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EDITORIAL

The Man with the Muck Rake.

Mr. Roosevelt's heralded speech on "the man with the muck rake," depends for its interest upon the fact that he is President of the United States, and derives its significance from the fact that it is timed to divert attention from recent exposures of crime in high places, and energy from social reform. In itself it is but a string of platitudes to which every one assents. Who would deny, for instance, that there should be relentless exposures, but they must be true? Who would deny that it is wrong to steal from poor men, but also from rich men? Who would deny that bribery should

be denounced, but also blackmail? Who would deny that practical reform work needs pulling forward, but also some holding back? Yet the whole speech, apart from certain economic recommendations, is composed of just such platitudinous observations expanded until they are of almost gaseous consistency. Why all this careful balancing of moral antitheses at just this time? The organs of plutocracy refer to it not unnaturally as an attack upon Lincoln Steffens; yet Steffens's exposures are without a flaw in their veracity. If he has attacked with severity, his attacks have been absolutely truthful. But whether or not the President was slanting at Mr. Steffens is of little moment. The only important thing in this connection, and that is not very important, is the fact that the speech was made at a time and with an emphasis which warrant the assumption of the beneficiaries of great graft that it was made in their behalf.

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What interests us most in Mr. Roosevelt's speech is his economic suggestions. With his objection to establishing a line of cleavage dividing those who are well off from those who are less well off, we are in hearty sympathy. But his notion that the line should divide good men from bad is exceedingly superficial. And what could possibly be more encouraging to "the man with the muck rake" than such a division? The nominally good would be forever at work raking out the nominally bad. There would be nothing else for them to do, except to admire their own goodness. The true line of cleavage for society to draw is not between rich and poor, nor good and bad; nor is it between persons at all. It is between natural freedom of economic opportunity on the one hand and legalized privilege on the other.

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At one point Mr. Roosevelt seems to recognize dimly the essential propriety of this line of cleavage, for he remarks that "materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men." But whatever encouragement might be drawn from this remark is dampened by Mr. Roosevelt's advocacy of a progressive tax intended to prevent the transfer of large fortunes beyond a certain amount to any one individual. Curiously enough Mr. Roosevelt proposes this confiscatory measure for "all fortunes," utterly regardless of how they are won, in almost the same breath in which he insists upon discriminating between "fortunes well won and fortunes ill won"! This absurd contrast suggests the fundamental criticism of Mr. Roosevelt's speech. The speech

assumes that fortunes not ill-won are well won. But many a fortune of which no one can say that it is ill-won is an unearned fortune. Yet if it is unearned by its owner who has it, it must have been earned by others who have it not. Such fortunes are due to legal privilege, and they are as burdensome to the despoiled when the despoiler is not as when he is a conscious grafter. They are worse in their effects upon society. Even Mr. Roosevelt defends these fortunes against what he calls "the greed of the have-nots," who contribute to them though they themselves go hungry. It is fortunes so acquired, albeit they are moderate in amount, rather than great fortunes though ill-won or ill-used, that produce the evil social conditions Mr. Roosevelt deplures.

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Bryan and Other Democrats.

Some fears have been expressed by friends of Mr. Bryan that recent demonstrations on the part of plutocratic Democrats may excite distrust of him by democratic Democrats. It is at times even suggested that Mr. Bryan ought to confirm the confidence of the latter by openly discouraging the advances of the former. To this suggestion the rational reply, it seems to us, is that of the Omaha World-Herald. In its issue of the 14th this able exponent of democratic Democracy observed that the Democrats of the West will neither give way to an undue feeling of pride over the rush of Eastern conservatives "for the Bryan bandwagon," nor "feel the slightest tremor of disquietude over the veiled hints of some of the conservative chieftains that the Bryan they are now so eager to embrace is not the uncompromising, fighting, radical Democrat of the historic campaigns of 1896 and 1900." What the western Democracy will do, as the World-Herald believes, and what all thoughtful democratic Democrats will do, as we believe, is as the World-Herald says, to—

distinguish into two classes, those Eastern Democrats who are now returning to the fold. They will recognize, in one class, the "leaders" who have fought genuine Democracy knowing full well that it was genuine. They know those "leaders" acted from selfish and unpatriotic motives then, and will suspect some of them, at least, of like motives at this time. In the second class will be recognized those honest and true Democrats of the East whom those "leaders" misled; who voted against Bryan because they did not know him and were deceived as to his creed. The Democrats, who were honestly mistaken then, and who are coming home now because they have learned the truth, will be welcomed with frank rejoicing.

But the World-Herald candidly sounds a plain, and perhaps with some Eastern Democrats a needed, warning when it says—

Let the Democrats of the East come home. They will be welcomed to a place beneath the Democratic roof. But they may as well know that they are coming to take the Democratic party as it is—a party that cannot be turned aside in its devotion to the

cause of the embattled millions of common people. They are not coming to taint it again with the odor of Belmont and Ryan subterfuge, insincerity and deception. The Democratic party, under the leadership of Mr. Bryan, invites the support of those, and those only, who desire to act with it because it is the foe of special privilege and the champion of equal rights. It has no tolerance for those who would steal its livery the more effectually to serve plutocracy.

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The Government Obligees.

The Secretary of the Treasury has discovered a new way of relieving stringencies in the Wall street money market. It is so very simple that the gossips of Wall street are amazed that no one ever thought of it before. This very simple device consists, if the dispatches describe it correctly, in lending to favorite bankers government gold, pending the arrival here of gold purchased by them in London. To secure these loans of honest money the favored bankers deposit United States bonds with the treasury. Presumably the treasury charges interest for the gold it lends, but on this point the dispatches are silent. The device is indeed a simple one, and if fair interest is exacted it would appear to be quite legitimate for the government to help out the bankers on such gilt-edge collateral for the loans, when gold refuses to flow over here though rates of exchange reach the gold importing point.

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But the curious thing about it all is the fact that gold should refuse to flow this way. Why doesn't it flow? Since last June we have exported \$400,000,000 more in all of merchandise, gold and silver than we have imported; and prior to that we had similarly run up a credit account aggregating hundreds upon thousands of millions. We have the most gloriously "favorable balance of trade" that ever was known. And every dollar of it is payable "in pure gold." So, at least, said Mr. McKinley when running for the Presidency. Yet the bankers of New York, when they want only a few paltry millions of this "pure gold" that is due us, have to go into the London market and buy it just as if the London market didn't owe us many times that amount! What can the matter be with our "favorable" balance of trade? Why does it work for us only in treasury statistics and never in foreign exchanges?

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The Federal Tax on Alcohol.

The lower house of Congress has now done what both houses ought to have done long ago—passed a bill repealing the tax on alcohol used in the arts. The Federal taxes on this product have operated as all taxes on production do operate, to enhance its cost and limit its use, and consequently to obstruct employment both in making the article itself and in utilizing it for making and operating other products. The farmers' organizations have realized this with reference to the possibilities of

producing alcohol from farm products; and at the meeting of the National Grange last Fall strong resolutions were unanimously adopted urging the exemption. Manufacturers of chemicals, hats, automobiles, furniture and other mechanical products have seen the advantage of it to their businesses also; and among the labor organizations that have joined the farmers and the manufacturers in advocating the measure are the American Federation of Labor and the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators. Yet this simple and obviously beneficial reform has progressed very slowly. In fact, until now it has hardly progressed at all in Congress. Something has obstructed its progress there; and this something seems to be the Standard Oil Company, with whose products free alcohol would come into sharp competition. The obstruction does not come, at any rate, from the temperance interests. In order to remove their objections to the freer use of alcohol as a beverage, the exemption measure, as it has passed the lower house of Congress, requires the product to be "denatured" so as to unfit it for drinking purposes. To observe the methods of senators said to be representatives of the Standard Oil crowd, when they come to dealing with this tax-exemption infant from the House, will be an interesting study.

Divorce Question in the Federal Courts.

Too much scope has been given in the newspaper reports to the legal effect of the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Connecticut-New York divorce case. This decision does not and cannot invalidate the Connecticut divorce in question. In Connecticut that divorce is as valid, the remarriage is as legal, and the children of the remarriage are as legitimate, as would have been the case had the Supreme Court decided the other way. Not only is this true in Connecticut, but it is also true in every other State which chooses to regard it so. What the Supreme Court has decided, and all it has decided or could decide, is that in such a case no State is bound by the Federal Constitution to recognize the divorce as legal if it chooses to deny its legality. New York does choose to deny its legality, and the Supreme Court decides that in doing so New York is, under the circumstances, within its constitutional rights.

The circumstance which is held constitutionally to justify New York is the fact that the divorce, which was obtained in Connecticut by the husband, whose domicile was in that State, was granted in a law suit against the wife, domiciled in New York, without service upon her within Connecticut of the process whereby the law suit was begun. The Supreme Court decides, therefore, that the courts of Connecticut never acquired jurisdiction either of the person of the

wife or the subject matter of the litigation, in such manner as to bind the authorities of any other State.

In all probability this decision will either be whittled away by future decisions making distinctions, or will be ignored or overcome as impracticable. Should the States act in accordance with it, it is not inconceivable that few divorces would be valid outside the State granting them, unless they were collusive. The guilty party, by leaving the State of the marital domicile, could avoid service of process there; and if pursued by the injured party, could migrate to still another State, and then to another and another, before the injured party could acquire the statutory residence required in divorce cases. Even if in practice the decision should not develop into that absurdity, it would nevertheless complicate the question of legal divorce more than ever. A divorce in proceedings begun by service of process outside the State granting it (being the domicile of the injured party), and valid in that State, might be recognized in some others and denied in the rest; in some, therefore, a man's wife or woman's husband could be one person and in the others another; in some the second marriage would be legitimate and in the others bigamous; in some the children of both marriages would be legitimate and in the rest those of the second would be illegitimate. In order to make these interesting results possible, the majority of the Supreme Court appear, as Justice Holmes distinctly states, to have directly reversed one of its own well-considered decisions. They have also indulged in the novelty of recognizing two distinct domiciles in the marriage relationship—one for the wife and another for the husband.

The Negro and His Persecutors.

It is to be hoped that at last the fiendish criminality which delights in torturing men for a variation in complexion on pretense of discouraging crime, will come to punishment. The Springfield case is peculiarly atrocious and exceptionally without an appearance of excuse. The tortured and murdered Negroes were innocent of the crime of which they were accused. They had been declared innocent by the victim of the crime. There was no other motive for torturing them to death or in suffering it to be done than the pleasure which some mobs of white cowards take in cruelty to Negroes. It may be that hatred of the Negro race is so strong in the Ozarks that a white jury cannot be found to convict the lynchers. But the Negroes were tortured and killed in the presence of thousands of white people, the ring leaders wore no masks and were well known, the lynching lacked even the lynchers' warrant for it, and the State authorities are determined to make a wholesome example if possible. If under these circumstances

an example cannot be made the conclusion is inevitable that in some parts of this country Negroes are without legal protection. Their lives are in jeopardy merely because they are Negroes, and the law abandons them to law-defying mobs. Were that conclusion established, there would be but one of two things for Negroes to do. They could buy pistols and shoot at sight the first white man who menaced them; or they could adopt the Tolstoyan theory of non-resistance. The latter is the more likely to win in the end if well adhered to; but no matter which they choose, they must act upon it in earnest. If the former, they must fight to the death, and we should hope for the sake of the white race that some whites would fight with them; if the latter, they must be patient, uncomplaining and unresisting, in the extreme.



Mayor Dunne's Traction Counsel.

If any further assurances were needed of the wisdom of Mayor Dunne's appointment of Walter L. Fisher as special counsel in traction matters (p. 27), it has been abundantly furnished. The bitter hostility of the most irreconcilable enemies of Mayor Dunne's administration and the most persistent adversaries of his municipal ownership policy, testifies emphatically to the Mayor's fidelity and good judgment and to Mr. Fisher's loyalty and qualifications.



Mayor Dempsey's Stand.

Americans have become somewhat familiar with the "recall," an electoral device whereby the people may revoke the authority they have conferred upon an official who betrays them or fails any longer to represent them. It is an aspect of that democratic feature of the British government known as "going to the country," in accordance with which cabinet ministers resign their offices and bring on a popular election for their own approval or condemnation. Bearing a close resemblance in a smaller way to this British custom was the recent resignation of Mayor Rose of Kansas City, Kansas (p. 7), with a view to becoming a candidate for re-election. And now Mayor Dempsey of Cincinnati has adopted another variation of the same general principle. He gives public notice that a failure by the people at the coming primaries and election to support his administration by the choice of officials in sympathy with the policy on which he was elected and which he is trying to carry out, will be regarded by him as a reversal of public opinion and in the nature of a recall, in obedience to which he will immediately resign.



Mayor Dempsey's declaration is a plain statement which takes the people fully into his confidence and ought to command their respect. It

is too long for reproduction here in full, but as a matter of national interest, especially with reference to municipal affairs, we quote from the Cincinnati Enquirer of April 10 the part that is of most general concern:

I went into this fight last Fall on a theory that I might be of some benefit to the people at large in their uprising against the bosses and vampires who had fed upon the people. And I propose now to stay in the fight until it is fully demonstrated to me that the people themselves are not in sympathy with my notions, and that they prefer the old form of Republican bossism and Democratic Bernardism to their own rule. Those who are associated with me in this battle propose to test the feelings and desires of the people from now until after the next election. We propose to make an appeal to the independent, right-thinking people of both great political parties to come out and do their duty at the primaries, and to see to it that the proper kind of men are selected at these primaries for executive committee men and delegates to convention. If by means of the tricks and machinations of the professional politicians it should so happen that the machines get control, then we shall make a second appeal to all the independent citizens of all parties whatsoever, to get together under the leadership of some such man as Mr. Elliott H. Pendleton, representing the Citizens' Municipal party, and to make a ticket for presentation to the voters of this county that for character and capacity will never have had an equal in this county. The idea back of this movement is not partisan in any sense whatever. The aim is to get at the present crisis in our affairs men of the proper character and caliber who are free from domination and bossism and subserviency and truckling to any one, to serve as candidates for the positions to be filled. The rallying cry will be, as it was last Fall, opposition to bossism, whether it be Republican bossism or Democratic Bernardism. This appeal goes out to all the citizens of Hamilton County, irrespective of former political affiliations; to all those independent respectable Democrats who are opposed to bossism and Bernardism, to the members of the independent Roosevelt Republican Club, to those who are building up the Citizens' Municipal party and to all of those who belong to no clubs and publicly acknowledging allegiance to no local party are nevertheless interested in the good government of their city, townships and country. To all these does this appeal go now, and to all these will it go from now until election day next November. Should it so happen that after this appeal and after the arguments that have been made to the people in their own behalf and for their own benefit the people should decide that they are not in favor of the beginnings instituted last fall, but prefer to go back to the old regime and the despotism and the old vampirism of bossism and Bernardism, then will I and those whom I represent, consider that we and the principles that we are fighting for, are not wanted by the people of this city and this community, and my resignation as mayor of the city of Cincinnati will be immediately forthcoming. There is no other alternative. The issue was so closely drawn last Fall between the rule of the people on one side and Bernardism and bossism on the other, that there can be no middle course. If the people want Bernardism and bossism they do not want me or the principles I stand for, and I ought to get out. If the people want me and the principles that I am standing for, and what they have voted for last Fall, then they do not want Bernardism or bossism of any kind, and they must demonstrate this finally and conclusively and absolutely by their attitude at the

coming election, and that demonstration must be an emphatic one.

Should such a challenge fall upon deaf ears, Mayor Dempsey would do right to resign as mayor. But neither he nor his associates could with good civic conscience desert the minority that would have proved their fidelity by their votes. The obligation would be all the heavier upon him to awaken the slumbering majority and rescue his city. To resign as mayor would be one thing; to resign as a faithful citizen would be something wholly different.

DESPOTISM VERSUS DEMOCRACY.*

Burning issues? In the last analysis there is but one issue that burns. Though human controversies be limitless in multitude and variety, the essential issue in every one is the same. It always has been the same and doubtless always will be. Whenever particular controversies burn, it is because they radiate the heat of this essential issue with practical effect. Academic questions never burn. However heated their disputants may become they develop no social heat until they take on practical form. Neither do practical questions burn unless they are vitalized with the heat of this essential issue. And the essential issue, this question of questions, this one burning issue of all the past and as far as we can see of all the future too, what is it but the irrepressible issue of despotism against democracy?

Sometimes we think that in our democratic country we have banished despotism, but we are mistaken. Though some of its more ancient forms have been cast out, the ancient principle of despotism is here and now as active as ever, and the old principle of democracy continually renews its youth among us.

I have no intention of even enumerating the particular burning questions of our generation, nor shall I so much as attempt the discussion of a single one of them. All I ask of you is to consider that those that do burn, those that split society—whether international, national or local society—into hostile camps swarming with vigorous partisans, are only battles in a perennial war between the principles of democracy and the policies of despotism.

Do we observe—either in the present or the past, either here or elsewhere—any burning questions in the churches? Let us examine them minutely and we shall find that in the last analysis they are controversies in behalf of ecclesiastical dominion on the one hand and religious freedom on the other. Are our burning questions political? Then they are struggles for personal liberty against governmental oppression, be the oppression administrative, legislative or judicial. If economic, then our burning questions are essentially conflicts in

behalf of the natural rights of manhood as to property, against the oppressions of privilege as to property. And these three kinds of despotism are allies. Both ecclesiastical despotism and economic privilege fortify themselves with political power, while political dominion draws strength from ecclesiasticism and sustenance from economic privilege. Here is an unholy trinity in unity to appall the stoutest knight errant of democracy.

But democratic knights errant unappalled were never wanting in the past, though the penalties for temporary defeat were rack and thumbscrew, fire and gibbet. Why should there be timidity now, when the severest possible penalties are the irreverent pencil jabs of mercenary cartoonists, and the cheap slurs of smug-souled pharisees? The question is hardly worth the asking. Penalties play a small part in baffling the democratic spirit; whether they are severe or contemptible makes little difference. The democratic knight errant is a reactionary effect of despotism, not an originating cause of democracy; and when the spirit of democracy stirs the hearts of men, it thrusts forward its spokesmen and agents—they cannot help themselves. And the spirit of democracy does stir the hearts of men whenever despotism begins to unmask or its veiled operations begin to sting. Then it is, and only then, that any question offers a burning issue.

The controversy may be religious, political or economic, or a confusion of any two or of all three, and the question in its particular form may be almost anything from "government by injunction" to municipal ownership; but the issue, if the question be a burning one, is always the issue of natural rights. It is the issue (it may be in large or it may be in small) of people's government or superimposed government, of organized selfishness or organized justice, of despotism or democracy.

The despotic impulse may indeed be benevolent, but it is none the less despotic for that. Nor is it less likely to become tyrannous. Haven't most tyrannies originated in despotic benevolence? Yet we must not assume that all who take their stand with despotism are necessarily selfish in their impulses or undemocratic in their aspirations. The benevolent despot is of course as despotic as the tyrant, and more dangerous to the principle of liberty. But I am far from saying that all who support despotic measures are despotic men. I have been comparing not hostile men but hostile principles. The democracy of individuals on either side of any specific controversy cannot be questioned fairly without incriminating proof in each man's case; for particular questions between despotism and democracy are never simple, nor is the issue ever sharply drawn except by historians long after the contests are over and the questions no longer burn.

Were we to attempt a classification of men with reference to their attitude toward particular con-

*A paper read by Louis F. Post at a symposium of the Chicago Literary Club, April 2, 1906, on "Burning Issues."

troversies that burn, we should probably be able to assign them to three general categories. Though we should still be in a maze, for the sub-classifications would be innumerable, the three general categories could be fairly distinguished, I think, as the democratic, the despotic, and (if you will allow the verbal invention) the "grafteric."

Unselfish men of the democratic and the despotic classes are in honest conflict over a principle of social life, one class believing in the benevolence of despotism and the other in the beneficence of democracy. Although these classes vary in their constituents, from unqualified individualists at the extreme of democracy to unrestrained centralizationists at the farther extreme of despotism, and although there is a middle space between the two where the constituents of both remind one of the little boy whose trousers were so curiously cut that his own mother couldn't tell at a distance whether he was going to school or coming home, yet on the whole I think there are clearly distinguishable among unselfish men the two tendencies I have indicated, one of which makes for despotism and the other for democracy.

But these tendencies are more or less diverted by the "grafteric" tendency. This also has its maze of sub-classifications. They extend from the disreputable gray wolf with his raw carrion, through many grades downward to the two-dollar voter, and many more upward to millionaire beneficiaries of the two-dollar vote. They extend even to the supernal plane, where "grafteric" clergymen tithe those beneficiaries for the cure of their souls and the moral policing of their tainted treasures.

Both sides of burning questions are affected by the influence of graft. The democratic side has its little graft, and men of undemocratic or indifferent impulses are doubtless often drawn to that side for the graft rather than by the principle. The despotic side has richer graft. Not only is the graft richer, but usually its successful appropriation operates also as a general certificate of good character. Business interests of the "grafteric" kind usually flourish better under despotic than under democratic influences. So do professional ambitions of the "grafteric" kind. Every large form of selfishness, from the benevolent type that would magnificently regulate the lives of the poor to the type that would commit any predatory crime of magnitude if assured immunity—springs as naturally to the despotic side of every burning question as iron filings to a magnet.

But what is the moral difference between large and little forms of selfishness? We differentiate respectable graft from the disreputable. We send some little grafters to prison, while we send some bigger ones to the council, the legislature, the senate or the bench, and depend upon other bigger ones to lend their respectability to missionary enterprises and anti-crime committees. But in all

candor, what is the moral difference, for instance, between an impoverished citizen who votes any way you want him to for \$2, and a "penniless plute" who votes as business men tell him to, or the business men themselves who vote for what they are pleased to call "business interests"? What moral difference does it make whether the "business interest" is an interest in a law creating a privilege worth millions in the course of a few years, or an interest in a two-dollar bill on election day? And let me also ask how much superior morally to election grafters who begin a graft job by selling their votes for \$2 apiece, are distinguished lawyers who for a larger fee perfect the job, or successful business men who seek profit by investing in it, or distinguished editors who earn salaries by writing editorial defenses or apologies for it?

A politician of the "grafteric" type once confided to me his three rules for political success. He was a man of compact speech, whose verbal embellishments were few. They were usually phrased in spiritual terms, though seldom in terms of heavenly significance. "In the first place," said he, "you must keep your family in good standing in church; in the second place you must be true to your friends, true to your ring; in the third place you must keep out of the penitentiary; and after that you can do anything you damn please. But," he added reflectively, "you *must* keep out of the penitentiary."

With the advance of our era of fierce commercialism (now happily passing away), when gross idolatry of commercial success grew more and more obtrusive and repugnant, I often wondered if those rules for ignoble political success might not be the rules also for pretty much all ignoble successes—for all those ignoble successes at the bar, in the counting room, in the pulpit, in the editorial chair, in society, as well as in politics, before which we were strenuously admonished to fall down in ignoble worship. They seem indeed to be rules of universal application in the wide domain of successful graft, and the one important consideration seems always to be the keeping out of the penitentiary.

Into every burning question this element of graft enters, and not one of us knows how much he himself may be affected by it until he is tempted. Even if we withstand temptation, how can we know we have been offered *our* price? Mayhap we are unconsciously only holding out for a higher price or a different kind of price—for a safe fortune instead of a dangerous bribe; for a professional or business career instead of ready money; for political advancement or social recognition, rather than anything else. Let none of us be *too* ready to cast the first stone at a grafter, whether that grafter belong to the upper four hundred or to the submerged mob.

Apart, however, from the sin of judging others,

it is a fact we cannot blink, that the element of graft tends to distort the issue of despotism or democracy in every burning question. Have we not met men who are academically democratic, yet never on the democratic side of any concrete question which has begun to burn? Why is this so? Some no doubt are influenced by genuine alterations of opinion, induced by the heat of the conflict, which brings their academic speculations to the test of a stimulated judgment. Many, however, are influenced—unconsciously, it may be, for the most part, yet influenced nevertheless, by considerations of personal gain or loss. And do not these considerations constitute the essential principle of graft?

But when all the diverting influences to which individual minds are subject have been given full weight, there remains the truth which it has been my chief object here to point out, that the essence of every burning question, the principle that makes it what we understand by burning question, is the clash of the despotic and the democratic forces in human society—the irrepressible conflict of despotism against democracy.

In greater or lesser degree, every man yields himself to one or the other of those forces. The degree to which he yields may be affected by his selfishness, his ignorance, his thoughtlessness. But he does yield. And whatever the motive that determines him, he does turn his face, when the heat of social controversy arises, in one or the other of those directions—either in the direction of which the logical goal is perfect equality of legal rights, of political power, and of economic opportunity, or else in the opposite direction, of which the logical goal is oligarchy if not absolute monarchy. The ultimatum of democratic principle is government of the people by and for the people; the ultimatum of the opposite principle, whether we call this principle despotism or by some smoother name, is government of the people by and for a few or may be only one of the people.

When these two principles clash, as they do clash whenever and wherever common rights and private interests conflict, they generate burning questions. These questions vary in form with time, place and circumstances, and are numerous accordingly. But they are burning questions only because and to the extent that they are battle gauges in the perennial war of despotism upon democracy. In this sense, therefore, there is but one burning issue.

And the war of despotism upon democracy, let me close by saying, is at its heart the same war on a larger scale that is fought out to the end of his life in every man's breast, between his own selfish instincts of lust and pride, and his own sense of brotherly justice. His selfish lust and pride are the germs in him of that despotic spirit which in the wider field of human society is manifested in the struggle for political conquest, for ecclesiastical

dominion, for economic privilege. His sense of justice, on the other hand, is the germ in him of that spirit of democracy which is set forth as the vital principle of our patriotism in the Declaration of Independence and of our religion in the Golden Rule. Though the despotic spirit might possibly conquer the whole world, it is the democratic spirit alone that can make the whole world kin.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

Ohio.

Cleveland, April 16.—Only two things of genuine importance were actually accomplished by the Ohio legislature which recently and with significant precipitancy closed its session. These were the enactment of the 2-cent fare bill for passenger travel on the railroads of the State, and the repeal of the law prohibiting the printing of the same name in more than one column of candidates on the official ballot at elections. Substantial progress was made, however, in some other respects, the value of which will doubtless become more apparent in next Fall's campaign.

The 2-cent fare bill was passed early in the session, before the corporations were able to pull the strings of partisanship, local interests and personal corruption, whereby a little later they threw this reform legislature into a state of demoralization. This bill reduced fares from 3 cents a mile to 2, and the roads are obedient to it as to local travel. But they evade it with reference to through travel. The Lake Shore, for instance, charges the same fare as heretofore between Chicago and Cleveland. Astute travelers circumvent them somewhat by buying tickets from Chicago to Toledo going east, and from Cleveland to Toledo going west, and pay for the rest of their journey on the train. One good effect of the reduction of fares has been the abolition by the roads of clergymen's half-fare rates; a rather short-sighted policy for the roads, however, for it has dampened a friendly feeling among a large and influential class, upon which, with notable individual exceptions, these corporations have been accustomed to rely for more or less indirect support in times of need.

The change in the ballot law is a severe blow at party regularity. When the Australian ballot law came into vogue, the professional politicians bestirred themselves to make it as ineffective as possible. Among their tricks was one to provide for party columns, so that voters could vote a "straight" ticket by merely making a single mark in a circle at the top of the party column instead of marking each name. One object of this trick was to favor indiscriminate voting. Another was to facilitate intimidation by enabling the "straight" voter to come out of his booth almost instantly. If he remained there longer than the instant required to make one mark he could be "spotted" as probably disloyal. But fusions of two minority parties were still possible, and this possibility caused so much consternation among the professionals of the plurality party, that a bold stand was taken against it. The trick adopted by several States, including Ohio, was

known in Ohio as "the Dana law." It prohibited the printing of the name of any candidate in more than one column. Consequently, if two parties fused, both were compelled to present an incomplete ticket on the official ballot unless one would abandon its identity and, disappearing from the ticket altogether, allow the names of its candidates to appear in the party column of the party with which it had fused. This law is now repealed in Ohio. The whole ballot system ought to be changed by abolishing party columns and grouping the names of all candidates for the same office in alphabetical order as is done in Massachusetts; but the repeal of the anti-fusion law is a vast improvement even without the other.

In the wreckage wrought by the corporations at this session of the Ohio legislature, was the Metzger bill, a measure advocated by Mayor Johnson to curb the monopoly power of street car companies. Another was the bill of Senator Frederic C. Howe, which provided a simple but effective method for equitably taxing monopoly corporations. It proposed to abolish State taxes on the real and personal property assessed in the counties and raise more than this amount for State purposes by a tax on franchises which now pay no taxes. Both bills were killed by corporation interests, and some Democrats in the legislature lined up with Republican members behind the corporation lobby in order to do it.

It is probable that the democratic Democrats of Ohio will make the next campaign an occasion for educating the people of the State with reference to the corporation tools who have misrepresented them, as well as with reference to democratic principles. The corporations worked for the most part through local bosses. The head center boss was absent, but county bosses were in evidence, and every one of them was interested in some public utility franchise or other.

It will be generally interesting to know that a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum actually passed the Senate by the requisite three-fifths majority, but was not put to vote in the House because, while it would have received a majority its friends did not believe it could get three-fifths. The discussions of this measure revealed very clearly the fact that it is not the referendum but the initiative that the plutocratic elements have come to fear. They feel that public opinion can be restrained if the people are not allowed to vote upon any law until some manageable legislature has submitted it to referendum; but they are desperately afraid of public opinion coupled with the legal right of petitioning for a law and then directly voting it into operation.

While the legislature has adjourned, it has left an investigating committee at work in Cincinnati with what President Roosevelt might call "a muck rake," and not a little plutocratic muck is it raking up.

Mayor Johnson's street car policy, though still obstructed is constantly gaining ground. The Chamber of Commerce came to the aid of the companies with a proposal for renewing their franchises, but this proposal has fallen flat. Public opinion here gives no indication of any disposition to tolerate further gifts of valuable public rights to these companies, and most of the important support they have heretofore received is drifting away from them to the

"holding company" plan—like the "contract plan" of Chicago—with which Mayor Johnson is endeavoring to settle the question.

L. F. P.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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 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, April 19.

Destructive Earthquake at San Francisco.

Almost immediately after the volcanic eruption at Mount Vesuvius (p. 29) had subsided, San Francisco was visited with a destructive earthquake. It was by far the most disastrous the city has ever experienced. The first shock, which occurred at 5:13 on the morning of the 18th, was quickly followed by another, and in the evening there came still another. Between these there were four minor shocks. The water works plant being destroyed, the city was exposed for lack of water to spreading fires and is at this moment in danger of total destruction. Lack of water for drinking purposes, also, is causing untold suffering, and the only relief respecting the need of both food and water must come by sea, all railroad communication having been cut off. Fears of a pestilence make a terrifying climax to the succession of horrors. Some estimates place the loss of life at 10,000 and the personal injuries at 20,000; but the actual loss of life will never be known, for the bodies of many who were killed by the earthquake were consumed in the fires that followed. The burned area, eight square miles in extent, comprises the business section, in which were the finest and largest business buildings of the city. Nearly all are in ruins. Chinatown is totally destroyed, the Japanese quarter is burned out, and the retail district is swept clean.

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The same disturbance that wrecked San Francisco extended to Palo Alto, where it destroyed Leland Stanford, Jr., University; to Berkeley, where it badly damaged the State University; to Agnew, where it wrecked the insane asylum and killed 275 inmates; to Salinas, where the Spreckels sugar factory was destroyed; to San Jose, where 65 persons were killed; to Napa, Stockton, Vallejo, Redwood City, and even to Sacramento, where it was sharply felt. By scientific instruments the shock was noted all over the globe.

◎ ◎

President Roosevelt's Sensational Speech.

Social conditions, with especial reference to business and political corruption, was the subject of a speech on the 14th by President Roosevelt. He had recently spoken at the Gridiron Club, Washington, under circumstances making reports of the speech

improper, but its purport leaked out and was gossiped about. According to the gossip the theme of this speech was Bunyan's "man with the muck rake." It consisted in an attack upon the writers and magazines that have been chiefly instrumental in bringing to light the life insurance scandals and directing attention to other corporation and political grafting. Soon afterward announcements were made, apparently with authority, that Mr. Roosevelt would deal publicly with the same subject in a Decoration Day speech, and later that he would do so at the laying of the corner stone of the new Congressional office building on the 14th. The latter announcement has been verified.

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In his speech on this occasion Mr. Roosevelt recalled the description in Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" of the man with the muck rake as "the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of on spiritual things," but who "also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing." From this he proceeded to draw the lesson that while "there should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man, whether politician or business man; every evil practice, whether in politics, in business or in social life," these exposures and attacks are of use only if "absolutely truthful." He protested that in denouncing "mud slinging" he did not mean to indorse "white washing"—that his plea was "not for immunity to but for the most unsparring exposure of the politician who betrays his trust and the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate and corrupt ways." He added: "It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution." Continuing he said:

To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general condemnation means the searing of the public conscience. There results a general attitude either of cynical belief in and indifference to public corruption or else of a distrustful inability to discriminate between the good and the bad. Either attitude is fraught with untold damage to the country as a whole. . . . Hysterical sensationalism is the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness. These men who with stern sobriety and truth assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press or in magazines or in books, are the leaders and allies of all engaged in the work for social and political betterment. But if they give good reason for distrust of what they say, if they chill the ardor of those who demand truth as a primary virtue, they thereby betray the good cause and play into the hands of the very men against whom they are nominally at war. . . . At this moment we are passing through a period of great unrest—social, political and industrial unrest. It is of the utmost importance for our future that this should prove to be not the unrest of mere rebelliousness against life, of mere dissatisfaction with the inevitable inequality of conditions, but the unrest of a resolute and eager ambition to secure the betterment of the individual and the nation. So far as this movement of agitation throughout the country takes the form of a fierce discontent with evil, of a determination to punish the authors of evil, whether in industry or politics, the feeling is to be heartily welcomed as a sign of healthy life. If, on the other hand, it turns into a mere crusade of appetite against appetite, of a contest between the brutal greed of the "have-nots" and the brutal greed of the "haves," then it has no significance for good, but

only for evil. If it seeks to establish a line of cleavage, not along the line which divides good men from bad, but along that other line, running at right angles thereto, which divides those who are well off from those who are less well off, then it will be fraught with immeasurable harm to the body politic. . . . It is important to this people to grapple with the problems connected with the amassing of enormous fortunes and the use of those fortunes, both corporate and individual, in business. We should discriminate in the sharpest way between fortunes well won and fortunes ill won, between those gained as an incident to performing great services to the community as a whole and those gained in evil fashion by keeping just within the limits of mere law honesty. Of course, no amount of charity in spending such fortunes can in any way compensate for misconduct in making them. . . . The men of wealth who to-day are trying to prevent the regulation and control of their business in the interest of the public by the proper government authorities will not succeed, in my judgment, in checking the progress of the movement. But if they did succeed they would find that they had sown the wind and would surely reap the whirlwind, for they would ultimately provoke the violent excesses which accompany a reform coming by convulsion instead of by steady and natural growth. On the other hand, the wild preachers of unrest and discontent, the wild agitators against the entire existing order, the men who act crookedly, whether because of sinister design or from mere puzzleheadedness; the men who preach destruction without proposing any substitute for what they intend to destroy or who propose a substitute which would be far worse than the existing evils—all these men are the most dangerous opponents of real reform. . . . More important than aught else is the development of the broadest sympathy of man for man. The welfare of the wageworker, the welfare of the tiller of the soil, upon these depend the welfare of the entire country; their good is not to be sought in pulling down others, but their good must be the prime object of all our statesmanship. Materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men, so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made. Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about clean living and right thinking.

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Much less interest appears to have been excited and discussion evoked by the "muck-rake" and general features of Mr. Roosevelt's speech than by the specific remedies which he proposed for the evils he acknowledged. Merely as a matter of personal conviction, and, he explained,—

without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes beyond a certain amount either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual—a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to any one individual; the tax, of course, to be imposed by the national and not the State government. Such taxation should, of course, be aimed merely at the inheritance or transmission in their entirety of those fortunes swollen beyond all healthy limits. . . . Again, the national government must in some form exercise control over corporations engaged in inter-State business—and all large corporations are engaged in inter-State business—whether by license or otherwise, so as to permit us to deal with the far-reaching evils of overcapitalization. . . . The first requisite in the public servants who are to deal in this shape with corporations, whether as legislators or as executives, is honesty. This honesty can be no respecter of persons. There can be no such thing as unilateral honesty. The danger is not really from corrupt corporations, it springs from the corruption itself whether exercised for or against corporations. The eighth commandment reads, "Thou shalt not steal." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the rich man." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the poor man." It reads simply and plainly, "Thou shalt not steal." No good whatever will come from that warped and mock morality which denounces the misdeeds

of men of wealth and forgets the misdeeds practiced at their expense; which denounces bribery, but blinds itself to blackmail; which foams with rage if a corporation secures favors by improper methods and merely leers with hideous mirth if the corporation is itself wronged.

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Jefferson's Birthday.

Almost as if in anticipation of President Roosevelt's "muck-rake" speech, Gov. Folk's address on the 13th at Kansas City, Mo., in celebration of Jefferson's birthday, struck a different key. Describing Jeffersonian democracy as meaning the rule of the people regardless of class, clique and special interest, Gov. Folk said:

Whenever the people cease to rule anywhere and gangs and bosses govern instead, then special privilege, and corruption which springs from special privilege, as a necessary consequence follow. Jefferson announced the cardinal doctrine of true Democracy when he declared for "equal rights to all; special privileges to none." This maxim expresses every essential element of true democracy. It embraces every essential element of good government. The phrase sounds simple, but it has taken generations for men to attain a practical understanding of its wisdom and justice. It comes to us to-day as a message from the past, for it applies to the conditions to-day with even greater force than when it was first announced by the father of Democracy. That was one of the first declarations against what is known in modern times as graft. Graft in its last analysis is a special privilege, either exercised contrary to law or one the law itself may give. Some special privilege is at the bottom of every graft. No one ever heard of an official being corrupted in order to give equal rights to all. It is always for the purpose of obtaining some special privilege for a few. An unprecedented political revival is going on in the United States to-day on this subject. The spirit of reform comes from reflection, and reflection comes from knowledge of evils and desire to correct them. There is no secret remedy known for corruption. It cannot be cured by hiding it. When it is known, the people can be trusted to apply the remedy swiftly and surely. The people are awake now, and as long as they keep awake there will be only white lights ahead for popular government. The developments of the last few years should inspire optimism not pessimism as to the future. The punishment of rascals is not going to cause the overthrow of the Republic. The old-fashioned ideas of honesty are being applied to the new-fashioned business. The command: "Thou shalt not steal," has again become binding. This does not mean socialism, which says to another: "What is thine is mine," but it means equal opportunity to all to have, to hold and to enjoy the fruits of honest labor, and no special privileges to a class to prey upon the rest of the people.

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On the same occasion Congressman Towne, another of the speakers, urged that the Democratic party, instead of following blindly the specific propositions of Jefferson, should find in the broad principles of his philosophy the means whereby it may "offer a shelter at the present crisis in our industrial history from the tyranny of privilege on the one hand and the unsounded perils of socialism on the other."

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At New York Jefferson's birthday was celebrated on the 16th by the Democratic Club. The speakers were Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton; Judson Harmon, of Cincinnati; Senator Gearing, of Oregon, and Mayor McClellan, of New York. Mayor McClellan's reference to the radical tendencies in the Democratic party were as follows:

There is a spirit of disorder and lawlessness, of unrest and hopelessness sweeping around the world, a spirit which masks under the names of socialism, collectivism, communism, but which has for its object the subversion

of existing law and order, and ultimately manifests itself by the flaming torch and the red flag of anarchy. That spirit is with us in the United States to-day. The people have been plundered until a field has been plowed and harrowed ready for the sowing with the seed of diseased thought. And the sowers who sow the seed, without conscience or thought of consequences, are men armed with the most powerful weapons for the deliberate perversion of humanity. With the single ambition of personal elevation to feed their monstrous vanity, they would not only wreck the party to which they claim allegiance, but would without scruple place upon this country the curse with which every civilized nation in Europe has been struggling for a decade. And these men—God save the mark—call themselves Democrats.

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Federal Insurance Legislation.

Apropos of the insurance scandals to which his own "muck-rake" speech, as well as Gov. Folk's Jefferson day address alluded, President Roosevelt transmitted to Congress on the 17th the report and recommendations of the insurance convention which met recently in Chicago (vol. viii, p. 749) at the suggestion of Gov. Johnson, of Minnesota. This convention, says the President in his message—

seeking to accomplish uniformity of insurance legislation throughout the States and Territories, and as a prime step toward this purpose decided to endeavor to secure the enactment by the Congress of the United States of a proper insurance code for the District of Columbia, which might serve as a model for the several States. Before adjourning the convention appointed a committee of three attorneys general and twelve commissioners of insurance of the various States to prepare and have presented to the Congress a bill, which should embody the features suggested in the convention. The committee recently met in Chicago, and in thorough and painstaking fashion sought to prepare a bill which should be at once protective to policy-holders and fair and just to insurance companies, and which should prevent the graver evils and abuses of the business, and at the same time forestall any wild or drastic legislation which would be more harmful than beneficial. . . . I very earnestly hope that the Congress at the earliest opportunity will enact the bill into law, with such changes as its wisdom may dictate.

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Aftermath of the Beef Trust Trial.

Another important message was sent to Congress by the President on the 18th. It related to the decision of Judge Humphrey in the beef trust case (vol. viii, p. 410,724), and transmitted the Attorney General's report of the trial. The President calls that trial a "miscarriage of justice" and asks for legislation. Mr. Garfield is completely exonerated. As a basis for asking further legislation, the President says that the

interpretation by Judge Humphrey of the will of the Congress, as expressed in legislation, is such as to make that will absolutely abortive. Unfortunately there is grave doubt whether the government has the right of appeal from this decision of the district judge. The case well illustrates the desirability of conferring upon the government the same right of appeal in criminal cases on questions of law which the defendant now has, in all cases where the defendant has not been put in jeopardy by a trial upon the merits of the charge made against him. . . . Furthermore, it is desirable to enact a law declaring the true construction of the existing legislation so far as it affects immunity. I can hardly believe that the ruling of Judge Humphrey will be followed by other judges; but if it should be followed, the result would be either completely to nullify much and possibly the major part of the good to be obtained from the interstate commerce law and from the law creating the Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor; or else frequently to obstruct an appeal to the criminal laws by the Department of Justice. . . . Such interpretation of the law comes measurably near making the law a farce; and I, therefore, recommend

that the Congress pass a declaratory act stating its real intention.

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Election of Senators by Direct Vote.

By Washington dispatches of the 12th it appears that the House Committee on the election of President, Vice President and Congress has acted favorably upon a resolution introduced by Representative Norris, of Nebraska, amending the Constitution so as to make the terms of Representatives four years instead of two and to provide for the election of Senators by direct vote of the people. Proposed amendments having the latter object in view have been adopted almost unanimously by the House at four different times, but none of them has ever got through the Senate.

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Campaign Contributions.

A sharp discussion of the subject of campaign contributions by national banks (vol. viii, p. 874) took place in the Senate on the 17th. Calling for information, Senator Tillman said, as reported by the Chicago Tribune of the 18th, that three weeks previously he had complained that the Committee on Elections had not acted on the bill regarding banks and campaign contributions which he had introduced in December, although Senator Foraker had promised speedy action. "Still that bill of mine hangs fire," said Mr. Tillman. "We cannot get it on the calendar and send it on to the House and they have use for more campaign money in a very short time." Senator Foraker interrupted to say that the subcommittee, consisting of himself, Senator Knox and Senator Bailey, had had several conferences and would be ready to report to the full committee as soon as the opportunity offered. He explained that they were of one mind that there ought to be legislation, but there was some difference of opinion as to the extent to which they should go. He was willing to show Senator Tillman the form of bill proposed which he had in his desk. "I would like to stop this source at least before the next election," Mr. Tillman replied, "and I would much rather see the bill reported than see the form in which it is in the Senator's desk. The longer I am in the Senate I learn more and more that there are ways of how not to do things when committees don't want to do them, and some persons are more expert in knowing how not to do them than others. The question is absolutely one of whether the bill is wanted or not." When Senator Foraker had promised a report at the earliest possible moment and declared there would be a bill, Senator Tillman said he was satisfied with Mr. Foraker's pledge.

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The New York habeas corpus proceedings in behalf of George W. Perkins, charged with larceny in transferring insurance funds to the Republican national committee (vol. viii, p. 868, 873), have been dismissed by Judge Greenbaum, who holds that the act was larceny if the criminal intent shall be found by a jury.

◎ ◎

Political Conventions.

Preparations for the Fall elections began in Indiana on the 12th, when the Republican convention

met at Indianapolis and nominated to head the party ticket Fred Sims as candidate for secretary of state.

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The Prohibition convention of Illinois met at Springfield on the 17th, but have not yet nominated candidates.

◎ ◎

The Direct Primary Movement.

After a brief recess the Illinois Legislature began the consideration in the lower house on the 18th of the Democratic bill for direct primaries. This bill responds fully to the emphatic referendum demand of 1904 (vol. vii, p. 535), by doing away altogether with nominating conventions. According to its provisions candidates for State offices could have their names placed on the primary ballot by filing petitions containing the signatures of not less than 1 per cent of the party vote in not less than ten counties of the State, the total to aggregate not less than 1 per cent of the entire party vote in the State. Other than State candidates could have their names placed on the ballot merely by filing an application with the county clerk. No petition is required. All nominations, the bill provides, shall be made by a plurality vote, and State, Congressional and senatorial candidates of the respective parties would meet at Springfield within fifteen days after the primaries at which they had been successful and there draw up a party declaration of principles to serve as a platform in the campaign. The adoption of the measure for municipal elections would be left to local referendum in each municipality. This bill will be opposed by pending bills which preserve the convention custom and require full majorities at the primary in order to force nominations on the conventions. The question of nominating by a majority or a plurality of the primary vote is the key to the controversy. This question was decided by the Senate on the 18th, tentatively at least, by the adoption of a resolution declaring for plurality nominations of such candidates as are to be directly voted for at primaries. But the vote was close. It stood 22 to 20.

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Lynching of Negroes in Missouri.

The latest outbreak of the brutal spirit of the white mob occurred in Springfield, Missouri. A white woman and her escort had been attacked by two Negroes, the young man being pounded to insensibility and the young woman outraged. On suspicion two Negro boys, about 21 years of age, were arrested and placed in jail. The young woman being called upon to identify them, declared positively that they were not her assailants. Nevertheless, the authorities retained them in custody; and just before midnight of the 14th, the day on which the assault occurred and the arrests were made, a mob surrounded the jail, captured these two Negro prisoners, hanged them both in the public square of the city, and saturating their clothing burned them while they hanged and were still alive. Maddened with the lust of killing and their murderous hatred of the Negro, the mob then turned back to the jail and capturing another Negro prisoner, held under vague suspicion of having some time before aided in the murder of a white man, they hanged and burned him

with the others. The brutal scene is reported to have been witnessed by 5,000 persons.

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Upon requisition from the sheriff, Gov. Folk promptly ordered State troops to Springfield to prevent a probable race war as a result of this wanton attack upon Negroes, and at the same time he gave out a statement in which he said:

Lynching is murder, cowardly murder. It is murder, regardless of the guilt or innocence of the accused. Every person charged with a crime is entitled to be tried by the law, not by a mob. The Springfield affair was fiendish and revolting. The extreme penalty should be administered to some lynchers by law. It would have a salutary effect. Assistant Attorney General Gentry has been instructed to go to Springfield and aid the prosecuting attorney in investigating this disgraceful occurrence, to the end that proper punishment may be meted out to those who took a hand in the crime. I shall offer a reward of \$300, the limit allowed by law, for information given to the prosecuting attorney leading to the arrest and conviction of any person engaged in this dastardly offense—not against the wretches mobbed—but against the State of Missouri. The sheriff and prosecuting attorney and mayor of Springfield having informed me this afternoon that the city is in imminent danger of mob violence, and that they are powerless to control the situation, I have honored their request for the State troops to preserve peace and protect the lives and property of citizens there.

Four leaders of the mob which committed these murders have been arrested and admitted to \$10,000 bail. All but one have given the required bail and been released. A special grand jury is investigating the crime.

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Municipal Ownership in Buffalo.

The referendum vote in Buffalo, N. Y., in favor of a municipal lighting plant to compete with the private company (p. 8), has been disregarded by the city council. That body has overruled the city controller who obeyed the referendum mandate by inserting in the estimates an item of \$250,000 for beginning the construction of a municipal lighting plant. His action was approved by Mayor Adam. But on the 14th the item was struck out by the council. Four of the nine councilmen were pledged to support it and two did so; but the other two were won over, thereby giving the two-thirds majority required. An extension of city contracts with the private company is now under negotiation.

◎ ◎

Land Values Taxation in Great Britain.

Within a month after the deputation from British municipalities committed to land values taxation had waited upon the Ministry (vol. viii, p. 838), the first step in support of that policy was taken in Parliament. The measure related only to Scottish burghs, and is known as "the Glasgow bill," it having been formulated and adopted by the Glasgow council in 1898. It came under discussion on the 23rd of March, when petitions from Scottish municipalities to the number of 471 were introduced in support of it. In explaining it Mr. Sutherland, member from Elgin Burghs, is reported by the People's Journal of Dundee, as saying that—

It was intended to include in the measure the application of the principle to counties, and also to empower local authorities to acquire compulsorily land at fair value. At a later season, however, it was thought that the embodiment of these clauses would unnecessarily overburden the bill, and also, keeping in view the fact that some of these

might be incompetent, it was resolved to limit the scope of the measure, and he presented what was generally known as "The Glasgow bill." By so doing the House had a straight issue on which to divide—namely, the taxation of land values. The bill, which applied only to Scottish burghs, provided for the separate valuation of the sites of buildings, and for the imposition of a tax not exceeding two shillings in the pound upon the value of land. It also provided for the taxation of feu-duties, but upon this point a great difference of opinion existed, and it could be thrashed out in committee. One great advantage of the bill would be that it would provide for the taxation of unoccupied land, and would thus tend to kill speculation in land. With regard to feu-duties, they derived their value from the presence of the community, and they ought therefore to contribute to the burdens of the community. There existed no real sort of freedom of contract between the few landowners and the great number of people who wanted to purchase or feu land from them; therefore, the measure would not interfere with freedom of contract. One particular reason among many others Mr. Sutherland had for recommending the bill was because it would deal a heavy blow at the slum landlords.

The second reading of the bill, continues the same report, was—

seconded by Mr. Laidlaw (East Renfrew), who declared that industry and labor created the land values which the monopolists swooped down upon. The bill would prevent the squeezing of the poor man by the land monopolist, would give to labor and industry a due share in their earnings, and also bring idle land into the market.

In opposing the measure Mr. Harold Cox is reported by the same paper as having—

denounced the measure on the ground that it was a direct attack on the rights of property. The whole effect of the bill would be to put a special income tax on land, and it was therefore a direct attack on private property. Dealing with the proposal from the point of view that under the present system land was not a monopoly, the honorable member attempted to persuade the House that the measure was an iniquitous one, but, as subsequent results showed, without success. He contended that the government should devote its efforts to something more substantial, and the ideal to be aimed at was that they should devise a system of taxation by which every citizen should contribute to the expense of the State in proportion to his means.

Sir Henry Craik, another opponent, seems to have—

pleaded the cause of the many charities, the friendly societies, the trades unions, and the poor investors who had their funds invested, and who would be badly hit were the bill to become law. He thought landowners could be left to judge by self-interest what was the most useful purpose to which they might turn their lands. There was no doubt left as to the purposes of the bill. Its real vice was not merely changes in the incidence of taxation, but that it rested on confiscation and robbery.

In voicing the opinion of the Ministry, the Lord Advocate is reported by the same authority to have—

scoffed at the idea put forward by Sir H. Craik that the measure was for confiscation and robbery, and remarked on the fact that it had been approved by a Conservative House of Commons. In the opinion of the Ministry, the time was ripe for the bill. It was a measure not of social expediency, but of social necessity. In language which went home to the hearts of the Opposition like a knife thrust, he asserted that the owners of the land it was proposed to tax were not partners in, but parasites on, the community, and described the present system as one which legalized plunder. He urged the House to accept the bill, because it was an attempt to reach the heart of their social trouble and to alleviate it, if not cure it.

Of the 59 Scottish members who entered the division lobby, 52 voted in favor of the bill and the remaining seven voted against it. The total majority in favor of the bill was 258. In 1905 this bill passed the second reading by a majority of only 20.

NEWS NOTES

—The Supreme Court of Illinois, on the 18th, invalidated the Torrens mandatory land title act enacted in 1903 (vol. vi, p. 60).

—An immense cave has been discovered beneath the site of Charlestown, W. Va., the roof of which is near enough to the surface of the earth to cause alarm.

—A play by Ruth Bryan Leavitt, daughter of William J. Bryan, was given an initial production at Salt Lake on the 16th. Its title is "Mrs. S. Holmes, Detective."

—Cipriano Castro, President of Venezuela (vol. viii, pp. 152, 353), has retired temporarily from the presidency. He is succeeded by the First Vice President, Juan Vicente Gomez.

—Solomon H. Spencer, who died at his home in Yonkers on the 25th, was the editor of *New Christianity*, a religious publication with an economic point of view. He was for many years a disciple in economics of Henry George.

—The pastor of the Fourth Unitarian Church of Brooklyn, N. Y., the Rev. John M. Davidson, has announced a series of Sunday evening lectures, among which are "The Justice of the Single Tax," April 29th, and "The Weakness and the Strength of Democracy in America," May 6.

—William Randolph Hearst, as candidate for mayor of New York (p. 11), has made application to the Attorney General of New York for the institution of quo warranto proceedings in the name of the people of the State of New York against George B. McClellan to test the title of Mr. McClellan to the office of mayor of New York City.

—Rev. Algernon S. Crapey, the rector of a Protestant Episcopal Church at Rochester, New York, is on trial at Batavia for heresy before an ecclesiastical court. The charges are that in his book, "Religion and Politics," he intentionally expressed disbelief in the divinity of Christ, the conception of the Holy Ghost, the virgin birth, the bodily resurrection, and the Trinity.

—At Cincinnati on the 17th the Court of Common Pleas decided that the Senate Investigating Committee, mentioned in editorial correspondence in another column, is without legal authority. The decision was made in favor of the cashier of the First National Bank of Cincinnati who had refused to testify before the committee relative to corrupt financial transactions of certain politicians.

—At a farewell banquet given at the Auditorium, Chicago, on the 17th, to Mr. and Mrs. Trumbull White upon the withdrawal of Mr. White from the editorship of the *Red Book* at Chicago to become editor of *Appleton's Magazine* at New York, friendly speeches were made by Karl Edwin Harriman (Mr. White's successor on the *Red Book*), Hobart C. Chatfield-Taylor, Homer J. Carr, Henry Barrett Chamberlain and Richard Henry Little. S. E. Kiser read some original verses, John T. McCutcheon made some original cartoons, Rex E. Beach was toastmaster and Emerson Hough acted as chairman.

PRESS OPINIONS

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND THE BIG GRAFTERS.

Cleveland Press (ind.), April 17.—It is a peculiarly unfortunate time to condemn the factors which have so recently caused the most notable series of triumphs for reform ever known in the country's history.

The (Omaha) Investigator (ind.), April 12.—After a few months it is probable that we shall see no more articles in the magazines assailing the trusts, denouncing graft, telling of the treason of the Senate, bringing multi-millionaires into disrepute, discredit upon the political boss, endangering the perpetuity of city franchises or anything of that sort. At first the plutocrats thought they were so secure that they need pay no attention to these articles, but they have come to the conclusion that they must be suppressed, and suppressed they will be. The agent they have chosen to do the work is President Roosevelt.

Auburn (N. Y.) Citizen (ind. Dem.), April 16.—As the crowd broke up and moved away, it was not muck-raking but the President's new declaration that was warmly discussed by Senators, Representatives and the entire legislative circle, and the opinion was generally expressed that the President had sounded his keynote for the Presidential campaign of 1908. . . . The President took advantage of what was expected to be a scolding speech to acquaint the country in moderate temper with a design of his that, for the present at least, will take much attention from the subjects that have been engrossing the public mind. The new topic is likely to cut an important figure in the next Presidential campaign—so much in fact as might call for a new alignment in the great political parties.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), April 16.—Though President Roosevelt's loudly-heralded "muck rake" speech proved to be a very tame deliverance, suggestive of the labors of the mountain that brought forth a mouse, manifestly it was designed to bring comfort to the men in the muck. Yet he lacked the courage to come out in the open and defend the men that covertly he sought to render assistance. Covertly he has given aid to the plunderers of life insurance funds, the bribers of legislatures, the debauchers of Congress. He has done it while protesting that he has no sympathy with them. . . . The good needs no extenuation. It needs no sympathy. It needs no apology. The evil when beset calls for aid and needs defense. Mr. Roosevelt has come to the defense of good found in the company of evil. The good does not need it. The evil has grasped it to its very soul.

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GEORGE'S "THE MENACE OF PRIVILEGE."

The Outlook (rel.), Mar. 31.—What is the cause of the grave changes that are coming over the American Republic?—the extraordinary inequality in wealth distribution, class feeling, the aristocratic idea, lowered morals among the rich, moral deterioration among the working masses, militant trade unionism, perversion of courts, illegitimate use of militia, corruption of politics, limitation of freedom of press, university, and pulpit, centralization of government, foreign aggression. The answer is, the appearance of Privilege. This volume strives to show how special privilege underlies these ominous appearances. The remedies proposed are, "Tax land monopoly to death" and "Take all public highway functions into public hands." The foregoing paragraph condensed from the preface must here suffice to indicate the nature of this book. The style is excellent, the spirit earnest, the vision clear though not unprejudiced. The son is more than the pupil of his father, he is his father's heir. In clearness and cogency of presentation this volume is scarcely inferior to "Progress and Poverty." . . . As to remedies, we agree with Mr. George's first and we disagree with his second. Natural land values belong to the people, and they can and ought to be secured, at least measurably, to the people, by the simple method of what Mr. Shearman has well called "Natural Taxation." As to public highways, we would make the attempt to resume the value of the franchises so recklessly given away, by putting a legitimate taxation upon the possessors and operators of the railroads, and to

secure the public administration for the public benefit by governmental regulation enforced by public opinion. If this should fail, it will then be time enough to consider the experiment of government ownership and administration.

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THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), April 13.—It is most fortunate that Mayor Dunne fully recognizes the imperative necessity of immediate better service and has, as outlined in his ante-election interview in The Record-Herald, evidenced his wish to reach an agreement with the present companies if possible by which a modernized, unified service could be secured under an indeterminate license system, the companies to continue to operate under agreed terms until they are paid for their existing property and rights and also reimbursed for any betterments required. This seems an entirely sensible proposition and one on which an agreement should easily be reached with the existing companies. The crucial question will be as to the attitude of the members of the Council who have opposed Mayor Dunne's former plans and who may be tempted to assume an obstructive position that will encourage the traction companies to a further recalcitrancy. For ourselves, we wish to say definitely that we have no apprehension that the honest anti-municipal ownership aldermen will by any possibility be such fool politicians and bad citizens as to play peanut politics at this time, but we confidently look to them to join with the honest municipal ownership aldermen to bring order out of the present intolerable chaos, leaving the gray wolf grafters to do as they please.

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MAYOR DUNNE'S TRACTION COUNSEL.

Chicago Tribune (Rep.), April 13.—The Mayor . . . should refrain from saying of any scheme he may present that it is the handiwork of, or is approved by, his new special traction counsel. The aldermen have no love for Mr. Walter L. Fisher or his works. He has laid the rod on the backs of many of them. If the Mayor were to submit a Fisher project to the Council the effect would be that produced by shaking a red rag before a herd of bulls.

Chicago-Record Herald (Ind. Rep.), April 17.—That several of the reputable newspapers of the city, actuated by petty jealousy, undue friendliness to the traction interests, or animosity to Mayor Dunne, should be so heedless of elemental decency and truth as they have shown themselves to be in their assaults on Mr. Fisher is abhorrently unfair. To read these diatribes against the "uplift" one might well infer that in Chicago some odium properly attached itself to Mr. Fisher or anyone else who had been prominent in the work of driving thieves out of the Council or in keeping them out. Very happily this is in no wise true, and every loyal Chicagoan will hope that Mr. Fisher's traction work may be as successful as that other which has earned him the thanks and praise of the large-minded people of the city.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), April 18.—Chicagoans love fair play. The attacks on Mr. Fisher, who in particular is pelted with that terrible word, "reformer"—in quotation marks—seem to be based exclusively on the unquestionable fact that he has placed the public under deep obligations to him by his unselfish and unremitting work, in connection with the Municipal Voters' League, for honest and efficient aldermen. What he has accomplished in the past for Chicago's good is a matter of common fame. This city is most fortunate in having obtained the services of this able lawyer and sterling citizen at the present critical time in traction matters. If he fails in his efforts to bring about good results perhaps he will be open to reproach. But now that he is endeavoring to help the city in a notable manner he should be supported by public sympathy, not sneered at and misrepresented.

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"You never argue on the tariff."

"No," answered the unenthusiastic citizen; "I have observed that a man's opinions on the tariff depend almost entirely on what business he happens to be in. And I shouldn't think of asking a man to change his business out of deference to my personal theories."—Washington Star.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

GLORY.

Dedicated to the President and Congress of the United States, and to Gen. Leonard A. Wood, by Charles Erskine Scott Wood.

For The Public.

Six hundred Moros have been slain—all—all—all—
Fathers and mothers and boys and girls and black-eyed babes.

It is a glorious victory.

I weep for the little children who shall never play again;
The little children of the slim soft limbs, so full of grace.
I have seen these naked little children lying about like broken toys,

Their fat little arms and legs tossed about as if they were asleep. Dead!

Their chubby bodies naked and glistening;
Their laughter forever hushed. Ended their childish joy of living,

Ended by a blue hole in the forehead—by a black spot on the breast—by a bullet in the smooth, soft belly.

I have seen them lie under the sun, wounded, wailing for water—dying.

I have seen them with eyes staring and patient, not understanding; I have seen their eyes clouded in the hideous suffering, waiting for death.

I have seen the mangled abdomens and shattered limbs and the dumb, frightened look of their eyes, saying, "Why must we die? Why must we be killed? Why should our childish lives be ended?"

Why! In the name of Christ, the compassionate, the all merciful—Why?

I have heard the sharp shriek of childish agony as the bullet struck its soft mark.

I have heard the childish moans as little boys lay dying—killed by brave soldiers.

I have seen the yellow mother stoop over her slender boy and fall upon him, dead,—

She, too, crushed by a bullet,—
Mingling their blood together in death as when she gave him life.

Or did God give it?

I have seen all fathers, all mothers, all brave young boys with full round chests and flashing black eyes, all the young maids,

All the long haired little boys and the prattling little girls,

All—all—lying at last quiet in death,—not one left alive;
The slim young boys lying on their backs, their full rounded chests torn with bullets,

Their eyes staring into the sky,
Their smooth young arms listless by their sides.

I have smelled the smell of blood and the stench of carrion has come upon me,

So that I waked from sleep;
And I looked into the silent eternity of the stars and trembled,

For the carrion was the smooth soft bodies of mothers and of children who have ceased from their playing.

And I said to myself, to comfort myself, "There is no God!

Behold the hyena! It spares not, and sups upon carrion.
And the jackal and the raven. Behold, the lion slays what it will."

Then I arose and crept to the Dreadful Place;
And I looked in over the edge of the crater,

And the bodies of fathers, mothers and children glistened under the white moon,—nursed on the soil which had borne them.

And all about, on the rocks, perched the vultures,
Heavy with full feeding. They had torn out the eyes of the little children,

And the jackals tore the hearts of the little maids, and the soft breasts of the mothers,

And I snuffed up the scent of the carrion,
And I said, exultingly, to exalt my country,

"There is no God."

It was a glorious victory!

Jesus, thou weak man of poor estate,
What dost thou know of glory, or delicious wealth?
Thou timid preacher of peace and love.

Behold us! Our arms are red with blood to the elbows,
and we have sickened the air with the smell of
blood.

We have thrust our hands into the warm bowels of little
children and torn out their young hearts;

We have quenched the love light in the eyes of mothers,
and the love lamps in their hearts;

We have silenced the laughter of innocent children;

We have shot from afar and crushed the tender bones
of little ones, and made baby hearts to jet out red
fountains, through baby breasts.

With bullets we have dashed the brains of lads and of
budding bosomed girls upon the rocks.

The vultures and the tigers fled away to hide themselves,
to return only when our work was done.

We have fed the palm trees with blood, so that their
leaves shall wither and their fruit be accursed.

We have smeared our lips with the blood of babes, and
with tears from the eyes of little children as they
died in agony.

We shot from afar off, and laughed at the walls of chil-
dren.

We laughed at the sickening hiccough of a mother, shot
through the womb.

Get thee back upon thy cross, thou pale weak Jesus.

Whisper no more thy foolish tale of brotherhood and
pity.

For our hearts are big with the lust of conquest.

Blood wells up between our toes as we tread our path-
way.

We are brave!

Pitiful Jesus, what didst thou know of such bravery as
ours?

We have thrust our arms into the warm bowels of chil-
dren, and held their hearts quivering upon our
hands.

It was a glorious victory.

And there is no God.



A FILIPINO VINDICATED.

Fiske Warren in The Springfield Republican.

The sheaves of the Anti-Imperialists are beginning
to come in. Here is one:

The Philippine commission has confirmed the elec-
tion of Teodoro Sandiko as governor of Bulakan.
This excellent man, one of the brightest hopes of his
country, who distinguished himself by his successful
efforts to obtain merciful consideration for the thou-
sands of Spaniards captured by the Filipino forces,
was traduced by our representatives in the Philip-
pines as the author of the celebrated order for the
massacre of Americans in Manila. This massacre
order was frequently pointed to in the press of this
country as proof that the Filipinos are savage by
nature and incapable of self-government, while the
fact that Maj. Crowder investigated the charges
against Mr. Sandiko and dismissed them was allowed
to slumber in the security of official records or to
smother in the unfavorable atmosphere of the official
conscience. Now he is confirmed as governor of
Bulakan. Yet law No. 83 authorizes the Philippine
commission to refuse to confirm an elected candi-
date, in case "there is reasonable ground to suspect
his loyalty."



AN INTERNATIONAL PATRIOTISM.

*A Childhood Experience of Jane Addams, as Related in
Unity.*

When I was barely twelve years old, coming into
my father's room one morning, I found him sitting
beside the fire with a newspaper in his hand looking

very solemn, and upon my eager inquiry what had
happened, he told me that Joseph Mazzini was dead.

I had never even heard Mazzini's name, and after
being told about him I was inclined to grow argu-
mentative, asserting that my father did not know
him, that he was not an American, and that I could
not understand why we should be expected to feel
badly about him.

It is impossible to recall the conversation with the
complete breakdown of my cheap arguments, but
in the end I obtained that which I have ever re-
garded as a valuable possession, a sense of the
genuine relationship which may exist between men
who share large hopes and like desires, even though
they differ in nationality, language and creed; that
those things count for absolutely nothing between
groups of men who are trying to abolish slavery in
America or to throw off Hapsburg oppression in
Italy.

At any rate, I was heartily ashamed of my meager
notion of patriotism, and I came out of the room
exhilarated with the consciousness that impersonal
and international relations are actual facts and not
mere phrases. I was filled with pride that I knew
a man who held converse with great minds and who
really sorrowed and rejoiced over happenings across
the sea.

I never recall these early conversations with my
father nor a score of others like them but that there
comes into my mind a line from Mrs. Browning in
which a daughter describes her relations with her
father:

He wrapt his little daughter in his large
Man's doublet, careless did it fit or no.



THE CRIMES OF KINGS.

*From One of a Series of Sermons on the French Revolution,
Now Being Delivered in the Vine Street Congrega-
tional Church in Cincinnati, by the Pastor,
the Rev. H. S. Bigelow.*

The French Revolution is the most intensely ab-
sorbing act in the whole drama of human history.
To some it was a hideous nightmare. To others it
was a terrible judgment day—a day of wrath ap-
pointed for the crimes of kings.

To measure the crimes that were committed in the
name of the people we must consider the crimes
that were committed in the name of the old regime.
The crimes that were committed by the Revolution
have been made the most of. They have been fully
catalogued. They were seen of all the world. But
the centuries were blind to the atrocities that were
committed by king and grandee against the people;
they were deaf to the groans of those who were left
to rot and die in the dungeons of feudal France.

When Marie Antoinette was led to the guillotine
all the world stood aghast. When the knife fell and
the blood spurted and the headless trunk of a queen
was carted off for burial, a thrill of horror encircled
the globe. It was royal blood that the Revolution
shed. One royal execution attracted more attention
and commanded more sympathy than ten thousand
wretches whose lives were harried out of them by
crimes committed in the name of the law.

It is still so. Remember Bloody Sunday when the
poor people who demanded an audience with the

"Little Father" were shot down in the streets of St. Petersburg. Did our government at Washington send to the people of Russia any message of indignation or sympathy? But a few days later when one Grand Duke was murdered, were not the condolences of the American Republic cabled forthwith to the Czar's government?

When the cravat of Louis the Sixteenth was untied and his royal neck laid on the block of the Revolution, the crowned heads of Europe fell into a rage. They were shocked that a fat and stupid king should be done to death. Shocked, indeed, though they had borne complacently enough the sufferings of their own unnumbered victims. It was nothing to them that the trenches of senseless battle-fields should be filled with the mangled bodies of fathers and husbands; it was nothing to them that their mute dungeons should confound the innocent with the guilty, and stop forever the piteous cry for justice and liberty; it was nothing to them that harpies held high revel in kings' palaces while labor was bent by the weight of taxes, and men and women and children were driven to eat grass with the beasts of the field.

Said the dying Revolutionist to the Bishop in Victor Hugo's story: "I will weep with you for the children of kings, if you will weep with me for the little ones of the people."



HOW MEN DIE IN RUSSIA.

From the Chicago Tribune of April 7, 1906.

Ivan Norodny, a Russian revolutionary, who led the attempt at mutiny at Cronstadt last year, and who was minister of domestic affairs in the provisional government of the Baltic provinces, has arrived in New York. He escaped from Russia in disguise early in January, with a 30,000 rubles (\$15,000) price on his head.

Norodny has a letter from an attorney named Riasner, who was an eye-witness of the execution of Lieut. Schmidt of the Russian navy on March 19 at Otchakoff. [The Public, vol. viii, page 857.] Schmidt was the leader of the revolt at Sevastopol.

"I saw the assassin of the Grand Duke Sergius hanged," writes Riasner, "yet that was as nothing by the horror of this shooting. My pen refuses to move when I think of it.

"It was 4 o'clock in the morning when Schmidt was led out for execution with the three common sailors who died with him. His struggle to the end was to save the three sailors. On the way to the place of execution he begged permission to send a telegram taking all responsibility and exonerating the sailors. The admiral refused that.

"Then let me at least die like an officer," he said. 'Do not blind nor blind me.'

"They granted that, and decided that since he could see and the others would die blind, he should be shot first. Schmidt was placed with his back against a hill. Thirty men of his own command, many of whom loved him, were told off to kill him.

"Now the admiral feared that these men might not shoot at the word; so behind them he stationed 200 men with loaded rifles trained on every man of the firing squad. Their orders were to shoot instantly any man who failed to fire.

"Schmidt walked like a soldier to the spot. All the way he spoke incessantly to the soldiers who walked

to the right and left, exhorting them to rise for humanity. A priest approached him.

"No," said Schmidt, kindly, 'I believe in no God except the good of humanity.' Then he stepped into his place.

"The officer had drawn his sword, when Schmidt called out: 'Wait, I want a glass of water. You cannot refuse that to a dying man.'

"It seemed a strange request, but they granted it. Hardly were the water bearers out of range when he raised the glass high above his head:

"To the people of Russia," he cried. 'To the Russian people and the social revolution.'

"These were his last words, for the officer cried 'Fire.'

"Only sixteen of the thirty men in the firing squad fired. The rest lowered their pieces, overcome by the sublimity of this pledge in the face of death.

"The admiral kept his word. The sixteen who had fired were ordered rapidly out of line; the fourteen who failed were kept in place, their backs toward their death.

"Fire," said the officer of the 200 men behind.

"Probably not more than half of them obeyed, but it was enough. The fourteen fell as one man. Then they proceeded with the butchery of the three condemned soldiers.

"What a day was this, comrade, in the history of Russia!"



TOLSTOY TO THE CZAR.

In the Following Direct Personal Appeal to the Czar, Count Tolstoy Urges Still Further Concessions in Behalf of the Great Proletariat in Russia—In View of the Coming Meetings of the National Assembly, the Suggestions Offered by Count Tolstoy Are of Particular Interest at This Time.

Reprinted From Harper's Weekly of Feb. 3, 1906.

Dear Brother:—I think it more fitting to call you "dear brother" because in this letter I am addressing myself less to the Czar than to the man and brother; and, more than that, I am no longer of this world, but standing at the threshold of the tomb. I do not wish to die without telling you what I think of your present activity—telling you what that activity is, and what it ought to be for the greater good of millions of men and for your own good; and also telling you what a source of evil your conduct may be for these and for yourself if your activity continues to follow its present course. To-day a third part of Russia is under okrana*—in other words, a condition which sets the law at naught. There is a whole army of policemen, lawyers and secret agents; and that army is growing; the prisons and the penitentiaries are overflowing; a considerable number of men politically condemned (and that classification covers the working class) swell the list of the thousands of common-law criminals. The veto of the censor has reached the culminating point of stupidity. Religious persecutions have never been as frequent or as cruel. In all the manufacturing centers armed forces are concentrated and turned out against the people at the least warning.

*"Okrana," approaching the condition of siege, or "slight state of siege."

Bloody fratricidal struggles have taken place in many quarters, struggles even more terrible are in preparation, and they cannot fail to burst out.

The result of the cruel action of the government is that the agricultural people, the 100,000,000 men in whom the power of Russia rests, are growing poorer every year. Famine has become a normal phenomenon. General discontent reigns among all classes, and the hostility of all classes to the government has also become an habitual fact.

Now the sole cause of the situation is this: Your advisers have persuaded you that when they stifle all vital movement in the people they assure the happiness of the people, as well as your tranquillity and your safety. But it would be easier to stop the current of a torrent than to stop the incessant, the progressive movement of humanity determined by Divine power.

It is easy to understand that men who are interested in preserving the present order of things, and who think "after us the deluge!" will try to convince you that such a condition is necessary. But you, the independent man of reason and of heart, whose every need is provided for, how can you believe that, how can you follow their appalling counsels, how can you do, how can you permit others to do, so much evil, and that because of a determination impossible to realize, the determination to stop the irresistible march of humanity?

You cannot be ignorant of the fact that from the beginning of the life of men, many economical, political and religious forms have followed an evolution; that from the brutal, the cruel, the irrational, the progressively gentle, kind and rational have been evolved.

Your advisers make you believe the contrary; they affirm that orthodoxy and autocracy have always been the fundamental principles of the Russian people, and that orthodoxy and autocracy must rule the destinies of Russia to the end of the ages.

That is why it is supposed that the happiness of Russia demands the maintenance of the two political forms linked together—religious and political organization—no matter what the cost.

That is a double lie.

First of all, it is not true that orthodoxy is the vehicle of Russian thought. It was in former times, but it is not now.

The reports of the Grand Procurator of the Holy Synod can inform you as to this; that the men of the people who are spiritually the best developed follow the teachings of religious sects, despite the dangers that they face when they abandon orthodoxy. If it were true that orthodoxy is inherent in the Russian mind, it would not be necessary to make so many efforts to maintain that form of religion, and it would not be necessary so cruelly to persecute those who refuse to follow it.

So it is with the autocratic institutions. If their system seemed indispensable to the Russian people when they believed the Czar to be the infallible god on earth, who alone could direct the country, that is not the case to-day, when all know—or when all learn as soon as they learn anything—that a good Czar is simply "a happy accident," and that Czars may be, and, in fact, have been, monsters and madmen, like, for instance, Ivan the Terrible, and Paul I. They know, as they learn when they are studying

things, that however good and however wise a Czar may be, he cannot, personally, govern one hundred and thirty millions of men; and that being the case, they know that the Czar's courtiers are the real rulers. The Czar's courtiers are men who care more for their own positions than for the well-being of the people.

"But," you tell me, "the Czar may choose great and unselfish or disinterested men for courtiers." No. Unfortunately the Czar cannot make such a choice; because he knows only a few dozen men, who owe it either to their luck or to intrigue that they have succeeded in approaching him, and who, having succeeded in getting close to him, are very careful to prevent any one from approaching him who could by any possibility compete with them in any way. So it is plain that the Czar cannot make his choice from the thousands of energetic, intelligent men who would be glad to serve the people. He must choose from such men as Beaumarchais had in mind when he said, "Mediocrity and push mean success." He chooses from the men he knows. Now, if a number of Russians are willing to obey the Czar, they are not willing to obey men whom they despise; and they cannot obey men whom they despise without sullyng their own dignity. And yet despicable men rule in Russia, and they do it in the name of the Czar. It is evident that you are deluding yourself as to the people's attachment to autocracy, and to its representative, the Czar, because you in all the cities are greeted by crowds who cry, Hurrah! and run behind your carriage. Such manifestations are far from being an expression of the people's fidelity. The crowds are nothing but inquisitive people who follow all uncommon sights with the same eagerness; and, generally, they whom you take for the people's messengers of affection are nothing but needy wretches mustered by the police to make a show in your honor. I can cite the example of your grandfather. One day when he was at Kharkov he went to the cathedral. It was filled with "the faithful," who, in point of fact, were disguised policemen.

If you could promenade along the railroad some day when the imperial train is to pass, and if you could see the peasants lined up behind the troops, if you could listen to what is said by the starostas and other village chiefs who have been brought there to shiver in the cold and wet, with not one cent to pay them for it—not even bite or sup, and that, too, several days in succession!—you would hear from the mouths of those simple peasants (who are the real representatives of the people) words expressing anything but love of the autocracy and its manifestation, the Czar.

If the prestige of the Czar's authority was intact half a century ago (under Nicholas I.), great inroads have been made in it during the last thirty years, and in these days all that was left of it has fallen so low that no one fears to condemn the acts of the government—not to say the Czar—to shower invectives upon it, and to cover it with ridicule.

Autocracy is a superannuated governmental form. It may answer the needs of some insignificant tribe of Central Africa that squats there at a distance from civilization; but it does not answer the demands of the Russian people who have been civilized by contact with universal progress.

That is why it is not possible to apply this system to Orthodoxy without recurring to oppression in all its forms—siege, banishment by the administration, religious persecution, executions, interdiction of books and newspapers, and other bad and cruel action.

Of such a character has been all the conduct of your reign. When you ascended the throne, your answer to the delegation from the government of Tver termed its most legitimate appeals "insensate dreams"—that answer provoked the indignation of Russian society.

All your ordinances concerning Finland, the grasping of Chinese territory, your convocation of the conference of The Hague (to the accompaniment of an increase in your military strength), the gradual but progressive limitation of electoral assemblies, and the growths of arbitrary administration, the religious persecutions that you encourage, your approbation of the monopoly of alcohol (in other words, government trading in poison), and last of all the maintenance of the system of corporal punishment, despite the incessant appeals and demands addressed to you for the abolition of that stupid, useless and humiliating custom; you could not have accomplished all that if you had not been docile to the suggestions of your counsellors, and taken upon yourself the visionary task of arresting the life of the people, and setting them even further back than they were in the olden times.

Violent measures are excellent to oppress a people, but they are not good to govern it. In our day, the only means of really governing would be to place yourself at the head of the popular movement, which, rising from the evil to the good, from the shadows toward the light, is to lead the people upward, mounting by the means that are within reach of all. In order to be in condition to do that it is necessary before all else—to make it possible for the people to tell what they need—to give them the possibility of making their wants known, and then having given them that possibility and having listened to them, it is necessary to answer their desires, and to accord what they require for the necessities not only of one class, but for all the needs of the majority of the people—the working classes.

Now, as to what the Russian people would ask were they free to claim what they wish; in my opinion, first of all, they would demand to be disembarassed of the laws of exception, which have put them in the condition of a pariah; then they would ask the right to circulate freely, to go and to come, according to their own will and to believe according to their consciences; and then the people—one hundred millions of men—would cry out as one man and more than for all else, for the right to enjoy the ground, for the abolition of private rights in land, the abolition of individual property in real estate.

In my opinion suppression of the private right to the ground ought to be the first step toward the reform to which the Russian government of our day should tend. In other words, the only way to enfranchise the Russian people is to abolish private owning of land, and to recognize land as part of the property of the nation.

Dear brother, you have only one life on this earth, and you may wofully squander that life in your vain effort to halt the march of humanity,

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which is the progressive advance determined by God Himself to lead man upward from evil to good, from darkness into light. By inspiring yourself by a knowledge of the needs and wishes of the nation, you may consecrate your life to the nation and live with your people in peace and joy, serving God by serving men.

However great your responsibility may be before men, either because you have done much good or much evil during your reign, still greater is your responsibility before God for your life here below on which depends your life eternal. God has not given you your life so that you may have time to accomplish divers acts of evil, or so that you may participate in bad actions, or tolerate bad actions in others. God gave you your life so that you might work His will; and His will is not to do evil, but to do good.

Think of this, reflect on it; not as before men, but as before God; and do what God tells you to do; that is to say, do what your conscience tells you to do; and do not trouble yourself about the obstacles that you will meet when you enter upon this new mode of life. Those obstacles will disappear; you will not even notice them if what you do is done, not for the glory of men, but for your soul; that is to say, for God. Forgive me if, unwillingly, I have offended you or grieved you by what I have just written. Only the desire for your good and the good of the Russian people has dictated this letter.

Have I reached the end that I have had in view? Only the future that, probably, I shall not see, can decide. I have done what I consider my duty.

Your brother, who wishes you the true happiness,

LYOF TOLSTOY.



THE MUCK RAKE MEN.

For The Public.

When social sins have strewn their waste
Across the path we keep,
And progress will not be retraced,
Nor conscience pause to sleep,
Some soldier of the surging throng—
Unheld by fear or pride—
Leaps forth to seize the noisome wrong
And cast its slime aside.

Not every savior of the race
Sits high upon a throne,
Assured the borrowed power of place
Is his to hold alone.
Beneath the most exalted bends
The savior with the rake,
Upon whose sacrifice depends
Whate'er advance we make.

How shall the chiefest critic call
Anathema to those
Whose rakes a pestilence forestall,
Where graft unhindered grows?
Has envy stung the strenuous one,
Or self-reproach assailed
The booster of reforms—undone,
Of probings that have failed?

Comes from some close official sewer
A stench that must expose
A state the public won't endure,
Tho' named a harmless rose?
Does near disturbance of the rakes
Upset imperial schemes
That flourish when ambition takes
Its over-reaching dreams?

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NELLIE CARLIN,
U. A. H. GREENE,
H. W. McFARLANE,
FRANK D. BUTLER,
Committee.

When social crimes have fouled the course
Of destiny, alas!
Shall we appoint a sword of force
That will not let us pass
With rakes and remedies to clear
The path, and make-it fair
For men to walk without a screen
To save the truth they bear?

What, then, is conscience but a thorn?
Need we an honest heart
In this democracy forlorn,
By vandals torn apart?
Is it to cringe before the glare
Of royal scorn that we
No earnest condemnation dare
Of shame that blights the free?

When platitudes and sophistry
Upon the mass prevail,
God help the weak inconstancy
Wherein their faith must fail.
The hour has come to keep or lose
The rights we lightly heed—
To think and voice and truly use
An equal social creed;

To rake again the slimy pit,
To drag before the throne
Where oracles of empire sit,
The sins its lords have sown;
To fashion laurels well to wear
When rakes their work have done,
When common virtues all may share
Whose common wealth is won.

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

◎ ◎ ◎

"He is a very valuable reporter."

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"Yes, sir. Not only can he run down almost any murder within twenty-four hours, but he can almost always fasten it on somebody whose picture we have already in stock."—Puck.

◎ ◎ ◎

The natives are now become thoroughly enlightened; they omit breakfast and speak openly and with confidence of their digestive process.

Of course, they no longer eat bread.

And still the wonderful bread-fruit tree yields them their living. For this tree can be cut down and sawed up into a sawdust which compares not unfavorably with the imported foods.—Puck.

◎ ◎ ◎

There is a story of a little boy who when he had learned his lesson refused to repeat it to his teacher. "But you know your lesson; why will you not say it to me?" pleaded the teacher.

"Yes, I know it all right," answered the boy. "I know it all right, but what's the use of my saying it to you? You'll make me learn something else; and I don't want to get into the habit of learning lessons."—Chicago Daily News.

◎ ◎ ◎

A Ffeshire farmer had been advised from time to time to insure his house against fire. The agent, Sandy M'Lery, could never get the old man to sign, and was forced to listen to the familiar argument that "his house would never gang on fire."

The unexpected happened, however, and the neighbors were astonished when the old man, instead of trying to save his goods, ran wildly up and down the village, crying:

"Whaur's that mon Sandy noo? Whaur's that in-

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urance chief? Ye can never get a body when ye're needin' him!"—Woman's Journal.

BOOKS

SHELBURNE ESSAYS.

Shelburne Essays, by Paul Elmer More. Putnam's Sons, New York, \$1.25.

The happy faculty of being interesting, of making the reader feel the desire to go on and see what is coming, is a most desirable quality in any writer—it is a necessary quality in the essayist. Unless the essayist can be interesting, he might as well give up his task. He will not be read. He may have a wise philosophy of life, or a fine power of criticism, or the perception of great truths, but his philosophy, or criticism, or truths will have to wait for their promulgation, until some other fellow can tell them in a way to have them read.

In the last ten years several good essayists have arisen, men who not only have something to say, but can say it in an interesting way. Not to mention others, Birrell and Chesterton in England, and Paul Elmer More in America, are writers who—each in his separate star—have written essays that can be read with delight as well as profit. Such men perform a great service in the democracy of letters. They make good thoughts current.

The *Shelburne Essays* of Mr. More are published in three volumes, but each is distinct, as, indeed, is each essay in the volumes. In earnestness and seriousness of thought, as well as in charm and delight of style, they seem to me perhaps the best contribution that has been made to pure literature, as such, in America during the past ten or fifteen years.

The present review concerns only the first volume of the series, which contains at least two essays that ought to be read by everyone who wishes to feel himself abreast with the best modern thought. The essay on Tolstoy is one of the best of the many that have been written on the great Russian. The critic is dealing with Tolstoy's religious faith and philosophy rather than with his social theories, and he points to the weak spot. Tolstoy, in insisting upon the religion of Jesus, has always missed a vital feature. That feature Mr. More expresses admirably in a few words: "If I read aright," he says, "the fragmentary record of Christ's life it was more filled with the joy of spiritual insight than with the bitterness of earthly despair." Tolstoy has missed this joyousness of Jesus—the "rejoice and be exceeding glad," the blessedness of the beatitudes. "Count Tolstoy," writes Mr. More, "takes his law of righteousness from the Sermon on the Mount, and that is well; but he has forgotten the song of joy that runs like a golden thread through that discourse. This lack of joyousness is the main point of criticism, and we must acknowledge its justice. It may be said that conditions in Russia are altogether evil and depressing; but they are no worse than conditions were in Judaea in the time of Jesus. The whole essay is well worth reading, not only for its main theme, but for its side lights on several phases of contemporary thought in regard to our views on art and on religion.

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ism, is a good summary of modern philosophic thought in regard to the relation between religious theories and practical social results. It is not entirely satisfactory. This might be expected. There would be need of a genius of supreme rank—such as has not yet appeared in modern times—to reconcile religion to practical life. But Mr. More's essay is an interesting attempt and deserves consideration. He seems to despair of reconciliation, and to recognize the inevitable duality. Render to God the things that are God's, and to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, seems to be as far as he has got. And it must be said that those who think they have found a synthesis have not yet succeeded in making it satisfactory to the ordinary mind. Whatever our thought, all who think at all on the subject will be interested in Mr. More's essay.

Other papers in the volume are well worth reading. The essay on the Spirit of Carlyle is particularly good. The reader of Carlyle may differ, but he will surely be entertained and set to thinking by Mr. More's criticism. It seems to me that the supreme tragedy in Carlyle's life consisted in his consciousness of his impotency in making men think and act according to what he conceived to be righteousness. He longed to be an active agent as well as a teacher and preacher. But there is surely much in Mr. More's point, namely, that we may find "a key to the peculiar paradox of Carlyle's life and writings in the extraordinary union within one man of the spirit of the Hindu seer and the Hebrew prophet." One thing he says about Carlyle will be approved by the great man's closest readers. "To those," he says, "who are absorbed in the philosophy of this world Carlyle's doctrine has had no meaning and probably will never have a meaning; to one who reflects apart and seeks a solitary law for his own guidance, Carlyle will long remain, as he stands revealed in Froude's pages, a revered friend and a dreaded mentor."

Other essays in the present volume deal with Thoreau, Hawthorne and Emerson. These, as well as the essays mentioned above, show that the author of the Shelburne Essays is no mere academician, writing perfunctorily in the academic spirit, but a man rather than a chair. There is only one essay in the volume that has the stilted air of the schools, that on Arthur Symonds, which, good as it is, sounds like a professor's contribution to a college magazine.

J. H. DILLARD.



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The First County Park System. A complete history of the inception and development of the Essex County Parks of New Jersey. By Frederick W. Kelsey, vice president of the Original Commission. Published by J. S. Ogilvie Publishing Co., 57 Rose street, New York.

Mr. Kelsey has in this book indicated step by step, the moving forces and potential facts in the development of an extended and costly park system, one of the largest and the initial county park system of this country—that of the county which comprises the city of Newark, N. J. It is a story that will doubtless interest and can hardly fail to instruct the promoters of public park enterprises everywhere. Not the least instructive part of Mr. Kelsey's work is that in

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which he notes the circumstances and the effect of the intrusion into park affairs of ubiquitous special interests, such as public utilities companies.

PERIODICALS

Current Literature, now edited by Edward J. Wheeler; has come to the front as one of the most interesting of the monthlies that attempt to cover the whole range of the month's contemporary news and thought. The number for April, both in illustration and in excellence and variety of matter, is abreast with the best, if not in the lead. Excellent discrimination is shown in putting forward the subjects that are of vital interest.—J. H. D.

The Independent of April 5 continues its interesting and valuable articles on the conditions in Panama. The facts seem to be that there has so far been a mixture of wisdom and folly in the management, as was to be expected. This number contains an original poem by the Poet Laureate, which illustrates both his strength and his weakness. If he had left off the last four lines, the poem would have been far more effective. Alfred Austin is like Wordsworth in his strange and apparently unconscious propensity to change in a moment from high poetic expression to the extreme of prosaicness.—J. H. D.

In the Outlook of April 7 Sydney Brooks has a good article on "England's Stride Towards Democracy." He seems to see that any real stride towards democracy means a change of mental attitude. "It will be seen," he says, "to be little less than revolutionary that some hundreds of thousands of English workmen should have broken away from the domination of caste and adventitious influences and should have voted squarely for representatives of their own social level. . . . For English workmen to support their social equals instead of meekly accepting their social superiors is a sign in them of a new moral health."—J. H. D.

America could have no better representative at the Historical Conference to be held during the exposition next autumn in Milan than Mr. Wm. Roscoe Thayer. The conference is to deal with modern Italian history, especially with the period of the unification, the period of Mazzini and Cavour. Mr. Thayer has written on Italian history with an insight and a breadth of learning which entitle him to be considered our highest authority on this subject. It is to be hoped that at the conference fair consideration will be given to the great work of Mazzini. "The congress will open," says the Nation, "on November 1, and, besides sessions at which papers and discussions will be in order, there will be an exhibition, chronologically arranged, of documents, letters, and memorials of all kinds concerning the 'Risorgimento.'"—J. H. D.

The interesting paper by Dr. Bowen in a recent issue of The Voice of the Negro (Atlanta), in advocacy of the term "Negro" as the proper racial designation of Americans of African descent, is censured in the same magazine for March, by T. Thomas Fortune, an advocate of the term "Afro-America." Mr. Fortune recurs to Hallam's "Afro-Assyrian" for philological authority, and argues that

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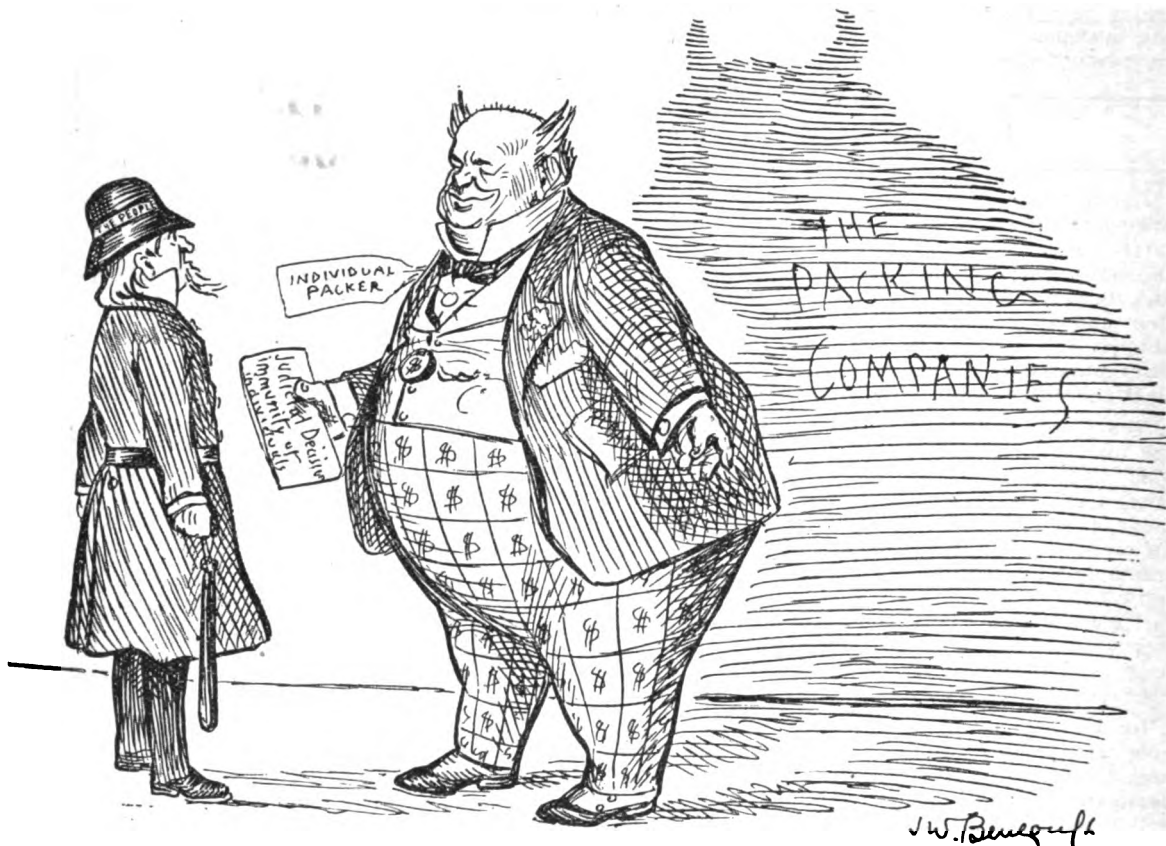
The Art of Living Long is unprofitable unless it be also an art of living well. Cornaro, in his quaint book, attempts to teach us how to attain by the same means both of these desirable ends.—Felix Adler, New York.

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inasmuch as "Negro" is a common noun defining physical qualities, popular usage will never accept it as a proper noun naming the geographical or political classification of a race, such as "European," or "German." Yet, even opprobrious common nouns have in popular usage become dignified names. Among the more familiar of these are "Quaker," "Democrat," "Republican," and "Abolitionist."

In all the world there is nothing more amusing than the seriousness of the "unco great." We have heard much in the press concerning the interchange of German and American professors. We have now a Harvard professor in Berlin, and we have had a Professor Ostwald of Germany over here for five months. He has published some of his impressions, which have been quoted in recent periodicals. The value of the Professor as a seer may be judged from the following: "Cambridge is the center of the total abstinence movement in America, and the students of Harvard University practice strict temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages." In one other observation the foreign Professor comes nearer the truth. "Athletics," he says, "completely diverts the academic youth from intellectual and esthetic interests. Football is pre-eminent, but is so conducted that the academic and state authorities are about to prohibit it entirely."—J. H. D.

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