's recent book on the "Ethics of Imperialism" the critic of the New York Evening Post confesses that he does not understand the author's ethical system. "But," he says, "of one thing we feel very certain, that he has not succeeded in reconciling Christianity and Imperialism, for the simple reason that in practice they are irreconcilable. Christian ethics involves Peace on Earth wherever possible, and Imperialism involves War on Earth wherever advantageous, and hence there is no common ground for the two systems to rest

upon." This puts the antagonism in clear-cut terms, which no amount of subtlety can confuse.—J. H. D.

L. H. Berens, in the Westminster Review for September, writes in a most interesting way about a social reformer in the days of the Commonwealth. Probably few of his readers have ever heard the name of Gerrard Winstanley, yet it is far more worthy of honor than that of nine-tenths of England's rulers and statesmen. Winstanley's policy was known derisively as the Digger Movement, because he, with Everard and some 40 followers, proposed "to dig and plow the common land on St. George's Hill in the county of Surrey," but that Winstanley was a clear thinker and a brave character is shown in the numerous quotations given by Mr. Berens. The first pamphlet issued by the group begins as follows: "We whose names are subscribed, do in the name of all the poor oppressed people of England, declare unto you that call yourselves Lords of Manors and Lords of the Land, that the King of Righteousness, our Maker, hath enlightened our hearts so far as to see that the earth was not made purposely for you to be Lords of it, and we to be your Slaves, Servants, and Beggars, but it was made to be a common livelihood to all." The date of this pamphlet was the latter part of 1648 or the early part of 1649. Cromwell could not see as far ahead as these sincere and genuine democrats, and the movement was naturally suppressed.—J. H. D.

A critic in the London Times writes a very happy and just appreciation of

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Austin Dobson, apropos of a new publication of his selected poems. "He has made it his business," says the writer, "to write poetry that you could read aloud to a crowd of mere acquaintances without embarrassing either them or yourself. He always has the air of one who has schooled himself to be content with small pleasures, and who would like his readers to share his enjoyment of them. Yet he is a true poet, for his sense of beauty is quickened by little things, as the sense of beauty of the great poet is quickened by great things." —J. H. D.

The London Times, in reviewing the fourth volume of George Brandes's "Main Currents," in Nineteenth Century Literature, takes exception to his judgment of the English poets. The trouble is that Brandes has a too "audaciously rebellious spirit" to suit the critics. He values literary productions by the test of their contribution to freedom and liberal thought. For this reason he gives high place to Shelley and Byron, and, as most literary folk would think, undervalues Keats. The poet, Brandes thinks, must be an artist, of course; but the great poet must also be a rebel.—J. H. D.

The July Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor in the Department of Commerce and Labor is devoted to a statistical comparison of the wages and hours of labor with the retail prices of food from 1890 to 1904.

Horace Traubell's Conservator for August publishes a clever after-dinner speech given by Bolton Hall at the Whitman convention. The following may well be laid to heart by many of us: "If I cannot," he says, "say a thing so affectionately that the hearer will be glad I spoke. I had better have kept silence. If I cannot speak so lovingly that men and women will wish to hear, I am speaking to the deaf. It is not only that it takes two to tell the truth, one to speak and another to hear; it is that we cannot say anything to anyone who does not desire to receive it; we may say it at them, we cannot say it to them. Only God or himself can convert any man." All we can ever do is to make suggestions. But psychologists tell us much about the power of suggestions, even upon the lukewarm.—J. H. D.

"Not a human being of ordinary intelligence," says Ralph Hoyt in the Nebraska Independent, "can honestly deny that one man has the same natural right to live in this world that any other has." This is just wherein Mr. Hoyt is mistaken. If this premise is granted, his clearly written article would be universally convincing. But there are numbers of people of ordinary and extraordinary intelli-

(Continued on Next Page)



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The Charleston News and Courier points out in an editorial a number of instances in which President Roosevelt has not seemed to be strenuous in standing by his sayings. And some of these instances refer to the very matters that seem to be of considerable importance to the country. For example: President Roosevelt announced that he would carry out the McKinley policies, and McKinley promised tariff modification. What has become of this? President Roosevelt proclaimed a "trust busting" crusade. What has become of this? He declared a relentless warfare on takers of rebates. Messrs. Harmon and Judson can tell what became of this. "Not long ago," continues the News and Courier, "the press of the country was ringing with his campaign for railroad rate regulation, and if it be not dead now it is an extraordinary sleeper."—J. H. D.

Mr. Hiller C. Wellman, of the Springfield (Mass.) Public Library, in a letter to the Republican of that city, gives some interesting notes as to libraries and good reading. "It is not surprising," he says, "if out of the immense reading public using our libraries less than a majority care for the solid books. Yet the better books are read. From the Springfield library, for example, during the past 12 months, Green's 'Short History of the English People' was borrowed 19 times, Conway's 'Autobiography' 25 times, James's 'Varieties of Religious Experience' 20 times, Bryce's 'American Commonwealth' 15 times, Hall's 'Adolescence' 45 times, Browning's poems 102 times, and various biographies of Lincoln 135 times." This is a good showing—but Springfield is an exceptional city.—J. H. D.

Charities (New York-Chicago organization Society) for October 7th is given wholly over to special articles, over 20 in number, on the general subject of "The Negro in the Cities of the North."

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