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EDITORIAL

Opening of Congress.

The assembling for a three months' session of the old Congress a month after the election of the new one, recalls the absurdity of this antiquated system. Its menace to popular government is not so obvious now, for the new Congress happens to be under the same partisan control as the old one. But when a new Congress of different political re-

sponsibility from the old one is elected in November, it is plain that the old Congress, with its continuance in power until the following March, may completely frustrate the popular purpose at the elections. The other parliamentary countries of the world are setting us a valuable political example in putting the old parliaments out and the new ones in immediately after elections.

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The President's Message.

On every important issue save one, which is raised by President Roosevelt in his message, it is evident that he writes under the consciousness of tremendous pressure from opposite directions. With that single exception, the message teeters now to this side and totters now to the other, as its author goes circumspectly up and down in his efforts to balance hostile and fundamentally irreconcilable interests.

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The exception is that part of his message in which the President gives reasons for his proposed method of dealing with the Japanese question in California. Here his words ring strong and clear and true. Here he strikes a high moral key and utters a true democratic note without discord. This part of his message goes far to show the kind of democratic leader Mr. Roosevelt might be, if he were in truth a man of courage. But the reader whose enthusiasm is evoked by Mr. Roosevelt's splendid sentiments regarding the Japanese, can hardly overlook the fact that Japan is powerful, nor the other fact that American sentiment against the Japanese is so local and of such recent origin as to be easily stamped out. It requires no courage for Mr. Roosevelt to defy the local anti-Japanese sentiment of San Francisco in the interest of one of the most powerful nations on earth. Such a criticism would not hold, of course, if other outraged races, with no powerful nations behind them, were treated in the message as this document treats the Japanese. But that is not the fact.

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The Chinese of the Pacific Coast will find no such eloquent plea in the message for their rights as appears there in behalf of the Japanese. Is it because no powerful government comes forth, as Japan does for the Japanese, to demand fair treatment for the Chinese? Is it because the anti-Chi-

nese sentiment is older and more widespread and deeply rooted and consequently too dangerous for politicians to cope with? Or is Mr. Roosevelt concentrating his attack upon the point of least resistance for tactical reasons? We can hope for the latter interpretation,—but it is only a hope.

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Let us also contrast the President's splendid sentiments regarding the Japanese with his Bunbyisms regarding the Negro. In his handling of this race question, with here a kindly phrase for the Negro and there an extenuating concession to white prejudices against him, all so suggestive of a keen appreciation of the value of the white vote at the South and of the Negro vote at the North, Mr. Roosevelt reminds one of the complacency of the dying man who said he had no fears of death because throughout his life he had kept on "pretty good terms with God and on pretty good terms with the Devil, too." For all that he says in behalf of the Negro, Mr. Roosevelt is apologetic to the Negro's white persecutors; and in the end the Negro is advised to be good, in a tone and spirit which implies that if he has any rights that white men are bound to respect he must prove his merit gradually and mustn't meanwhile be insolent to his betters.

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The same disposition to put his eloquent plea for human rights back into the pigeon hole from which he drew it for the benefit of the statesmen of Tokio, is exhibited by Mr. Roosevelt when he handles industrial questions in his message. Neither side in this controversy is all-powerful. The division cuts public sentiment in half, and self-seeking politicians dare not take the strong ground either way that Mr. Roosevelt takes on the Japanese question. The result is an agile dancing upon tip-toe, comically suggestive of a live turkey on a hot floor.

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Mr. Roosevelt insists upon describing the industrial issue as a conflict between the rich and the poor. That is not the industrial issue at all, and by this time a President of the United States ought to know it. The issue is between earning without getting and getting without earning. It is the possibilities of getting without earning that make the greed and the swollen fortunes which Mr. Roosevelt deplores in guarded terms and assails with feathery reforms. It is earning without getting that makes the discontent which no "preachers of discontent," as he calls them, could arouse

if the sting of injustice were not there. Let Mr. Roosevelt take positive and intelligible ground for the earner who gets not, and against the getter who earns not, turning neither to the left hand to defend the latter nor to the right to patronize and scold the former, and he may cease worrying over "preachers of discontent" and the envy of riches. Mr. Roosevelt shows base ingratitude, let us say in conclusion, by attacking the "preachers of discontent." When he was shouting, "Prosperity! Prosperity!" though there was no prosperity for the masses, these "preachers of discontent" were giving voice to a popular sense of injustice which Mr. Roosevelt, feeling it not, saw not; and now, in response to the self-sacrificing work of those men who braved the jibes and jeers of such as Mr. Roosevelt, to perform a kind of public duty that moral cowards always shirk, Mr. Roosevelt himself devotes a large share of one of the longest Presidential messages on record, to proposing ways and means for remedying the very evils which have caused the discontent that "preachers of discontent" are making articulate.

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President Roosevelt and His Corrupt Campaign Fund.

It is impossible not to sympathize with President Roosevelt in the dilemma in which, according to Washington correspondence, he has been placed by campaign managers through their accepting money embezzled for campaign purposes from the corrupt life insurance companies. Mr. Roosevelt naturally enough does not relish the idea of having his public career forever tarnished with the taint of this money. He therefore wishes to have the money returned. But his campaign managers quite as naturally shrink from making the abject confession of turpitude which their restoration of the money would imply. Mr. Roosevelt is right, however, in demanding that the money be restored regardless of the effect of such an act upon the reputation for good faith of the gentlemen who accepted and used it for his and McKinley's election. It was diverted by its trustees from the purposes for which they held it; the receivers knew this when they received it; and the fact that restitution would be a confession is immaterial. The vital question is not whether restitution would be confession, but whether there ought to be restitution; and that depends upon facts about which there can be no honest controversy.

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Senator La Follette's Tactics.

Senator La Follette has created an enormous

deal of fluttering in the Senatorial flock, by going before their respective constituents in Chautauqua lectures and telling them how their Senators vote on important questions. One of the Senatorial tricks is to vote against those features of proposed anti-plutocratic measures, or those amendments to anti-plutocratic bills, which would spoil the profitable fun of the great corporate interests, but to vote for the measure after everything to make it effective has either been kept out or taken out. As votes on the subsidiary questions are not reported, but those on the measures in their final form are, these Senators have been claiming credit for being on the side of what they in their clubs sarcastically call "the dear pee-pul." It is this trick which La Follette has exposed. He has gone before "the dear pee-pul" of those Senators, and given the voting record of the Senators on the subsidiary questions. Nothing has stirred these sleek rascals so deeply for a long time, and La Follette has consequently got himself still more disliked.

* * *

Inter-State Extradition.

In deciding that there is no ground for Federal interference in the case of the Colorado labor union men who were kidnapped from Colorado and taken to Idaho, the majority of the Supreme Court of the United States have done neither more nor less than could have been expected under existing legal conditions with reference to the States in their Federal relations. The Federal government has no mandatory jurisdiction whatever over questions of inter-State extradition. Although the Federal Constitution makes it the duty of the governors of the several States to extradite fugitives from justice to other States demanding them, the Federal courts have no power to enforce this duty. The governor upon whom a demand for extradition is made may refuse to grant it, no matter how perfect may be the evidence upon which it is based. He is answerable for his refusal, not to the demanding State, nor to the Federal government, but only to the laws of his own State. This principle is as old as the case of Gov. Dennison of Ohio in the middle of the last century, and it has never been disturbed.

* * *

It follows clearly enough that the governors of the States may grant inter-State extradition with no cause whatever, without thereby giving jurisdiction to the Federal courts. For participating in a kidnapping proceeding, such as the so-called extradition of those labor union men from Colorado to Idaho doubtless was, they are amenable to

the laws of their own States alone. The Federal courts cannot interfere; they have no plenary authority in such matters. The courts of the demanding State cannot interfere; the question before them is the alleged crime, and not the manner of bringing the alleged criminals within their territorial jurisdiction. If the State of Colorado cannot act in this case, if her governor is allowed by her laws to extradite any of her citizens at his own pleasure and by means which deny them opportunity of access to the courts, then there is no redress at all for this greatest of crimes against personal liberty. Most States have laws against kidnapping. If Colorado has none or will not enforce such as she has, then the kidnapping conspirators in this case are to be congratulated upon their good luck.

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The Chicago Traction Grabbers.

Signs are increasing of a purpose on the part of J. Pierpont Morgan's traction companies in Chicago to break faith with the city and try to rush through a pliable city council a stock-jobbing franchise. One promise they have already broken. They promised to improve the service if allowed to substitute trolleys for cables. The permission was given (pp. 250, 698, 703), but they are furnishing worse service than ever—few cars, slow cars, cold cars and foul cars. Fortunately, however willing the Council may be to yield city rights to these stock-jobbing adventurers, Chicago has a Mayor who is both honest and determined—an unusual combination of qualities for Chicago,—and there are enough honest and determined men in the Council to sustain his veto against the members who are only determined.

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Producing and Dividing.

George F. Baer, a man who in his own esteem is one of God's favorite sons to whom He gave the earth and the fullness thereof, has been making another speech. The implication at one part of this later speech is excellent. "The men," he says, "who do not by their own work contribute anything to the general stores, want to control their distribution." This implies that those alone who should control the distribution of wealth are those who contribute to its production. That is excellent. But Mr. Baer assumes that the distribution of wealth is now controlled by those who produce it, and therein he makes as lamentable a mistake as when he claimed divine right of property to the coal deposits which God has been storing up for ages. The essential industrial issue of to-day, is

whether the mere appropriators of the earth shall control distribution without contributing to production. On that issue Mr. Baer and his kind stand for the appropriators, while the spokesmen of the producers are the "street corner blather-skites," as Mr. Baer lovingly calls them.

* * *

ANOTHER GREAT LAND STEAL.

The "muck-raker" is again at his foul work of exposing respectable thieves. This time the victims of his malignant veracity are some very excellent gentlemen, enterprising men of "business," who were about to develop the coal mining interests of the West. They had hardly got beyond the preliminary stages of bribing a lot of poor devils to take up undeveloped coal fields as settlers upon agricultural land, and to turn the titles over to them, when the contemptible "muck-raker" got upon their trail. And now they may not only be obliged to abandon their patriotic developing enterprise; they may also lose the loot they have corruptly bought with a price, and some of them may peradventure go to the penitentiary, like vulgar thieves of the "lower orders."

These "captains of industry" (or should it be "chevalier d'industrie"?) will probably pay roundly for their misadventure. They have failed in the perpetration of a legal crime, and verily there is no business crime like failure in legal crime. But after all, the injury to the people had these enterprising business men succeeded, would not have been so much in the theft of titles to this rich public land, as in the titles themselves. In other words, the great injury to the people in such matters consists not in stealing land titles, but in profiting by land titles whether stolen or not.

We are accustomed to look with horror upon thefts of land titles, and it is right we should. But the loss to the people, accruing through a perpetual diversion of community values year by year from the community to individuals whose claims rest upon ownership of the sites where these values accumulate, is the real loss; and that is a loss which the community suffers whether titles are regular or fraudulent.

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Consider for a moment the difference between stealing from government a horse, and stealing a title to government coal deposits.

The theft of the horse involves a genuine financial loss to the government. But in a few years this loss must occur without the theft, for the horse would die. The effect of the theft would pass away with lapse of time. True, the thief

might by his theft have hammered out another nail for the coffin of his dying character. He might be detected and imprisoned. The act, as a matter of personal morality, and its economic result, might be for the time, both to the thief and the people, precisely the same as if the subject of the theft had been a title to coal deposits. But not so with reference to the continuing economic results.

The coal land title would never die. As long as the same government stood, and the same confusions as to property rights persisted, this title would give to the thief, his heirs and assigns, a legal right and an economic power which would not in the case of the horse survive the animal's life. It would give him in perpetuity the power to levy an increasing tribute upon the annual output of the industries of the community to which the coal deposits in question might be tributary. In the case of these Western coal fields, for instance, the stolen titles would enable their illegal possessors to exact a higher and higher proportion of the product, without limit of time, as the people of the United States came to be more and more dependent upon the natural coal deposits which that stolen title would command.

On the one hand, the economic effects of the theft of such property as horses—objects of human propagation and limited duration—soon pass away. On the other, the economic effects of the theft of such property as coal lands, never pass away. They enable the possessor to exact tribute of industry forever, with the power and the regularity of a robber baron and the ethical insistence of a moral law.

But theft is not an element in distinguishing the difference. The same result follows whether horse and land title are honestly and legally, or dishonestly and illegally, obtained from the government. In the one case as in the other, the loss to the people is determined not by theft or sale, but by the subject of the theft or the sale. In the case of such things as horses, it is limited by the life of the horse and the virtually stationary value of horses; in the case of the coal land, there is no limitation either as to length of time or increase in value.

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It would be difficult, perhaps, to indicate the difference we have here tried to point out, in fewer words than those of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, one of the most conservative of the old and influential newspapers of the United States. In an editorial of the 28th that staid old paper told its readers that—

All the substance constituting wealth must come from resources belonging to the country through the labor and co-operation of its people, and . . . every scheme or device which prevents an equitable distribution of the proceeds of that labor and co-operation, which diverts to one or to some any part of what fairly and honestly belongs to others, is in its essence stealing and robbery.

The mere stealing of government land titles, let it be observed, is no different in essence from buying those titles. The substance of the injury to the people is not the stealing of the titles; it is the preventing of "an equitable distribution of the proceeds" of the "labor and co-operation" of the people, through which "all the substance constituting wealth must come from resources belonging to the country." Whatever be the scheme or device whereby an equitable distribution of those proceeds is prevented, it "is in its essence stealing and robbery." It makes no difference in the long run whether the device be legal or illegal. The essential consideration in such matters as the diversion of natural coal deposits from governmental to private ownership, is not the method or device whereby it is done, but the fact that it is done at all.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NORTH DAKOTA'S AWAKENING.

Mayville, N. D., Nov. 26.—The wave of reform which has been sweeping over States to the East has just reached us here, and its freshening influence upon the body politic is both delightful and invigorating. For more than a decade the public affairs of this State have been controlled by the railway corporations through their ownership of the machinery of the Republican party; and, although several fights have been made against such domination, their grip seemed to be continually growing stronger. During all of the time since its admission to the Union, North Dakota has been entirely in the hands of the Republican party, except during the years 1892-94, when a Populist-Democratic administration held the reins of government. The Democrats have always been in the minority; and, although the Republican lead was cut down to 5,000 in the Bryan campaign of 1896, in 1904 with Parker as candidate for the Presidency, the State gave Roosevelt a majority of nearly 40,000 and elected the Republican candidate for governor, E. Y. Sarles, over M. F. Hegge, the Democratic nominee, by more than 30,000.

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A growing demand for a primary election law compelled the Republicans to declare in favor of such a measure in their platform of two years ago, but upon their return to power they passed a bill which was far from satisfactory in that it gave the people no direct vote on the nomination of State officers, applying only to county officials and delegates to

State conventions. In the meantime there was coming to be felt within the party a strong influence opposed to the continued domination of the corporations; and upon the passage of a primary election measure, which was regarded as a betrayal of the people's cause, the murmurings grew louder and the signs of dissatisfaction more evident. Then began the formation of "good government leagues" in different parts of the State. Before long, two distinct factions were arrayed against each other, fighting for the control of the Republican organization—the "gang" and the "insurgents."

The former of these two, the "gang," representing the railroad and corporation interests and headed by Alexander McKenzie of "Looting of Alaska" fame, was very loath to relinquish a hold which had proved for over ten years to be both pleasant and profitable, and gave battle to the "insurgents" at the primaries in June last, electing a large majority of the delegates to the convention called for nominating State officers. If the "insurgents" were somewhat unfortunate in the matter of leadership, the quality of the rank and file went a long way toward making up for such defect, the sturdy Scandinavian-American citizens constituting the "backbone" of the movement. The "gang" had complete control of the Republican State convention at Jamestown in July, and insisted upon renominating for governor the man whose home county, Trall, had sent a solid "insurgent" delegation against his candidacy, and placed with him upon the ticket men in every way satisfactory to the corporate interests.

Among the matters of importance coming before the convention was the placing in nomination of a candidate for the vacancy upon the Supreme bench caused by the resignation of Justice N. C. Young. For this position the "insurgents," holding among their good government principles a firm belief in a non-partisan judiciary, voted as a unit for a Democrat, Charles J. Fisk, Judge of the First Judicial District, who has long been regarded by men of all parties as without a peer upon the District bench of the State. The "gang," flushed with their triumph at the primaries and grown arrogant with thoughts of their own strength, refused to conciliate the "insurgents" by conceding to their wishes in the matter of the judgeship, and placed in nomination John Knauf, a man better known as a politician than as a lawyer, who, it is contended, was given a place on the ticket as a reward for party services. At once upon the announcement that Knauf was to be the nominee of the convention, Associate Justice Engerud of the Supreme Court declared that, in the event of Knauf's election, he would resign from the bench, as he regarded him as without qualifications and unfit for such a position. As soon as the convention adjourned, Governor Sarles appointed Mr. Knauf to serve until a successor to Justice Young should be elected.

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When the Democrats assembled in convention at Minot in August, they adopted a splendid declaration of principles, including demands for justice in taxation as between the corporations and the people, a complete primary election law, the initiative and referendum, and the enactment of an anti-pass law,

and nominated one of the best tickets ever offered to the electorate of North Dakota.

In their unanimous nomination of John Burke as candidate for Governor a particularly happy choice was made of a leader of the hosts of democracy. A plain man of the people, of sterling integrity and recognized ability, possessing a nature suggestive of the kindness of a Lincoln combined with the firmness of a Jackson, he proved indeed a tower of strength to the forces working for reform and good government. The strong speaking campaign which he made in nearly every county of the State has never been equaled in the history of North Dakota politics, and the "gang" came to fear the influence of a man whose name was a synonym for honesty and who impressed his hearers everywhere with his absolute sincerity and earnestness.

Acting upon the suggestion of the "insurgent" delegates at the Jamestown convention, and in full accord with their own desire and judgment, the Democrats named Judge Fisk as their candidate for Justice of the Supreme Court. The great majority of the Republican lawyers of the State refused to support Mr. Knauf and lent their influence toward the election of the Democratic nominee, regarding whose pre-eminent fitness and qualifications for the position not the slightest question could be raised.

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The attitude of the reform Republicans, the "insurgents," centered the fight largely upon the offices of governor and judge; and, while the main objection made to the re-election of Sarles was his entire subserviency to the railroad interests, his personal character was to some extent made an issue by the action of the Congregational, Presbyterian and Lutheran church conventions and the W. C. T. U. These different religious bodies adopted resolutions condemnatory of the character and conduct of the governor and urged support of the People's candidate, "Honest John" Burke.

While the enthusiasm did not run high on either side during the campaign, it was very noticeable that for the most part the Democratic speakers were able to secure larger audiences and better attention than their opponents, and there was a quiet undercurrent of feeling which suggested a possible surprise for one side or the other. It came on November 6th, when the Republican majority of 31,000 for Sarles of two years ago, was changed to a majority of 6,000 for Burke. Fisk was elected over Knauf by nearly 10,000. The south and west "stood pat" for the "gang," while the north and east lined up solidly under the banner of reform and good government.

With only one Democratic daily newspaper in the State it would have been difficult to get the issues squarely before a large mass of the people had it not been for the splendid support lent by the independent Republican press, which refused its allegiance to "gang rule" and "bossism" masquerading under the name of the party founded by Lincoln. To the citizens of Scandinavian birth or parentage, who by the thousands took their stand for good government and refused to be misled by appeals to party prejudice, too much credit cannot be given in any summing up of the causes which produced such a splendid result. Upon the Republican side the

fight was made for the most part on national questions, while the Democrats discussed State issues and carried on a real campaign of education. The result is a people's victory rather than a party triumph, and it serves to give notice to the railway and corporation "gang" that North Dakota has awakened from her long slumber and proposes to take her place among her sisters as a free and independent State.

EDWARD PARKER TOTTEN.

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.

Eight days ending Wednesday, Dec. 5, 1906.

Final Session of the 59th Congress.

The 59th Congress (p. 321) met in final session on the 4th.

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The President's Message.

President Roosevelt's message to Congress was read in both Houses on the 5th. It is an unusually lengthy document, in the later free literary style of Presidential messages, and concerns itself chiefly with economic questions. Its principal recommendations relate to campaign contributions from corporations, appeals by the prosecution and other questions of practice in criminal cases, labor injunctions, the lynching of Negroes, conflicts between employers and employed, employers' liability for personal injuries to workmen caused by the negligence of other workmen in the same employment, the conservation of government coal lands, regulation of corporations, inheritance and income taxes, industrial training in schools, agricultural education, irrigation and forest reserves, marriage and divorce, subsidizing American shipping, currency reform, the Philippines, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Alaska, the anti-Japanese agitation in California, the Cuban situation, sealing in Alaska, and the maintenance of international peace by means of large national armament.

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On the subject of campaign contributions the President recommends a law prohibiting all corporations from contributing to the campaign funds of any political party.

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Regarding labor injunctions he recommends laws against judicial abuse of labor injunctions, while retaining them for the restraint of violence or intimidation, especially by conspiracy.

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The question of Negro lynching draws out from the President a recommendation of capital punishment for rape.

When he comes to consider the labor question in broad outline, he finds "one matter more important to remember than aught else, and that is the infinite harm done by preachers of mere discontent;" although he regards as "equally base but no baser" "that other creature" "who in a spirit of greed, or to accumulate or add to an already huge fortune, seeks to exploit his fellow Americans with callous disregard to their welfare of soul and body."

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The most significant, perhaps, of the President's economic recommendations is that with reference to government coal lands. On this subject he says:

It is not wise that the nation should alienate its remaining coal lands. I have temporarily withdrawn from settlement all the lands which the geological survey has indicated as containing, or in all probability containing, coal. The question, however, can be properly settled only by legislation, which in my judgment should provide for the withdrawal of these lands from sale or from entry, save in certain special circumstances. The ownership would then remain in the United States, which should not, however, attempt to work them, but permit them to be worked by private individuals under a royalty system, the government keeping such control as to permit it to see that no excessive price was charged consumers. It would, of course, be as necessary to supervise the rates charged by the common carriers to transport the product as the rates charged by those who mine it, and the supervision must extend to the conduct of the common carriers, so that they shall in no way favor one competitor at the expense of another. The withdrawal of these coal lands would constitute a policy analogous to that which has been followed in withdrawing the forest lands from ordinary settlement. The coal, like the forests, should be treated as the property of the public and its disposal should be under conditions which would inure to the benefit of the public as a whole.

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But the most revolutionary of the recommendations are those with reference to inheritance and income taxes:

There are many kinds of taxes which can only be levied by the general government so as to produce the best results, because, among other reasons, the attempt to impose them in one particular State too often results merely in driving the corporation or individual affected to some other locality or other State. The national government has long derived its chief revenue from a tariff on imports and from an internal or excise tax. In addition to these there is every reason why, when next our system of taxation is revised, the national government should impose a graduated inheritance tax, and, if possible, a graduated income tax. The man of great wealth owes a peculiar obligation to the state, because he derives special advantages from the mere existence of government. Not only should he recognize his obligation in the way he leads his daily life and in the way he earns and spends his money, but it should also be recognized by the way in which he pays for the protection the state gives him. On the one hand, it is desirable that he should assume his full and proper share of the burden of taxation; on the other hand, it is quite as necessary that in this kind of taxation, where the men who vote the tax pay but little of it, there should be clear recognition of the danger of inaugurating any such system save in a spirit of entire justice and moderation. Whenever we as a people undertake to remodel our taxation system along the lines suggested we must make it clear beyond peradventure that our aim is to distribute the burden of supporting the government more equitably than at present; that we intend to treat

rich man and poor man on a basis of absolute equality, and that we regard it as equally fatal to true democracy to do or permit injustice to the one as to do or permit injustice to the other. I am well aware that such a subject as this needs long and careful study in order that the people may become familiar with what is proposed to be done, may clearly see the necessity of proceeding with wisdom and self-restraint and may make up their minds just how far they are willing to go in the matter; while only trained legislators can work out the project in necessary detail. But I feel that in the near future our national legislators should enact a law providing for a graduated inheritance tax by which a steadily increasing rate of duty should be put upon all moneys or other valuables coming by gift, bequest or devise to any individual or corporation. It may be well to make the tax heavy in proportion as the individual benefited is remote of kin. In any event, in my judgment, the pro rata of the tax should increase very heavily with the increase of the amount left to any one individual after a certain point has been reached. It is most desirable to encourage thrift and ambition, and a potent source of thrift and ambition is the desire on the part of the breadwinner to leave his children well off. This object can be obtained by making the tax very small on moderate amounts of property left, because the prime object should be to put a constantly increasing burden on the inheritance of those swollen fortunes which it is certainly of no benefit to this country to perpetuate. There can be no question of the ethical propriety of the government's thus determining the conditions upon which any gift or inheritance should be received. Exactly how far the inheritance tax would, as an incident, have the effect of limiting the transmission by devise or gift of the enormous fortunes in question it is not necessary at present to discuss. It is wise that progress in this direction should be gradual. At first a permanent national inheritance tax, while it might be more substantial than any such tax has hitherto been, need not approximate, either in amount or in the extent of the increase by graduation, to what such tax should ultimately be. This species of tax has again and again been imposed, although only temporarily, by the national government. It was first imposed by the act of July 6, 1797, when the makers of the Constitution were alive and at the head of affairs. It was a graduated tax; though small in amount, the rate was increased with the amount left to any individual, exceptions being made in the case of certain close kin. A similar tax was again imposed by the act of July 1, 1862; a minimum sum of \$1,000 in personal property being excepted from taxation, the tax then becoming progressive according to the remoteness of kin. The war revenue act of June 13, 1898, provided for an inheritance tax on any sum exceeding the value of \$10,000, the rate of the tax increasing both in accordance with the amounts left and in accordance with the legatee's remoteness of kin. The Supreme Court has held that the succession tax imposed at the time of the Civil War was not a direct tax, but an impost or excise, which was both constitutional and valid. More recently the court, in an opinion delivered by Mr. Justice White, which contained an exceedingly able and elaborate discussion of the powers of the congress to impose death duties, sustained the constitutionality of the inheritance-tax feature of the war revenue act of 1898. In its incidents, and apart from the main purpose of raising revenue, an income tax stands on an entirely different footing from an inheritance tax, because it involves no question of the perpetuation of fortunes swollen to an unhealthy size. The question is in its essence a question of the proper adjustment of burdens to benefits. As the law now stands it is undoubtedly difficult to devise a national income tax which shall be constitutional. But whether it is absolutely impossible is another question; and if possible it is most certainly desirable. The first purely

income-tax law was past by the Congress in 1861, but the most important law dealing with the subject was that of 1894. This the Court held to be unconstitutional. The question is undoubtedly very intricate, delicate and troublesome. The decision of the Court was only reached by one majority. It is the law of the land, and of course is accepted as such and loyally obeyed by all good citizens. Nevertheless, the hesitation evidently felt by the court as a whole in coming to a conclusion, when considered together with the previous decisions on the subject, may perhaps indicate the possibility of devising a constitutional income-tax law which shall substantially accomplish the results aimed at. The difficulty of amending the Constitution is so great that only real necessity can justify a resort thereto. Every effort should be made in dealing with this subject, as with the subject of the proper control by the national government over the use of corporate wealth in inter-State business, to devise legislation which without such action shall attain the desired end; but if this fails, there will ultimately be no alternative to a constitutional amendment.

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The President's recommendation as to marriage and divorce is a Constitutional amendment relegating the whole question to the authority of Congress.

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Without making any specific recommendation on currency reform, the President urges the "need for the adoption of some system which shall be automatic and open to all sound banks, so as to avoid all possibility of discrimination and favoritism," whereby money stringency may be relieved when it occurs. To emphasize this belief he directs attention to the plan of Secretary Shaw of the Treasury Department, according to which "national banks should be permitted to issue a specified proportion of their capital in notes of a given kind, the issue to be taxed at so high a rate as to drive the notes back when not wanted in legitimate trade."

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The recommendation regarding the Philippines calls for "a lower tariff or else absolute free trade in Philippine products," with the explanation that—

No harm will come to any American industry; and while there will be some small but real material benefit to the Filipinos, the main benefit will come by the showing made as to our purpose to do all in our power for their welfare. So far our action in the Philippines has been abundantly justified, not mainly and indeed not primarily because of the added dignity it has given us as a nation by proving that we are capable honorably and efficiently to bear the international burdens which a mighty people should bear, but even more because of the immense benefit that has come to the people of the Philippine Islands. In these islands we are steadily introducing both liberty and order to a greater degree than their people have ever before known. We have secured justice. We have provided an efficient police force and have put down ladorism. Only in the islands of Leyte and Samar is the authority of our government resisted, and this by wild mountain tribes under the superstitious inspiration of fakirs and pseudo-religious leaders. We are constantly increasing the measure of liberty accorded the islanders, and next spring, if conditions warrant, we shall take a great stride forward in testing their capacity for self-government by summoning the first Filipino legislative assembly; and the way in which they stand this test will largely determine whether the self-government thus granted will be increased or decreased; for if we have erred at all in the Philippines it has been in proceeding too rapidly in

the direction of granting a large measure of self-government. We are building roads. We have, for the immeasurable good of the people, arranged for the building of railroads. Let us also see to it that they are given free access to our markets. This nation owes no more imperative duty to itself and mankind than the duty of managing the affairs of all the islands under the American flag—the Philippines, Porto Rico and Hawaii—so as to make it evident that it is in every way to their advantage that the flag should fly over them.

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In the same general connection American citizenship for Porto Ricans, small land holdings in Hawaii, and fair trade across the Pacific, are recommended; and Cuba is warned that if insurrections are continued her independence will no longer be recognized.

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An extraordinary commotion, especially in the Pacific Coast States, has been caused by the President's recommendation regarding the treatment of Japanese in the United States, of which his message says:

It is a mistake, and it betrays a spirit of foolish cynicism, to maintain that all international governmental action is and must ever be based upon mere selfishness, and that to advance ethical reasons for such action is always a sign of hypocrisy. This is no more necessarily true of the action of governments than of the action of individuals. It is a sure sign of a base nature always to ascribe base motives for the actions of others. Unquestionably no nation can afford to disregard proper considerations of self-interest any more than a private individual can so do. But it is equally true that the average private individual in any really decent community does many actions with reference to other men in which he is guided, not by self-interest, but by public spirit, by regard for the rights of others, by a disinterested purpose to do good to others and to raise the tone of the community as a whole. Similarly, a really great nation must often act, and as a matter of fact often does act, toward other nations in a spirit not in the least of mere self-interest, but paying heed chiefly to ethical reasons; and as the centuries go by this disinterestedness in international action, this tendency of the individuals comprising a nation to require that nation to act with justice toward its neighbors, steadily grows and strengthens. It is neither wise nor right for a nation to disregard its own needs, and it is foolish—and may be wicked—to think that other nations will disregard theirs. But it is wicked for a nation only to regard its own interest, and foolish to believe that such is the sole motive that actuates any other nation. It should be our steady aim to raise the ethical standard of national action just as we strive to raise the ethical standard of individual action. Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the state, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such stranger who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is of course peculiarly incumbent on every government official, whether of the nation or of the several States. I am prompted to say this by the

attitude of hostility here and there assumed toward the Japanese in this country. This hostility is sporadic and is limited to a very few places. Nevertheless, it is most discreditable to us as a people, and it may be fraught with the greatest consequences to the nation. The friendship between the United States and Japan has been continuous since the time, over half a century ago, when Commodore Perry, by his expedition to Japan, first opened the islands to western civilization. Since then the growth of Japan has been literally astounding. There is not only nothing to parallel it, but nothing to approach it in the history of civilized mankind. Japan has a glorious and ancient past. Her civilization is older than that of the nations of northern Europe—the nations from whom the people of the United States have chiefly sprung. But fifty years ago Japan's development was still that of the middle ages. During that fifty years the progress of the country in every walk in life has been a marvel to mankind, and she now stands as one of the greatest of civilized nations; great in the arts of war and in the arts of peace; great in military, in industrial, in artistic development and achievement. Japanese soldiers and sailors have shown themselves equal in combat to any of whom history makes note. She has produced great generals and mighty admirals; her fighting men, afloat and ashore, show all the heroic courage, the unquestioning, unflinching loyalty, the splendid indifference to hardship and death, which marked the Loyal Ronins; and they show also that they possess the highest ideal of patriotism. Japanese artists of every kind see their products eagerly sought for in all lands. The industrial and commercial development of Japan has been phenomenally greater than that of any other country during the same period. At the same time the advance in science and philosophy is no less marked. The admirable management of the Japanese Red Cross during the late war, the efficiency and humanity of the Japanese officials, nurses and doctors, won the respectful admiration of all acquainted with the facts. Through the Red Cross the Japanese people sent over \$100,000 to the sufferers of San Francisco, and the gift was accepted with gratitude by our people. The courtesy of the Japanese, nationally and individually, has become proverbial. To no other country has there been such an increasing number of visitors from this land as to Japan. In return, Japanese have come here in great numbers. They are welcome, socially and intellectually, in all our colleges and institutions of higher learning, in all our professional and social bodies. The Japanese have won in a single generation the right to stand abreast of the foremost and most enlightened peoples of Europe and America; they have won on their own merits and by their own exertions the right to treatment on a basis of full and frank equality. The overwhelming mass of our people cherish a lively regard and respect for the people of Japan, and in almost every quarter of the Union the stranger from Japan is treated as he deserves—that is, he is treated as the stranger from any part of civilized Europe is and deserves to be treated. But here and there a most unworthy feeling has manifested itself toward the Japanese—the feeling that has been shown in shutting them out from the common schools in San Francisco and in mutterings against them in one or two other places, because of their efficiency as workers. To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity when there are no first-class colleges in the land, including the universities and colleges of California, which do not gladly welcome Japanese students and on which Japanese students do not reflect credit. We have as much to learn from Japan as Japan has to learn from us, and no nation is fit to teach unless it is also willing to learn. Throughout Japan Americans are well treated, and any failure on the part of Americans at home to treat the Japanese with a like courtesy and consideration is by just so much a confession of inferiority in

our civilization. Our nation fronts on the Pacific just as it fronts on the Atlantic. We hope to play a constantly growing part in the great ocean of the orient. We wish, as we ought to wish, for a great commercial development in our dealings with Asia, and it is out of the question that we should permanently have such development unless we freely and gladly extend to other nations the same measure of justice and good treatment which we expect to receive in return. It is only a very small body of our citizens that act badly. Where the Federal government has power it will deal summarily with any such. Where the several States have power I earnestly ask that they also deal wisely and promptly with such conduct, or else this small body of wrongdoers may bring shame upon the great mass of their innocent and right-thinking fellows—that is, upon our nation as a whole. Good manners should be an international no less than an individual attribute. I ask fair treatment for the Japanese as I would ask fair treatment for Germans or Englishmen, Frenchmen, Russians or Italians. I ask it as due to humanity and civilization. I ask it as due to ourselves because we must act uprightly toward all men.

The President thereupon recommends to Congress the enactment of a law "specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become citizens," and announces that under the laws as they stand he will do everything in his power to protect Japanese residents, adding that—all of the forces, military and civil, of the United States, which I may lawfully employ, will be so employed. There should, however, be no particle of doubt as to the power of the national government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless to make defense against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this government it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States government be limited, not to preventing the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defend the people who have committed it against the consequences of their own wrongdoing.

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Changes in the Cabinet.

At the opening of Congress the President nominated to the Senate, William H. Moody for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court; and the following cabinet officers: George B. Cortelyou for Secretary of the Treasury; Charles J. Bonaparte, for Attorney General; Geo. L. Von Meyer, for Postmaster General; Victor H. Metcalf, for Secretary of the Navy; James R. Garfield, for Secretary of the Interior; and Oscar L. Straus, for Secretary of Commerce and Labor.

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Cuban Elections Annulled.

Governor Magoon (p. 678) announced on the 2d to twenty-five of the forty-three Cuban congressmen elected last year, that a decree is to be issued shortly under the specific authority of President Roosevelt, declaring vacant from October 12, 1906, all seats of members of congress elected September 1, 1905.

Vacancies will be filled at some future time by elections to be held by the provisional government pursuant to a declaration issued Sept. 29 last. The first series of senators, elected in 1902, and the representatives elected in 1904, continue in office. The decree will state that if moral peace, tranquillity and public confidence are restored to such an extent that elections can be held in 1907, there will be elected at that time successors to the representatives whose terms of office expire Dec. 31, 1907, without shortening the terms of those representatives.

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The Moderates (President Palma's party) are much dissatisfied with the situation, but the Liberals are on the whole pleased, believing that since the insurrection was entirely directed against the frauds of the last elections, this course vindicates their contention. *La Discussion* declares that—

The essence of the document inspired by the Washington administration, while complying with the agreement with the insurgents, is that the United States will now treat with Cuba as a whole, will listen to the whole country and invite all classes to express their opinions as to the best settlement of the problem. This is just; it is democratic, and beyond doubt it offers the only solution to the problem."

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Ministerial Crisis in Spain.

Movements looking to a separation between church and state in Spain, similar to the movement now working itself out under the separation law in France, have been vaguely reported from Madrid for several months (p. 678). This situation is one of the reasons assigned for the resignation of the ministry (vol. viii, p. 202) announced on the 28th. Another reason given is that the ministers disagreed over the treatment of Morocco. Some wanted immediately to land troops in that country to enforce order at Tangier and its neighborhood, where Raisuli is reported to be still fighting the Kabyle and Anghera tribesmen, and where in any case lawlessness is acute. The others were opposed to such action as imprudent and as likely to have fatal consequences for Spain, German interests in Morocco being very sensitive to interference.

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A new cabinet was formed on the 29th by Senor Moret y Prendergast, and the appointments were accepted by King Alfonso. This new cabinet encountering difficulties, resigned on the 3d. On the 4th the King approved of a new ministry under the premiership of the Marquis de Armijo, in which General Weyler holds his old portfolio as minister of war. This second cabinet has assured the Cortes (the Spanish parliament) that an attempt will be made to hurry through the ratification of the Algeciras convention (p. 34) and the budget, and then the Cortes will be prorogued.

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In the British Parliament.

The land tenure bill (p. 824) has passed its third reading in the House of Commons, and has gone to the Lords. Of this bill it was remarked in the Commons as a curious fact that "there was not, from one end to the other, one single sentence in it affecting

the tenure of land." It deals, in fact, with the contract relations between the landlords and tenants of agricultural land.

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The trades disputes bill (vol. viii, p. 874; vol. ix, p. 9) has passed its second reading in the House of Lords. Lord Lansdowne, speaking for the Conservative Opposition, declared that he believed the duty of the House of Lords was to arrest the progress of a measure when it believed it had not been sufficiently considered or was not in accordance with the wishes of the people. The Government had a mandate for the people for the present measure, however, so that the only course opened to the House of Lords was to pass the bill, although the House regarded it as conferring excessive privileges on trade unionists which were dangerous to the community and likely to embitter industrial life.

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Compromise between the two Houses on the education bill (p. 824) seemed hopeless after the debate in the Lords on the night of the 3d, and the opinion prevailed among the members of the Opposition that the Government would have to drop the present bill, and introduce another at the next session of Parliament. No important concessions have been made by the Lords. So intense is the feeling aroused by the House of Lords that at an emergency meeting of the general committee of the National Liberal Federation on the 27th, a resolution was adopted unanimously urging the Government to totally reject the Lords' amendments to the bill, and to "resolutely determine that the present Parliament shall not come to an end until steps are taken to bring to a final arbitrament the question whether the House of Peers should any longer possess the right of veto on the will of the people as declared by the House of Commons." The meeting is reported to have been the largest and most representative of its kind which has been held for years. In a letter to the committee which was read at the meeting, the Premier, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, made the following statements on behalf of the Government:

The education bill as passed by the House of Commons was a bill which the country demanded in unmistakable terms at the general election. It now seems to have been turned into a travesty of its original form. As amended it perpetuates, if it does not extend the very grievances and wrongs fixed upon the country by the act of 1902. Of one thing you may rest assured—we will have no tampering with the main principles upon which our bill is founded. If within those limits an arrangement can be reached, all well and good. If not, it will be for us to see that on this question of education, and on others, a way is found by which the wishes of the country may be made to prevail.

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Russian Political Parties.

As the time for the Douma elections, December 30 (p. 704), approaches, party alignments become more definite. The Octoberists, as the most conservative constitutional party has been called since constitutionalism for Russia became a practical question two years ago (vol. vii, p. 535), held a general meeting in St. Petersburg on the 18th, at which 5,000 members were present. A. J. Guchkoff, who presided, advised all who were ready to use revolu-

tionary means to obtain civil rights, thereby destroying their fatherland, to vote for the Constitutional Democrats and other members of "the left," as radical parties are called in Europe from the relative positions of radicals and conservatives in the French Chamber of Deputies. Mr. Guchkoff claimed for "the right" that their aims in regard to the agrarian, labor and educational questions are progressive and democratic. The political creed of the Octoberists is that the monarchical principle must be maintained, but given a constitutional form and a democratic method of operation.

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The Regenerationists who have occupied a middle position between the Octoberists and the Constitutional Democrats (p. 656), disturbed by the continuance of unconstitutional and illegal acts on the part of the government, have at last definitely arrayed themselves with the Constitutional Democrats, even though their plans for a peaceful evolution of a regenerate Russia may have to suffer modification. At a meeting of the central committee of their party held on the 4th, the following governmental procedures were denounced as arbitrary violations of the laws, tending to provoke revolution:

First, the restraining of political rights of citizens and the prohibition of electoral meetings; secondly, the barring of employes of the state, zemstvos and municipalities from participation in the efforts of political parties, contrary to paragraph 18 of the fundamental laws; thirdly, the deprivation of large masses of the population of their votes by means of senate orders, and, fourthly, the infringement of the prerogatives of the lower house of Parliament by the publication beforehand of a series of important proposed legislative acts.

It is further stated that as a result of a decision not to permit the members of the Peaceful Regenerationist party to hold joint membership in other parties, Michael A. Stakovich, the Octoberist, who up to the present time has vacillated between the two parties in the hope of uniting the Regenerationists with the Octoberists, has resigned and thrown in his lot with the Regenerationists.

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The Constitutional Democrats (p. 656), are anticipating a retention of their preponderance in the Douma, though with diminished numbers. Their plan is to endeavor to carry through a reform of the system of local administration, the enactment of universal suffrage and other indispensable legislation, before locking horns with the government in the great struggle for a responsible ministry and a full parliamentary government.

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The results of the trial by court martial of the sailors accused of being concerned in the Kronstadt mutiny of last August (p. 441) have been made public. Of those tried, 683 have been sentenced to imprisonment or service with the disciplinary battalions for various periods, and 1,717 have been acquitted.

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A leader of the Doukhobors, the Russian religious exiles who took refuge in Canada, has arrived in St. Petersburg on a business mission, and

also to ascertain the attitude of the Russian government on the question of the repatriation of the Doukhobors, should they desire it. The Premier, Mr. Stolypin, assured him that the Government would welcome the Doukhobors whenever they should desire to return.

NEWS NOTES

—Flora Batson, widely known as the "Black Patti," died at her home in Philadelphia on the 2nd.

—More fighting with the Pulajanes in the island of Samar in the Philippines (p. 732) was reported on the 28th and the 1st.

—The English soap trust (p. 802) was quickly dissolved, owing to popular arrangements for a general boycott of its products.

—Mayor Schmitz of San Francisco (p. 824) was arrested on the 28th as his train crossed the State line between Nevada and California.

—A large department store conducted by Negroes for Negroes exclusively, is to be established in New York at Forty-sixth street and Eighth avenue.

—Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland has brought suits for libel against the Chicago Journal in Chicago, and the "Concon" Traction Company in Cleveland.

—The 266th anniversary of the deliverance of Portugal from Spanish dominion was celebrated by the signing of a treaty between the two countries, delimiting their frontiers.

—A flood caused by the breaking of a dam destroyed the business portion of the town of Clifton in eastern Arizona on the 4th. Dispatches report eighteen lives lost.

—Eight thousand newsboys were given a Thanksgiving dinner in Chicago on Wednesday evening the 28th, by Woolf's Clothing company. This dinner, which is annual, was inaugurated by the late Isaac Woolf twenty-five years ago.

—Pursuant to a joint resolution of the Iowa legislature, representatives of several States met at Des Moines on the 5th for the purpose of discussing methods for perfecting a change in the manner of electing United States Senators.

—It is reported from Manila that a local paper has been making a study of the passenger lists of the army transports between the Philippine Islands and the United States, with the result that it estimates that 60 per cent. more first-class passengers and 90 per cent. more second-class passenger are going back home than are going out to the Islands.

—Congressman Slayden of Texas introduced in the House on the 4th a bill providing that "on or before June 30, 1907, all enlisted men of the army who are Negroes, or of Negro descent, shall be discharged from the service of the United States, and thereafter no Negro or person of Negro descent shall be enlisted or appointed in the army of the United States."

—The first section of the Pekin-Kalgong railway, which will, when completed, connect the Chinese capital direct with Europe and will bring Pekin

within twelve days of London, was opened two months ago. An interesting feature of the building of this railway is that it has been constructed entirely by Chinamen working under a Chinese engineer.

—The Oxford and Cambridge university rowing clubs have decided, according to English dispatches, not to send over crews for the Jamestown Exposition regatta next summer. In addition to the consideration of expense the university authorities declare that they are opposed to international contests on principle, as producing too great international rivalry.

—At the municipal election at Portland, Me., on the 3d, a referendum vote was taken on the municipalization of the water works. It was fought by the Portland Water Company, but it carried by 3 to 1. At the same election the Democrats, who advocated the municipalization, not only re-elected the mayor, Nathan Clifford, but gained control of the City Council for the first time in 15 years. Of the 36 members they elected 23.

—Very ancient manuscripts and some paintings on stucco have been brought to Kashmir by Dr. Von Lecoq, who has been traveling in the most remote parts of Central Asia. The manuscripts are in ten different languages, one of them being declared to be in a tongue so far wholly unrecognized. The dispatch, which comes from Bombay, says that this is "probably the greatest archæological find since the days of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Austen Layard."

—The report of last August to the effect that the island of Juan Fernandez, about 400 miles west of the coast of Chile, had disappeared in the Pacific at the time of the disastrous South American earthquakes (p. 486), is now said to have been untrue. It was for some time credited, and no effort was made to verify it. Recently, however, according to an official notice reported as having been received by the Chilean consul at the City of Mexico, warships were sent out by the Chilean government, and the island and its inhabitants were found uninjured.

PRESS OPINIONS

MORE TOM JOHNSONS.

The Commoner, (Lincoln, Neb.), November 23.—The Lincoln (Neb.) Journal, Republican, admits that "Tom Johnsons with an interest in street car affairs are not found in every community." That is true, but Tom Johnson's fight will encourage imitators so that there will be likely to be more of his kind in the future than there have been in the past. One brave fighter is worth a regiment of cowards.

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WHY NOT A THREE-CENT FARE?

Mount Scott News (Arleta, Oregon), November 22.—We believe that if the Portland Railway, Light and Power Company, would inaugurate a three-cent fare, it would not only be a great innovation and benefit for the people, but would be a money-maker for the company. The Chicago Chronicle of November 6 says, that the reduction of fare from five to three cents in Cleveland, "has produced such an increase in the travel that the street cars are almost wrecked." The time is coming when Portland will have a three-cent fare. It is just as necessary

as a two-cent paper, we have that; the three-cent fare may be delayed, but in our opinion it will certainly come.

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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

Elizabeth (N. J.) Evening Times (Dem.), November 26.—There is a movement on foot to abolish capital punishment in Massachusetts. The Boston Traveler favors it, declaring that the experience of this generation "has shown that where the death penalty as a punishment for murder has been abolished the number of murders has decreased, and that all the enlightened countries of the world are getting away with the idea of death punishment for crime. When the question came up in the Massachusetts Legislature a year ago the vote was in favor of the death penalty, but the Traveler thinks that there is a change of sentiment and hopes to see a bill abolishing capital punishment passed at the next session.

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THE "ANANIAS CLUB."

Life (New York, November 12.—Of course, we all know—those of us who read the respectable New York dailies—that Mr. Hearst is a bad, naughty man and publishes unrespectable newspapers. But there is a strong impression in this community, even among enemies of Mr. Hearst, that for lying, flat-footed, malicious, persistent and dignified lying, the "respectable" dailies have beaten him hollow. Mr. Hearst, competing as a liar with the Times, the Sun and the Post, in this recent campaign, seemed an inexperienced groper after Truth. In calling his opponents the "Ananias Club" he maligned Ananias. For there must have been some degrees of malevolent falsehood at which Ananias would have balked. And so the awful suspicion creeps in upon us that if they lied about Hearst they may have lied in their praises of the saintly Hughes. Then where, indeed, shall we look for salvation?

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PORTO RICO AND STATEHOOD.

Springfield (Mass.) Weekly Republican (Ind.), November 29.—President Roosevelt's greeting to the Porto Ricans as fellow-citizens who should be but are not, appears to be somewhat startling to the imperialist organs—what few are left; but the New York Tribune quickly recovers itself and proceeds to say that there can be no serious objection to conferring American citizenship upon those Islanders provided it be not regarded as a step in the direction of Statehood. And it is not believed that the president has Statehood in contemplation or that he would for a moment countenance such an idea. "When Porto Rico receives the gift of citizenship for its people," says the Tribune, "it should be with no impossible aspirations for Statehood, but with profound satisfaction at the establishment of the island on a logical and dignified basis as an autonomous territory of the United States." Here again does imperialism appear to indulge a vain hope. Porto Rico has already been detached from the distinctively colonial status established for the Philippines, and brought within the customs boundaries of the United States. That so far places the island in a position common to our Territories which are in recognized tutelage or preparation for Statehood. The conferring of American citizenship upon the Porto Ricans will further identify the island with "territory" of the United States in the sense in which that term has always heretofore been held—territory on the way to incorporation into the Union of the States. Indeed, it would leave little essential difference between the status of Porto Rico and that of Arizona or New Mexico. And the Porto Ricans will recognize the fact and insist upon it. They will think of ultimate Statehood as do the people of Arizona and they will agitate it; and the spirit of all our history and the still dominant principles of our government will inspire them and sup-

port them in this. And they will finally win either Statehood, or an independence conceded by the United States as preferable to the island's admission as a State, which latter alternative is to be considered highly improbable.

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

PLEA FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Translated from the Norwegian of Bjornstjerne Bjornson for the Chicago Evening Post.

She rose up, saying: "In this world no justice shall we see,

So long as you make all the laws and ask no help from me.

High have you flown since first on earth the master you were made—

A tower now to Justice build! For you that task is laid!

"Too long were you sole master here—too arrogant your word!

Too great the sphere you had to fill—too close at hand your sword!

For justice and for peace your course was never set to steer,

Your compass never pointing true while steel was lying near!

"The elements you conquered—aye!—and Nature's secrets found;

By power and by wisdom's might as slaves you have them bound!

But peace among you holds no sway—one hears alone the call

To strife and war, as if in life the sword were all in all!

"Our homes into the hands of debt in recklessness you gave:

You crowned the money-power king, and made yourself its slave!

But not you only bear those chains; in bondage must repine—

I see you understand me now—your children—yes, and mine!

"For them I ask you, on your way through life, take me along!

Through Justice lies the only path to Peace—to right your wrong!

For Peace it is you violate, and blindly fail to see That Justice points the only way—so give it now to me!"

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Henry H. Hardinge in the Chicago Teachers' Federation Bulletin.

If woman suffrage rests upon a foundation of opinion it may win or lose as opinion changes; but if its foundation is laid upon some enduring principle, then it will win and last forever, once it is established. That it rests upon a fixed principle can be readily seen if you will stop and consider the nature of the suffrage, and its relation to government.

There are two kinds of government in the world; one is government with, the other government without, the consent of the governed.

If just government rests upon the consent of the

governed, as it manifestly does, then you can neither consent to nor dissent from an act of government, unless you can vote.

This is the true basis of suffrage, it is founded upon the eternal principle of liberty, and sex has nothing to do with the case; it is not a privilege, but is a right. Privileges can be withdrawn by the grantors, but rights are inherent; all the rights you have, or can have, you get when you are born and they last until you die; and if the question of woman suffrage ever was tried before a competent legal tribunal, which had sufficient brains to interpret the Declaration of Independence and sufficient courage to promulgate its findings, woman suffrage would be as much of an established institution in this country as the polling booth itself.

But lacking the vote does not or should not keep women from thinking about political subjects, and if once the women of this country become sufficiently well informed upon the subject of the initiative, the referendum and recall, proportional representation, local self-government, local option in taxation, and the science of taxation in general, they will be so well informed that they will want the ballot—want it hard; and there is no force in American society powerful enough to keep them from getting it.

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EXPERIENCE IN WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Hon. John D. Long, Formerly Governor of Massachusetts, Before a Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature.

"I was in Colorado and saw an election there. My daughters and their grandmother voted. I watched them and as I saw the process the whole argument about contamination vanished utterly into thin air. The election in that Colorado city was as orderly as in Hingham or in any ward of Boston. I have a tender feeling toward my own; I should object to any infringement on the delicacy of their lives, but they were not put to half so much notoriety or exposure as they would have been in a street car or at a concert or in getting into this room. My daughter, who is now working as a physician in the New York slums, comes in contact with the saddest elements of a great city. The exposure to which she was subjected at the election in Colorado Springs was nothing to the exposure which she faces now and of which I am very proud.

It is sometimes said that a woman ought not to vote, because she cannot fight. This is not true; she can. Some women lately have shown themselves pretty heroic against invading burglars, while some men have run away. A vote has nothing to do with fighting; it is the expression of an intelligent opinion. Besides, we are not going to have much more fighting.

It is said that women do not want to vote. Well, not half the men vote. You cannot drum them up to vote even in exciting elections. Most men do not want to vote, but if it is a question of right, it would not be just to deprive me of a vote because some other men do not want it. It has been said that the best way to repeal a bad law is to enforce it. If the majority of women really do not want to vote give them full suffrage and they will at once elect men who will repeal it.

There is no argument against equal suffrage, on the ground either of right or of expediency. It takes little or no time. The ordinary man does not give three hours a year to the exercise of suffrage. There is nothing in it to impair the nature of women. It has been tried in the election of school committees and who is conscious of the slightest effect which it has had in absorbing the time of women, or of unsexing them, or of affecting their domestic relations?

* * *

SHALL THE WIVES OF WORKINGMEN GO INTO FACTORIES AND SHOPS?

Editorial in the *American Machinist* of October 11, 1906.

A thing to contrast with the song of praise we are continually hearing about the great benefits conferred upon humanity by labor-saving machinery is the suggestion recently made in *The Independent* by Dr. Simon N. Patten, who is professor of political economy in the University of Pennsylvania and a recognized authority upon economics. In this article he expresses the opinion that wives whose husbands have an income of less than \$20 a week ought to work in the factory, the shop, or the office, to help out with the family expenses. His principal reason for this appears to be that the introduction of labor-saving machinery now used in factories has largely done away with much of the labor which was formerly performed by housewives within their own homes, and yet the necessity for their laboring exists. As Dr. Patten may readily ascertain, comparatively few of the workingmen of this country earn as much as \$20 a week. If, therefore, his advice is sound, the wives of a large majority of such workmen should perform some work outside their own homes in an effort to help support the family. This, of course, would inevitably mean the neglect of the home-making duties, and the practical breaking up of many humble homes.

If the results of all our boasted advances in the sciences and arts and in the construction and use of labor-saving machinery are no better than this; if after all that has been done in that line, wives of men who earn far more than the average, recompense of labor in this country, must leave their homes for outside employment, and we must accept that as a necessary condition, then all our arts and sciences are of little or no real use.

Dr. Patten would, in our opinion, do much better if he devoted his talent to a study of distribution and to an answer to the question of why it is that colossal fortunes are being amassed by means of monopolies and special privileges of various kinds—money accumulated by men to such an extent that they are utterly unable to make proper use of it, while at the same time the problem of support for workingmen has become so insistent and obtrusive as to make it seem to him necessary to propose such a remedy.

And supposing workingmen and their wives generally accepted this suggestion, what effect does Dr. Patten think that would have upon wages and upon the constant tendency to force young children into factories?

Socialists who believe that the use of privately owned labor-saving machinery is one of the chief

causes of our economic and social evils and who seek to "nationalize all means of production" will welcome Dr. Patten's suggestion as an authoritative confession of the failure of the present system. We by no means make any such acknowledgment. We do not believe that machinery oppresses men. Monopolies do that. Unfair advantages; special privilege; failure to secure a "square deal" for every man; these are the things that hurt and when they are done away with we shall then have heard the last of the "crushing effect of machinery" and of the necessity for women with able-bodied husbands going out of their homes to work for daily bread. With all due respect to Dr. Patten, his suggestion is discreditable to the science of political economy as taught in our colleges.

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WOMAN SUFFRAGE MILITANT: THE NEW MOVEMENT IN ENGLAND.

Edith Abbott, Ph.D., in the *New York Independent* of November 29, 1906. Dr. Abbott Writes from London.

The past year has seen the woman suffrage movement in England enter upon a new and militant phase of its career—and a phase that bids fair to become as triumphant as it has been misrepresented and misunderstood. The temptation of the journalist to furnish sensational and readable stories at the expense of the cause has undoubtedly been extreme; but the truth will out, and the English public has awakened to a consciousness of the fact that a serious campaign is being carried on by serious women—women who are so tremendously in earnest, so full of courage, so full of faith, so ready to sacrifice themselves for their cause that they have changed the amused indignation with which they were first regarded into a hearty, if an unwilling, admiration. After all, one must respect earnestness, more especially earnestness that braves ridicule in support of an idea.

It is now pretty generally understood in London that newspaper stories of shrieking hysteria and behavior too absurd to chronicle were only newspaper stories; that such disorder as occurred a few weeks ago was caused much more by the metropolitan police than by the women; that the leaders of the new movement are not women of the notoriety-seeking sort, but women of cultivation and refinement—university women, philanthropists, women well known and long respected for work in a hundred good causes. Among the women now imprisoned in Holloway Jail, for example, is Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, one of Richard Cobden's daughters, whom Mr. Bernard Shaw in a pungent letter of protest to the *Times* described as "long known to every one worth knowing in London as among the most charming and interesting women of our day."

It must, of course, be clearly understood that this new movement is disavowed by the old-line suffragists and that the secretary of the national association has publicly disclaimed for her organization any connection with it. But it would be difficult indeed to say now, whatever may have been the case before the last Westminster pilgrimage, whether a majority of the men and women here who believe in the cause are with the old suffragists or the new. ~~As a matter of~~

diced observer would be inclined to say with the new—certainly not against them.

The new campaign is distinctly an agitation, persistent, aggressive and at times dramatic, even spectacular; a relentless urging of the cause as a question of practical politics, as an immediate reform, instead of a nebulous theory of right and justice. Its keynote is persistence, a compelling of the go-easy public to consider the question even though it would rather not. Four hundred and twenty members of the present House of Commons went in pledged to support "votes for women," the Prime Minister had expressed his sympathy with the demands of the suffragists, and there was every reason to hope that the new Parliament would "do something." But instead of a woman suffrage bill, the women were offered only the "silent sympathy" of the Premier and the pledged members. Now "silent sympathy" is precisely what the cause has been suffering from for a quarter of a century and it is the purpose of the leaders of the new movement to reject it boldly and instead to demand of the four hundred and twenty that they redeem their pledges, and if they refuse, to defeat them, if possible, when they come up for reelection. No doubt this is somewhat uncomfortable for the Government and the recalcitrants. They much prefer women who will accept "silent sympathy" as a crumb to be grateful for. But the question to be asked in all fairness before these women and their methods are condemned is not whether they have made life a little less serene for a group of politicians who have broken their promises, but whether they have injured or promoted their cause. To this last question there can now be but one answer, and that is best given in the words of Mrs. Henry Fawcett, well known as a leader of the old movement and still identified with it. In a recent letter to the Times, with reference to the women now in prison, she wrote: "I hope the more old-fashioned suffragists will stand by them; and I take this opportunity of saying that, in my opinion, far from having injured the movement, they have done more during the last twelve months to bring it within the region of practical politics than we have been able to accomplish in the same number of years."

And how have they done this? They have done this because they have made woman suffrage a subject of discussion everywhere in the kingdom—and among all classes. They have forced men who have votes, in Parliament and out, to commit themselves. They have obtained the united support of the Labor party in the House and with it a promise that a "votes for women" bill shall be one of its foremost demands next session. Moreover, they have, as an important Liberal paper pointed out in an editorial "leader," made it forever impossible for men to say that when women care seriously enough for the suffrage they will get it. Earnestness has conquered ridicule, for it would be a callous public indeed that could refuse a respectful hearing to Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson's quiet and dignified statement before the court which sentenced her. "If any one is guilty," she said calmly, "it is I, but I do not acknowledge my guilt. I do not acknowledge the authority of this court or any other court so long as I have no word nor any power in the making of the laws which I am supposed to

obey. I will only quote the words of the president of the Local Government Board: 'I am a rebel because I am an outlaw.'"

After having seen on one day of the past week a crowd numbering hundreds standing in Hyde Park for more than two hours in a drizzling rain to listen to the "agitators'" presentation of their case, on another day a great demonstration in Trafalgar Square by the women workers from the textile mills of Lancashire and Cheshire and other industrial centers, and after having heard on an evening of the same week the enthusiastic approval which greeted Keir Hardie's statement at his jubilee meeting in Farringdon Hall that the English workingman would not soon forget the spectacle of "Cobden's daughter in prison under a Cobden Government for demanding an extension of the franchise," it is easy enough to understand that there is method in what was at first called "the madness of the agitators."

The attitude of the men of the working classes has been one of the most interesting features of the situation. An eminent Socialist long ago pointed out that woman and the laboring man had alike had from the beginning for their common lot oppression. Perhaps it is the memory of this ancient community of interest that is responsible for the present tie between England's voteless women and England's workmen. Perhaps it is the answer to the appeal sent from Holloway Jail by the daughter of the man who gave them bread. Perhaps it is because of the organized efforts made by the working women, especially the trade union women, in support of the cause and their claim that it is suffrage alone that can rescue them from their present degradation—a degradation of life as well as of work. At any rate, the sympathy has come, first voiced by a man at work in the street, who stopped as the women went by under police guard from Westminster and shouted: "Keep on coming and don't give up the fight. It's the only way we ever got anything, and it's the only way you ever will."

This statement regarding what the women have done does not need to be followed by a statement of what the English Government has done to these women. That is already recorded to England's shame. The public indignation over their treatment in prison has done much to strengthen their cause, for, as Mr. Shaw tersely put it, in an attempt to ridicule the Home Secretary into doing his duty, "nobody in the world really wishes to see one of the nicest women in England suffering from the coarsest indignity and the most injurious form of ill treatment that the law could inflict on a pickpocket."

It may not be out of place to say in conclusion that to one born and bred a believer in woman's suffrage, but long accustomed to regard it apathetically as something which would come only in that long future which holds so much of truth and justice, the past week in London has been one of inspiration and new hope. And in default of the personal possession of the moral courage to serve in a campaign of this sort, it is a pleasure to acknowledge, humbly and gratefully, a deep obligation to those whose service has been great.

* * *

Millinery is admissible when it fits and expounds the soul and the body.—Clarence Lathbury.

IMPRISONMENT OF THE ENGLISH WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS.*

Letter of Mr. Cobden-Sanderson to the London Chronicle.

On entering the prison my wife was stripped of all her things save her wedding ring, and redressed in the clothing of the prison; and, in place of her name, was numbered with a number which is now her name, deprived of all associations save those of the prison which is now her new and silent world. Her food—she is a vegetarian—consists of dry bread, tea or cocoa and potatoes. She is in solitary confinement for twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four. For one hour, in silence, she is—with other prisoners, six feet apart—walked backwards and forwards in a yard in the prison enclosure. In her cell she has for occupation the making of postmen's bags. For reading, the Bible—that book of Revolutions! What a mockery!—and a book called "A Healthy Home," which, she says with a smile, is of no use to her there. She asked for a Shakespeare; there was but one volume in the prison and that was engaged. She asked for pen and paper that she might right down her meditations. That was refused; it was against the prison regulations.

She asked me—it was her only request—to apply to the Home Secretary on her behalf, and on behalf of all "prisoners and captives," to be allowed the use of pen and paper and ink, wherewith to deliver themselves of their thoughts, burning within them all day and all night, and unutterable. She makes no complaint for herself, but in isolation prays for the cause of women. Will that prayer be answered? Is there, then, no soul of woman really, no anything in the world? A world of shadows only? No man of heart, of genius, to bid all legislation stop, and the world's vain turmoil cease, till woman shall have stepped with the help of man to where man stands, that, hand in hand, and heart in heart, they may together climb the steep path of life?

Such, O foolish world and vain! such, if you will hear it, is the appeal, voiceless now, of the daughter of him who gave you bread.

T. COBDEN-SANDERSON.

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Letter of Mr. Bernard Shaw to the London Times.

This is a terrible moment in our national life. We are not often thoroughly frightened. When England trembles the world knows that a great peril overshadows our island.

It is not the first time that we have faced dangers that have made even our gayest and bravest clench their teeth and hold their breath. We watched the Armada creeping slowly up the Channel. We wiped our brow when chance revealed the treason of Guy Fawkes. We are listening even now for the bugle of the German invader, and scanning the waves we rule for the periscope of the French sub-marine.

But until now we have faced our fate like men, with our Parliament unshaken in our midst, grandly calm as the Roman Senators who sat like statues when Brennus and his barbarians charged blood-stained into their hall. When Charles Bradlaugh,

the most muscular man in England, dashed into the House of Commons to claim a seat in that august assembly, the police carried him, titanically struggling, down the stairs, deposited him in the yard with a shattered fountain pen and disdainfully set him free to do his worst.

It was but the other day that a desperado arose in the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons and burst into disorderly eloquence. Without a moment's hesitation the dauntless attendants hurled themselves upon him and extruded him from our Legislature. He was not haled before the magistrate; he was not imprisoned; no man deigned to ask securities for his good behavior; the British lion scorned protection against so puny an antagonist.

But the strongest nerves give way at last. The warriors of Phillip were, when all is said, only men. German soldiers, French bluejackets, Guy Fawkes, Bradlaugh, and the stranger in the gallery, bold and dangerous as they were, were no females. The peril to-day wears a darker, deadlier aspect.

Ten women—ten petticoated, long-stockinged, corseted females—have hurled themselves on the British Houses of Parliament. Desperate measures are necessary. I have a right to speak in this matter, because it was in my play, "Man and Superman," that my sex were first warned of woman's terrible strength and man's miserable weakness.

It is a striking confirmation of the correctness of my views that the measures which have always been deemed sufficient to protect the House of Commons against men are not to be trusted against women. Take, for example, the daughters of Richard Cobden, long known to everybody worth knowing in London as among the most charming and interesting women of our day. One of them—one only, and she the slightest and rosiest of the family—did what the herculean Charles Bradlaugh did.

To the immortal glory of our metropolitan police, they did not blench. They carried the lady out, even as they carried Bradlaugh. But they did not dare to leave her at large as they left him. They held on to her like grim death until they had her safe under bolt and bar, until they had stripped her to see that she had no weapons concealed, until a temperate diet of bread and cocoa should have abated her perilous forces. She—and the rest of the terrible ten.

For the moment we have time to breathe. But has the Government considered the fact that, owing to the imperfections of our law, these ladies will be at large again before many weeks are passed? I ask, in the name of the public, whether proper precautions have been taken. It is not enough for Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Asquith and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to sit there pale and determined, with drawn lips and folded arms, helplessly awaiting a renewal of the assault—an assault the consequences of which no man can foresee.

It is their duty without a moment's delay to quadruple the police staff inside the Houses of Parliament. Westminster and Vauxhall Bridges should be strongly held by the Guards. If necessary, special constables should be enrolled. I am no coward, but I do not want to see a repetition of the folly that found us unprepared in 1899.

I submit, however, that if these precautions are

*See "The Woman Suffrage Agitation in England," page 801 of The Public of Nov. 24.

taken, we might, perhaps, venture to let Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson and her friends out. As a taxpayer, I object to having to pay for her bread and cocoa when her husband is not only ready, but apparently even anxious, to provide a more generous diet at home. After all, if Mr. Cobden-Sanderson is not afraid, surely the rest of us may pluck up a little.

We owe something to Mr. Cobden-Sanderson, both as one of our most distinguished artist craftsmen and as a most munificent contributor in crises where public interests have been at stake. If Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson must remain a prisoner while the Home Secretary is too paralyzed with terror to make that stroke of the pen for which every sensible person in the three kingdoms is looking to him, why on earth cannot she be imprisoned in her own house? We should still look ridiculous, but at least the lady would not be a martyr.

I suppose nobody in the world really wishes to see one of the nicest women in England suffering from the coarsest indignity and the most injurious form of ill-treatment that the law could inflict on a pickpocket. It gives us an air of having lost our tempers and made fools of ourselves, and of being incapable of acting generously now that we have had time to come to our senses. Surely, there can be no two opinions among sane people as to what we ought to do.

Will not the Home Secretary rescue us from a ridiculous, an intolerable, and, incidentally, a revoltingly spiteful and unmanly situation.

G. BERNARD SHAW.

* * *

THE IMPERIALISM OF SEX.

Editorial by John Geo. Godard, in the (London) *New Age* of Nov. 15, 1906.

"I don't acknowledge the authority of this Court so long as I have no part in making the laws which I am supposed to obey. I am a rebel because I am an outlaw."—Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson.

In these words, recently addressed by an energetic "Suffragist" to a magistrate, we have the key to the entire case for female suffrage. No rights, no obligation; no privilege, no responsibility. A person who is denied any voice in the government does not owe it allegiance; to withhold all legislative power, and yet to punish for a breach of legislation resolves itself into pure tyranny. Men make the laws, men administer the laws; and yet they positively expect women to obey them, and inflict penalties for disobedience. Woman is good enough to tax, to fine, to imprison, to hang; but woman is not good enough to vote. The equality of the sexes is recognized on the rate book, at the police court, in the gaol, and on the gallow; but it is not recognized at the polling booth. This is despotism, and there is no other name for it.

The imperialism of the sex—that is the meaning of man-rule. Empire, we have been rightly told, is the predominance of race; it is the rule of one people by another people, involving, of course, the subjection of the former to the latter. And exclusive male suffrage is the predominance of sex; it is the rule of women by men—likewise involving the subjection of the former to the latter. Our sisters at home are governed precisely as 95 per cent. of our

subjects abroad are governed; that is to say, they are ruled by us, and have practically no voice in their own government. And the principle is equally vicious and indefensible in both cases. The grievance of the Indian Bengalee and the grievance of the English woman are the same; and it has its origin largely in conceit. We think we can govern other races better than they can govern themselves; we think we can govern women better than they can govern themselves. And, wrapped in this conceit, we fail to realize that, even if we could govern better, that is no ethical justification for withholding self-government from those who demand it.

Imperialism, whether of race or of sex, would stand a poor chance if we could only adequately reverse the position in our own minds. Let the Englishman imagine himself as being absolutely ruled by another nation, or as being absolutely ruled by the other sex, in either case having no direct political power, and he would make short work of the casuistry he now employs to defend his actual supremacy. Tell him that he would be better off, and he would reply that he is the best judge of his own interests, and that he claims the right to be the judge. And he would have logic and equity on his side—just as the women have to-day.

In truth the question of whether alien government is good or bad is only of secondary importance—the point is that in either case it is despotic. As a matter of fact, alien government is seldom good; but the gist of the indictment of Imperialism, whether of race or of sex, is that it is inimical to liberty—it is the denial to others of the rights or privileges claimed for oneself. It is no answer either to the Indian Congress or the British Suffragists to say that they are well governed. Both will dispute it (and with a considerable show of reason), but their complaint is that they are not permitted (as are English men) to govern themselves. This is not a question of respective spheres, or of physical distinctions; it is one of political equality. Laws are necessary for the existence and preservation of society; citizenship is common to all who live in societies, and depends neither upon nationality nor upon sex; and the common obligations demand the common rights, the common restraint calls for the common liberty.

Of course, with those who deny the doctrine of political equality and the doctrine of liberty, argument is useless, unless it be the argumentum baculum—the reason, possibly, why some of the more ardent female reformers assume the role of amazons. But to the political party now in power, to the great historic Liberal party, government based on distinction of sex should be abhorrent, since the very foundation of their faith consists in these doctrines. It is frequently said that Female Suffrage is not a party question. True, the reform is supported by many Conservatives, which only shows that some men are better than their creed; for the Conservative party is the party, not of political equality, but of political privilege, not of liberty, but of monopoly. The sad, significant fact, however, is that many Liberals are worse than their creed; that just as they deserted their principles by supporting the subjugation of another nation and by concurring in the destruction of its independence, so

they desert their principles by upholding the subjection of women and by the denial of equal civic rights. In other words, they are Imperialists—and a "Liberal Imperialist" is a contradiction in terms.

Granted, however, it may be said that the women have a grievance, why are they not content to adopt "constitutional means" to get it removed? But what if such means are not available? The "Passive Resisters" were told that, whether they liked the law or not, they should obey it; but then they could appeal to Caesar to secure its alteration—and the appeal was not unsuccessful. The late Conservative administration was the very abrogation of democratic government, since, returned to power on one issue, they year after year persisted in legislating in defiance of the popular will; but in the fulness of time the popular will asserted itself, and indignantly repudiated the despotic oligarchy. For women, however, there are no "constitutional means;" for women there is no admission to Caesar's court; for women there is no fulness of time when the popular will may prevail; for the only will that can prevail is that of their numerical inferiors—the male will. What man, then, shall sit in judgment upon them if they adopt unpopular methods to influence the only prevailing popular will?

The Imperialism of sex! Like every other form of imperialism it is the deadly foe of liberty. But the spirit of "racial supremacy," with which all classes were imbued only a few years ago, is now happily chastened. May it be reserved for this Parliament of "Little Englanders" to make England truly great, not merely by granting freedom and autonomy to those abroad whose liberty and independence were destroyed, but by extending the rights of citizenship to those at home who have hitherto been kept in political subjection.

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SENATORIAL CONSEQUENCES.

A Transposition from Gilbert.

Senator Hush was as good as gold;
He always did as the railroad told.
He never asked if a thing was just
Or gave offense to the Sugar Trust;
He never sniffed at the tainted dough
Which lobbyists dropped in his hand of snow.
He never squealed when the gang kept still
Or stood in the way of a land-grab bill:

And the consequence was he advanced in station
And died at the head of a corporation.

Senator Growl was a naughty boy;
To start reforms was his chiefest joy.
He wouldn't vote as his Boss decreed;
He wouldn't pander to private greed;
He said rude things to the Wall Street man
When he came around with the whitewash can;
And he often wrote, with a fendish gall,
"Thou shalt not steal" on the Senate wall:

And the consequence was when his term was over
He faded back to the tall, tall clover.

—Wallace Irwin in Life.

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Dress, in short, is a fine art which women pursue in and for itself, and the educated taste they bring

Publishers' Column

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected matter, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest.

Familiarity with The Public will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing. Published weekly by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Ill.
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NEXT WEEK

Portrait and Biographical Sketch of Frederic C. Howe

The next issue of THE PUBLIC, December 15, will contain a biographical sketch, by Louis F. Post, of the life and public services of Frederic C. Howe, author of "The Confessions of a Monopolist," "The City the Hope of Democracy," etc.

Mr. Howe's career has been an exceptionally interesting one. He is an excellent type of a conscientious and public spirited Republican who, through conviction of the economic injustice of our time, has become a fundamental democrat.

An excellent half tone portrait of Mr. Howe will accompany the sketch, as a supplement.

Extra copies of the issue of December 15 will be furnished, while the supply lasts, at the regular prices: 5 cents each, or \$2.00 per 100, in lots of 50 or upward. Orders should be sent in early.

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HOTEL WARNER—EVENINGS

CHICAGO

to bear upon it lifts it above all other decorative arts.—Baltimore Sun.

+ * +

A New York woman keeps a \$500,000 playground for her dog. We fancy that she would feel quite annoyed if any of the children who could only find the street to play in should grow up to be anarchists.—Chicago News.

BOOKS

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL.

Morality and the Perfect Life. A republication of a Lecture by the late Henry James. Elkhart, Ind.: New Church Educational Association, 1906. Price, cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents.

It would be a mistake to take up this small volume with the idea that its scope is limited by the stamp of any church or creed. It deals with living principles, and applies them first to the individual and then to the whole human race.

The philosophy which Henry James seeks to elucidate is too broad and universal in its purpose to be studied satisfactorily from a purely ecclesiastical standpoint. It includes the whole range of human thought and action inspired and impelled by the will of a creative and sustaining Power. Unity with God would tend to unity of race wherein could exist none of the antagonisms that now divide society into warring factions.

Mr. James is nothing if not individual, and the fetters of social and conventional laws rest very lightly upon him. Referring all things to the infinite and perfect conception of being within, he breaks down the mere outward distinctions of good and evil, and deals justice from the high tribunal of divine love, rather than from the low standard of vindictive human law.

Mere external obedience to the outward forms and relations of civilized society is void and empty without the impulsion of that spirit of genuine brotherly love which would render the laws of society unnecessary.

"Man is spiritually larger than the institutions which pretend to contain him," says Mr. James; and he continually urges the soul to a recognition of its prior and higher relations to the Supreme Life, wherein it may find absolute freedom of will to act righteously without the pharisaic boasting of self-love that proclaims to the misjudged sinner, "I am holier than thou."

"I know very well the prestige which surrounds existing institutions," Mr. James continues. "I know the tremendous grasp which the existing form of society has upon our imagination and I should be utterly hopeless of every attempt to weaken it, did I not feel assured that the whole force of Divine Providence, the total movement of human destiny, co-operated with such attempts. Its institutions are effete. The vigorous life which once gave them their repute has departed. They no longer bless the subject. To be a good husband, a good brother, a good neighbor, a good citizen, is no longer a guarantee against starvation. For one that society feeds and

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Public Policy Club Dinner

Thursday Evening, December 13, at 6 p. m. sharp

At the Washington Restaurant, N. W. Cor. Wabash Ave. and Adams St., Chicago. The time of The Public Policy Club Dinners has been changed from the first Friday of the month to the second and fourth Thursday's of the month. On the evening and punctually at the time mentioned, the club will sit down to a table d'hote dinner at 50 cts per plate. You and your friends are cordially invited. Mr. Frank W. Jones will be the chairman of the evening. The question of public policy to be considered is The Leasing of Chicago School Lands. Prominent speakers will participate in the discussion.

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

GERRIT SMITH ON LAND MONOPOLY

Extracts from the remarkable speech in Congress in 1854, on land monopoly, by this famous abolitionist, with an introduction by Wm. Lloyd Garrison the younger.

Paper, 32 pages, 10 cents, postpaid; 12 copies, \$1.00, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Co., First National Bank Bldg., Chicago.

THE SINGLE TAX By George A. Briggs

An address before the Elkhart Society of the New Church. 18mo, paper, 66 pages, 10 cents, postpaid.

The Public Publishing Co., First National Bank Building, Chicago

clothes, it sends ten thousand naked and empty away. For one it fills with the vapid froth of self-conceit, it fills ten thousand with an unappeasible consciousness of want and sin. To save appearances it hastens indeed to trip up the heels of the burglar, and immure the petty thief in prison. But it organizes a systematic pillage of the stock exchange, and builds up the fortune of its rich men upon the actual murder of its poor. . . . Society was made for man, not man for society. It is the steward of God, not His heir, and He holds it therefore to a rigid accountability. . . . The heir has so long delayed his coming, that the steward has grown bold and come to look upon himself as the heir. So obdurate has this conviction waxed, that it apparently requires every arrow in God's quiver to arouse him from his delusion. Nothing else explains the present stupidity of society under the desolating judgments which are visiting it."

The universality of the true philosopher knows no bounds of time or space, and these words, uttered half a century ago, are just as applicable to the present as to the society of his day. The rights of the "heir," the individual and immortal man, are now even more grossly ignored by the "steward," the deformed social monster, that arrogates to itself the power to judge, condemn and execute the individual whom it has driven into want and crime.

Undoubtedly some adverse views may be taken of a philosophy which penetrates through the superficial crust of righteousness to the ruling spirit of self-love within, and which makes man amenable, first of all, to the divine law of the Christ of God dwelling at the center of every soul.

"Morality and the Perfect Life" is a little book, but it holds a living seed which, sown in human thought, may expand to wondrous growth and power in human action.

A. L. M.

* * *

NATURAL RELIGION.

The Religion of Nature and of Human Experience. By W. J. Jupp. Published by Philip Green, London, 1906.

This work by an English writer is a very interesting appreciation of the religious experience and philosophy which underlie some of the chief English and American poets and nature writers of the 19th century. Mr. Jupp has entered deeply into the spirit of Wordsworth, Thoreau, Whitman and Carpenter, and has learned much from such naturalists as Roberts, Long and Burroughs. It is natural that in such a study America should contribute a large share, for here nature is still less overlaid by convention than in England. To any one who wishes a stimulating handbook of liberal and undogmatic religion this volume can be heartily recommended.

E. H. CROSBY.

* * *

ROBIN HOOD IN PICTURE AND VERSE.

Robin Hood: His Deeds and Adventures as Recounted in the Old English Ballads. Selected and Illustrated by Lucy Fitch Perkins. New York: Frederick A. Stokes' Company. Price \$1.50.

"The children of the world are bound together in

Very Generous Bargain Offers for the Holidays

ANY BOOKS SUPPLIED

The remarkable list of special bargains in books for the holidays, announced on pages II and III of this issue, will be continued only until the first day of the new year, at the exceptional prices quoted.

These bargains include books of all kinds. Every one will make an appropriate gift for someone. They will be sent by us, transportation prepaid, to any address, promptly on receipt of order.

We advise the prompt placing of orders for books or other articles for the holidays. The mail and express facilities everywhere are greatly overburdened in the few days before Christmas. Provoking delays will be prevented by sending orders now.

Among the many fine books in our list it is not easy to single out any for especial mention. Henry George's new book—his first novel,—"The Romance of John Bainbridge," proves a great favorite. It is described on page V of this issue. On the same page is described a remarkably interesting book of travel, "Forty Thousand Miles of World Wandering," by Helen M. Gougar. Every reader is delighted with Ernest Crosby's little biography, "Golden Rule Jones, Mayor of Toledo." No more fitting book to commemorate the Christmas season was ever issued. It is described on page 863 of this issue. Here are three exceptionally fine books of fiction, biography, and travel.

We are a convenient clearing-house for sending Christmas presents of books anywhere. We supply promptly any book published. Our announcement to this effect is on page VI of this issue. You can send all your book orders to us, and they will be quickly, carefully, and honestly filled.

We will gladly insert in any book any card, message, or greeting, as directed.

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a dear and enduring fellowship through their love for the characters made real by the ballads, folk and fairy tales of old," says Mrs. Perkins. Certainly to the children of the English speech the Robin Hood stories will always be a beloved inheritance, with their visions of the good green wood where merry men in Lincoln green try their strength, chase the deer, and harry the monopolists of their time, to despoil them of the unearned prizes of privilege, sometimes to distribute these again among the exploited poor folk.

The ballads given in this beautiful book are gathered from old authoritative sources, Mrs. Perkins tells us; but it must be admitted that, unlike many of the old English ballads, their form is not as rhythmical as their subjects are charming. Nevertheless it is certainly worth while for our children to make their acquaintance, and this is rendered all the easier by the delightful illustrations in color, full of life and charm and quaintness. Making pictures for children is an art. Simple surfaces, an absence of teasing details, and above all, intelligent movement—the doing of things—are called for if the pictures are to tell their story to children. A very little girl once made a scrapbook all by herself for the crippled children of a New England hospital. This scrapbook, obviously crude, was so especially beloved by the children that an aunt examined the little girl's work with great care to discover the secret of her success. All she found was that the pictures were simple, and in each one some one was performing some act that even little children could understand—folks were doing things. In Mrs. Perkins' lively, simple pictures, jolly people are doing things.

ALICE THACHER POST.

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CO-OPERATIVE THEORIES.

A Knight of the Toilers. By Arthur Newell. Published by F. L. Marsh and Company, Philadelphia.

Economic teachings upon the new and insistent problems of the day are departing from ancient dry-as-dust treatises, and are frequently presented with the accessories of the stage, or of that great human document—the novel.

Mr. Newell's story enters the angle where disputes relating to conditions of employment arise between capital and labor, and culminate in strikes. He proposes a plan to enable the employes to endure the rigors of the struggle with the minimum of suffering and the maximum of assurance of success.

His key-note is—Pit capital against capital. Mass your earnings, he would advise the aggrieved toilers, with the profits accruing from secure investments, and control sufficient mother earth to ensure you against starvation throughout the strike.

His workmen hoard a large part of their earnings in the treasury of the union. They invest part of this fund in safe and lucrative enterprises, and another part in co-operative stores where the workers trade, instead of in the stores owned and exploited by employers. They buy a tract of land upon which one-half of the strikers produce food for the whole number. The remainder are meanwhile engaged

A Remarkable Situation

Readers of THE PUBLIC are voting for Theodore Roosevelt.

A short time ago we announced that we would send, a few days before next Christmas, a set of the New Library Edition of the Complete Works of Henry George and Life of Henry George, by Henry George, Jr., to the individual or institution chosen by plurality vote of those sending new subscriptions to THE PUBLIC. Since then the votes have been coming in steadily. Our readers and friends are keenly interested to have these great works of Henry George placed where they will do the greatest possible good.

We might have foreseen it, but we did not, and it has surprised us to find that Theodore Roosevelt is now at the head of the poll. Those who are voting for him express the idea that there is no man of great prominence today who stands more in real need of these classics of human rights. For our part, we wish everyone sending in votes to express their freest choice.

These votes are cast by new and paid subscriptions to THE PUBLIC, no matter by whom sent. Every new subscription for three months (price 25 cents) is entitled to one vote; every one for six months (price 50 cents) two votes; every new yearly subscription (price one dollar) to four votes; and so on. We wish to have a very large vote.

Some votes are being cast for Wm. J. Bryan, and they are all counted; but we have heretofore announced that Mr. Bryan already has a set of these books.

In case of a tie vote, each of the two or more candidates receiving the highest number of votes will receive a set of the books.

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in ministering to the interests of labor in the zone of contention.

Undoubtedly co-operative stores could be utilized by labor with immense saving, which is virtually another name for earning. In England, their value to the workers has been demonstrated not only in money-saving, but in the humane and fraternizing spirit developed in their management. Opening a store with a capital of less than \$10, they now own stores, factories, mills, banks and cottages over Great Britain, and their operations have assumed such magnitude as to cause the exploiting class that feeling of "unrest." No reason is apparent why the same means should not produce the same results in this country.

Mr. Newell's suggestion that unionists sustain themselves directly from the land might be recommended to the people at large. Vacant lots at a trifling rent in the suburbs of all our cities, and cheap near-by farms are available for experiment. The land and its productivity underlie all economic values, and the stress of bread winning in congested

centers must shortly drive the mass of the people back to the neglected resources of the soil.

W. H. S.

GOOD GOVERNMENT.

Proceedings of The Atlantic City Conference for Good Government, and the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League. Edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff. Published by the National Municipal League, Philadelphia.

At the Conference at Atlantic City last May of the Good Government Clubs, a large collection of papers on civic subjects was presented, and all these are now gathered into this volume of nearly 500 inviting pages, which Mr. Woodruff has edited with taste and care. Among the contributors are Charles J. Bonaparte, A. Julius Freiburg, Horace E. Deming, Richard H. Dana, Louis F. Post and Prof. L. S. Rowe. Mr. Woodruff himself, reporting the "practical progress" of the movement, makes a comprehensive review in which the election of Jerome, the

Hearst campaign, the Philadelphia upheaval, events in New Jersey, Tom L. Johnson's administration in Cleveland, Mayor Whitlock's in Toledo, and Mayor Dunne's in Chicago, come in for consideration. The field reviewed is wider still. Minneapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City, Denver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Los Angeles and other centers of civic agitation are all described with reference to municipal reform, reliably as to facts and intelligently as to their significance.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—When Love Speaks. By Will Payne. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York and London. 1906. Price \$1.50.

—The King's Daughters' Year Book. By Margaret Bottome. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 1906. Price \$1.25.

—The Magic Wand. (Altemus' Magic Wand Series). By Tudor Jenks. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 1905. Price 50 cents.

—The Power to Regulate Corporations and Commerce. By Frank Hendrick. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. 1906. Price \$1.00.

—Senator Sorghum's Primer of Politics, or, Helpful Hints on the Science of Not Getting the Worst of It. By Philander Chase Johnson. Published by Henry Altemus Co., Philadelphia. 1906.

PERIODICALS

The November Arena contains two interesting sketches of true democrats—Richard Seddon, "Master-BUILDER of a Liberal Commonwealth," and N. O. Nelson, "Practical Co-operator," who has for thirty years successfully put into actual practice the business principle of profit-sharing. A. L.

+

For its clearness, brevity, and evident truthfulness, Ida Husted Harper's article on "The Present Status of Woman Suffrage" in the December "World To-Day," is certainly to be recommended to the public—both pro and con. Other short papers which make this number thoroughly worth reading are "The Referendum at Work in Oregon," "San Francisco and the Japanese," "Reaction in Russia," and an illustrated article on the Canadian Northwest. A. L.

+

To find in the Christmas number of a magazine such a blood-curdling narration of hideous horrors as "The Terrible Story of the Congo" in Everybody's, is a fair example of what is liable to happen to us poor, creeping mortals when we try once a year to stand erect and be happy. You can not blame the narrator, nor his editor. They are hoping to right a frightful wrong—or, more truthfully, to stay its ravages—and of course the larger and more impressionable an audience the better. The same reasoning brings the wretched beggars to your front door on Christmas morning. You can blame no one—no one; but your spell of lightheartedness is gone. You can only set your lips back into a smile for the

A New Book by Ernest Crosby

Golden Rule Jones Mayor of Toledo

By

ERNEST CROSBY

Author of "Garrison The Non-Resistant," "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," "Captain Jinks, Hero," "Swords and Plowshares," "Tolstoy and His Message," "Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster," "Broad-Cast," etc.

An appreciative and very fascinating biographical sketch, from an intimate viewpoint, and in Mr. Crosby's best style, of that remarkable and lovable character, Samuel M. Jones of Toledo. He, practically alone among American business men and public officials, with resistless optimism and unbounded faith in the goodness of humanity, wholeheartedly believed and fearlessly applied the Golden Rule, to all and at all times, in business, in politics, and in public administration. His life and experiences will enlighten and inspire wherever they are known. This attractive little book will make a peculiarly appropriate and welcome gift to commemorate Christmas, the birthday of the Great Teacher of the Golden Rule.

CONTENTS:

Chapter I.	In Business
" II.	In Politics
" III.	On the Bench
" IV.	Letters of Love and Labor
" V.	His Economics
" VI.	Poetry
" VII.	His Death

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children, and your heart more resolutely toward bringing about that day when your children's children shall have the right to be joyous. A. L.

* * *

"There is entirely too much talk in our politics," says a Boston newspaper. It can't be helped. Grover Cleveland has monopolized the silence and there is nothing for the rest of us to do but converse.—Houston Post.

* * *

Jones—Well, Smith, what do you think of the action of the convention?

Smith—What convention?

"The Democratic convention at Buffalo?"

"That wasn't a convention. It was an auction."—Auburn Citizen.

* * *

"He is a radical of radicals."

"Yes?"

"He even advocates the public ownership of legislatures."

"Good heavens! Would he leave no field whatever for private enterprise?"—Life.

* * *

Chicanelli, who had to leave on a journey before the end of a case begun against him by a neighbor, gave orders to his lawyer to let him know the result by telegraph. After several days he got the following telegram: "Right has triumphed." He at once telegraphed back: "Appeal immediately."—Il Mondo Umorestico.

Lectures and Entertainments

Arrangements have been completed for a series of lectures and entertainments to be given at the Assembly Hall, Northwestern University Bldg., Cor. Dearborn and Lake Sts., Chicago, Dearborn St. entrance, as follows:

PROGRAM

"The New Declaration of Rights,"	Saturd y. Dec. 8	Hamlin Garland
"The Disease of Charity,"	Saturday, Dec. 15	Bolton Hall
"Things We Laugh and Wonder At,"	Saturday Dec. 22	S. M. Spedon, Cartoonist
"The Single Tax,"	Saturday Dec. 29	John Z. White
"Life Portrayals from Dickens,"	Saturday, Jan. 5	Wm. S. Battis, Impersonator
"The Power of the Trusts,"	Saturday, Jan. 12	Lee F. Lybarger
Clara Vaughan Wates Concert and Comedy Co.		
Speaker to be announced	Saturday, Jan. 26	
"Direct Legislation,"	Saturday, Feb. 2	Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow
"An Hour with Mayor Johnson," (Stereopticon)	Saturday, Feb. 9	Peter Witt

It is proposed to meet the expenses by the sale of season tickets. Season tickets, good for ten admissions, \$2.00, may be obtained from the undersigned, or at the door on the evening of any lecture. The lectures will begin at 8 p. m.

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THE COMIC BLACKSTONE

By GILBERT A. A'BECKET

This book was written more for the purpose of entertainment than of instruction, and it is amazing how many opportunities for fun the author has found in Blackstone. To the lawyer or law student, however, it will be more than merely amusing. It is also a practical aid or supplement to the study of Blackstone. It will prove a most interesting method of reviewing Blackstone, and every man who has once studied the Commentaries in the original will find time spent reading this book well used, for it is remarkable how thoroughly a point of law can be impressed on one's mind by a joke.

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