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EDITORIAL

Mayor Dunne and the Saloons.

The bad faith of the anti-saloon movement against Mayor Dunne of Chicago, which springs up whenever the public utility corporations need it, is in interesting contrast with the declarations

of the Hyde Park Protective Association, a non-partisan organization for the maintenance of temperance in the Hyde Park district of Chicago. This body formally expresses its "appreciation of the uniform courtesy and fairness with which the present Mayor treats our cause."

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Woman Suffrage.

The argument against woman suffrage sometimes takes the form of an assertion that a majority of women do not want the ballot and therefore none should have it. This is an amazing argument for reasonable creatures to make. The point would be relevant if there were a proposition to make woman suffrage compulsory; but in response to a proposition to extend voluntary rights of suffrage to women it is wholly irrelevant. Women who do not wish to vote have no more right than have men to deny the ballot to women who do wish to vote. It is to be observed, moreover, that men who say that a majority of women are opposed to woman suffrage are extremely reluctant to permit a referendum to women on the subject.

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Ecclesiastical Propagation of Heresy.

An Episcopal clergyman, of Ballston, N. Y., the Rev. Dr. Hegeman, in preaching, on the 16th, upon the ecclesiastical trial of Dr. Crapsey (p. 802), deplored the effect of such trials in spreading the very heresies they are designed to stamp out. Simply as a matter of ecclesiastical expediency, Dr. Hegeman is right. If truth is on the side of orthodoxy in any religious dispute, it will not be helped by ecclesiastical conservation; and if truth be on the other side, ecclesiastical assaults will only bring it into clearer light. What the truth, at any time or in any connection, needs is not protection but exposure, not vestments but nakedness. And wholly apart from questions of expediency, both ecclesiastic and heretic should be content to let knowledge of the truth evolve in the natural order as all other knowledge evolves. The heretic is always content with this; why shouldn't the priests also be content with it? Let it be conceded, if you please, that they are custodians of divine knowledge. Is this knowledge a dead thing to be kept in a mummy case? or is it a germ to be allowed to grow? We should think little of the sanity of a gardener who, intrusted with a precious seed,

should lock it up in an iron box to protect it from the heretical light and heat of the sun and the seed-destroying processes of the earth. But this is what ecclesiastical bigots do with the precious spiritual seeds with which they claim to have been entrusted. They seem to forget that the universal principle of natural law, spiritual as well as physical, is growth. Heresy, though often mistaken, is never a sin. The sin unparadonable is stagnation.

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Progress in Japan.

Highly significant is the fact which Henry George, Jr., brings out in his interesting interview at Tokio with the great Japanese democrat, Count Okuma. Progress in Japan has developed there the same phenomena as to land values that accompany it everywhere. What is quite as significant is the still more remarkable fact that this great Asiatic democrat is oblivious to the injustice of the private appropriations of those values. Here is the earth which no man made; here are social centers upon the earth which no individual produces or maintains, but which are simply phenomena of civilization; here is a constantly increasing value which attaches to the earth at these points in consequence of the social growth and improvement that center there. Yet intelligent and otherwise moral men see no inequity in allowing a few individuals to treat those values as their own. Though we cast aside all considerations of the unjust inequalities of opportunity and of wealth thereby produced, how shall we explain this moral insanity?

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Presidential Veracity.

When a conflict of veracity arises between the President and a private citizen, the country believes the President, no matter who the private citizen be nor how confirmatory his proofs; for the sentiment that the king can do no wrong survives. It was so when President Roosevelt charged Mr. Whitney with falsifying. With a second such conflict the country argues upon the probabilities. This was so when President Roosevelt gave his version of the Tillman-Chandler episode. A third such conflict occurring, it staggers the country with a horrible doubt. This is its attitude toward the President's connection with the Storer affair. Some say it takes a fourth conflict to put a President's word at discount and discredit him alike in all future and all preceding conflicts of veracity. Some say it takes five. But the long line of newspaper correspondents

who have suffered from interviewing experiences with Mr. Roosevelt must begin to feel that the day of their vindication is not far away.

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Jerome's Explanations.

The statement of District Attorney Jerome's position, which appears in the *Times Magazine* for January, may satisfy the public, but it wouldn't satisfy them if they were like the business man who wants results from his employes and not excuses. Jerome's excuses for not prosecuting men prominent in the financial world for stealing trust funds for campaign contributions are plausible enough as excuses, but Mr. Jerome would hardly have made them had the thieves been labor agitators, instead of financiers. Imagine, for instance, his refraining from prosecuting Sam Parks, the labor boodler, on the ground that Parks had acted "on the advice of counsel." Or, imagine his refraining from prosecuting a criminal labor conspiracy because the conspiracy was organized without the expression of a criminal purpose by anyone in criminal language. From this very magazine statement of Jerome's case, a friendly statement, it is evident that in Mr. Jerome's eye there are social classes which, for substantially the same conduct, must be handled differently by the criminal law.

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Grand Juries.

Everywhere the grand jury system comes under criticism. The evils of it are felt most in large cities, but they are present in all places. Mayor Dunne of Chicago has characterized them as having outgrown their usefulness, and this is probably the truest possible characterization. The grand jury originated as a popular body to protect men in person, property and reputation from baseless accusations by appointees of the king. Instead of being charged with the function of hunting down crime, they were charged with the function of distinguishing probable cases of crime from mendacious persecutions. This is the reason the old grand juries heard only evidence for the prosecution. Their object was to determine the prosecutor's good faith and the value of his evidence in establishing a prima facie case. For the same reason, its sessions were secret. But with the process of time, the grand jury has evolved into a very different institution. No longer standing between mendacious persecutors and their victims, it becomes their pliant instrument for the very kind of persecution it was established to prevent; and its secrecy, no longer a reasonable precaution in the

interest of public justice, is a dreadful agency of injustice. To the influential, the grand jury is a harmless censor and a convenient tool; to the unfortunate and friendless, it is a crushing mechanism of injustice.

* * *

An Impoverishing Prosperity.

A remarkably suggestive editorial review of our "unprecedented prosperity" appears in Moody's Magazine for December. From such a source the conclusion is startling that the working classes are really not sharing in this prosperity, notwithstanding the higher wages that prevail. Higher wages are attributed to the depreciating value of gold. During the past eight or ten years, says Moody's, the average rise in wages has been about 20 per cent. This means, continues the editor, "that whereas \$1.40 is now required to buy what \$1.00 bought in 1896, the average workman has only \$1.20 with which to purchase what sells for \$1.40." That candid statement is followed out in detail.

As there are about 30,000,000 workers in this country, receiving an average of about \$600 each per year, the total wage bill amounts to about \$18,000,000,000. If this is 120 per cent. of what the same earners would have received in 1896, they would then have received \$15,000,000,000. But to buy what they could then have bought with \$15,000,000,000, wage earners to-day would have to have \$21,000,000,000. Hence the difference between what our wage earners actually get and what they should get, on the 1896 basis, is \$3,000,000,000 a year. This amount represents, approximately, the "rake-off" that must go to somebody. It is the price our workers and consumers are paying for the kind of prosperity that we see on all sides. As to who gets it we will not undertake to say, though we have some suspicions. The main fact is that this vast amount, through a price-and-wage juggle for which nobody in particular is to blame, is yearly extracted from the pockets of our workers and spenders.

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These figures explain what has been a mystery. Of the fact of "prosperity" there has long been no reason for question. Everyone has felt its presence. But there are few who have been conscious of sharing in it. This anomaly has constituted the mystery. Especially among the working classes, as hired men are called for purposes of distinction, has the sense of mystery been acute. Although their wages have risen, their condition has not improved and discontent has spread and deepened among them. Moody's makes the reason plain. Notwithstanding that wages have risen since 1896, prices have risen so much more that the working classes are \$3,000,000,000 worse off

now than they were then, in a comparison of wages and prices. As somebody is getting this difference, it is in order to ask, "Who is the somebody?" Moody's confesses to having "some suspicions." We should be glad to know what its suspicions are.

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The Chicago Traction Settlement.

When Mayor Dunne wrote the Werno letter, and the Chicago traction companies accepted it in principle (p. 703), the Chicago traction controversy came to a virtual end, with victory for Mayor Dunne and his supporters. Nothing but palpable bad faith on the part of the companies could, after that, have defeated a settlement on the basis which will culminate, in a little time, in complete municipal ownership and operation. Apparently the companies are disposed to make good their pledged faith. To the large essentials they profess to agree (p. 874). It may be, of course, that they have inserted "weasel words" in the proposed ordinance, which Mayor Dunne and his advisers have not detected. Against this possibility it is incumbent upon Mayor Dunne to take the utmost precaution, for upon him at the end the responsibility will rest. But if no such trickery be discovered, the ordinance, as now virtually agreed upon, ought to be, and probably will be, acceptable to the people of Chicago. At any rate, it appears to be in shape to justify the Mayor in advising the City Council to submit it to referendum and to advise the people to vote for it. Such a referendum is indispensable, and the sooner the petition for it is put forth the better. The referendum vote ought to take place at the April election.

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If there were any doubt about the indispensability of a referendum, that doubt would be resolved in its favor by the opposition of the newspapers which have always been friendly to the stock-jobbing traction interests. The very fact that these newspapers urge adoption of the ordinance without a referendum is a suspicious circumstance. If the ordinance is really a good one, as we incline to believe it to be, it can stand public scrutiny and discussion. To refuse a referendum on it, is to stamp it as probably fraudulent.

* * *

Let Us Watch the New Governor of New York.

The Governor-elect of New York, Mr. Charles E. Hughes, made a speech last week at Rochester which is well calculated to inspire confidence in

the democracy of his Republicanism. If he could carve out a practical policy with reference to public service corporations in harmony with the principle he seems to have grasped, he would command the confidence that his speech has a tendency to inspire.

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In that speech Mr. Hughes draws very clearly the line between public privilege conferred and private property earned. He points directly at the issue that is dividing political interests and classes, and shows as plainly as could be desired that what is demanded of public service corporations is not confiscation of private property but restoration of public rights. And he seems to place himself squarely on the side of those of the people who are making these demands.

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Of the public service corporations he says: "In public privilege they live, move and have their being." Of public duty regarding them he declares: "What we have to deal with is not interference with private property, but abuse of public rights." Of the attitude of the people towards these corporations he explains that the people are justly indignant at the efforts "to secure a monopolistic grip upon a community, and then capitalize the value of the control as a basis for unreasonable exactions." These are not platitudes. They are obviously carefully framed expressions of intelligent conviction.

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But confidence in the democratic purposes of the man who utters and evidently feels these sentiments is a very different thing from confidence in his ability, with his political and business entanglements, to give them practical application. That he cannot succeed by the means he proposes is demonstrable. No extension of "governmental regulation," no possible "supervision" of public service in private hands, can prevent the capitalization and exploitation of the money-making power which that privilege confers. So long as great aggregations of private capital are arrayed in interest against public rights, just so long will the channels of governmental "regulation" and "supervision" be corrupted. The public service never has been and never can be faithfully managed as a business speculation. The only remedy for the evils to which Mr. Hughes alludes, the only method of regulation of the politico-economic principle to which he so distinctly points, is not public regulation and supervision of private management of public services. It is public owner-

ship and management of all public functions. Public duties must be separated from private speculation. The public service must be divorced from private business.

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But this is a remedy and method to which Mr. Hughes cannot resort. It would end his political career, for it would involve disruption with his party. It would ruin him professionally, for he would be rated as a public ownership "crank," and the great business interests want nothing to do with lawyers who are rated as cranks in public affairs. It would make him a traitor to the "business" class, and treason to that class is the deadliest sin that any man can commit who has ever stood in the ranks of the rich. It is a crime which is now and then though all too seldom committed; but when it is committed, the penalty falls so swiftly, so viciously, so unerringly, so remorselessly, that few who witness its infliction upon others care to challenge it for themselves. Strange enough would it be were Mr. Hughes to commit this treason and defy these penalties.

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MR. ROOT'S SPEECH ON IMPERIAL POWER.

The speech of Secretary Root last week at the banquet of the Pennsylvania Society of New York, impresses us as one of the most important public utterances of a generation. Whether Mr. Root appreciated its importance at the time may indeed be questioned. Possibly he was actuated by no other motive than the desire to make a statesmanlike speech on an occasion when such speeches are expected of men in his official station. More probably, however, he had in mind a definite purpose with reference to American politics—either the broad politics of far-seeing statesmanship, or the partisan politics of the moment. It was possibly to both. For Mr. Root is a man of great political astuteness, of transcendent ability in statesmanship, and of a cold and calculating indifference to anything but the accomplishment of his purposes.

In political principle a Hamiltonian, honest and honorable in personal motive but aristocratically incredulous and intolerant of Jeffersonian ideals, he may reasonably be supposed to have conceived a definite plan for still further realizing Hamilton's dream of a powerful American empire, and taken advantage of this occasion to put his plan in action.

Or, confronted on the one hand by a clamorous

democratic "mob," and on the other with the aggressions of plutocratic interests, his aristocratic instincts may have been excited, as Hamilton's were in his day, and as the aristocratic instinct always is in similar circumstances, to the point of throwing down the gage of battle to both. In frankly raising anew the standards of strong government, centralized and imperial, he may have been actuated only by the Hamiltonian impulse in the face of a double danger to the Hamiltonian ideal.

Or, it may be that his only conscious purpose, assuming his purpose to have been definite at all, was to shape the partisan issues for 1908 in such manner as to strengthen the Republican and weaken the Democratic party, by forcing the Democratic party into the defense of a defenseless position.

If the latter was Mr. Root's purpose, the first signs of its success must have almost thrilled even his unthrillable nature.

Before the words in which he described the obliteration of State lines and the nationalization of the police power had passed beyond the walls of the banqueting room, they were vehemently resented by two of the three or four best known leaders of plutocracy. J. Pierpont Morgan and Mr. Baer, guests at the banquet, vigorously protested against this assault upon the reserved rights of the States. And as the days went by, similar outcries rose from similar sources, the name of John E. Parsons being prominent among the men reported as having promptly announced unalterable hostility to this latest menace to the doctrine of State rights.

Mr. Parsons opposes Mr. Root in the double capacity of a special pleader for plutocracy and a traditional Democrat of the State rights school. The legal midwife of the sugar trust, he has long held a place of confidential responsibility in the councils of plutocracy. A traditional Democrat whose enthusiasms date back to the middle of the last century, he speaks in terms familiar and attractive to the survivors of that generation of men who spoke for State rights because they stood for human slavery. Democrats like Mr. Parsons are serving admirably as the ligament for uniting that pair of political Siamese twins—plutocracy and State sovereignty—to which it may be that Mr. Root has planned to turn over the Democratic party for 1908.

Should this combination be effected, not only will the Democratic party be defeated, but still

another landmark on the road to unrestricted and irresponsible imperialism will have been set up.

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Let no Democrat imagine that the old doctrine of State rights is any longer a power to conjure with in American politics. The Democratic party will fare far better if it acts upon Mr. Root's speech as an admonitory warning than if it accepts it as a gage of battle. And all the more important is it that the party should regard it as a warning and avoid a battle upon it, when the fact is considered that this speech has aroused the hostility of the great leaders of plutocracy. These are friendships which the Democratic party can best afford to forego.

Once before in the history of this country the vital democratic principle of home rule was burdened with the deadening despotic principle of human slavery. The home rule principle was then represented by the policy of State sovereignty. But the object of that policy was the perpetuation of chattel slavery, and the policy and its object went down together in a deluge of blood. While slavery was abolished, the policy of State rights was forever discredited, and the foundations of imperialism were firmly laid. It seems improbable that even the genius of Mr. Root can make political history repeat itself in this respect. Yet he seems to have made a fair start, for has he not set the plutocrats at work mouthing State rights platitudes?

Between plutocracy and chattel slavery the difference is only of form. Chattel slavery is personal: the masters know their slaves, the slaves know their masters; the labor of the slave impoverishes himself to enrich his master, and the slave works at the audible crack of a visible lash. Plutocracy is impersonal: the masters do not know their slaves, the slaves do not know their masters; but useful and honest work impoverishes the worker to enrich the plutocrat, and the worker works at the inaudible crack of an invisible but none the less stinging lash.

The coupling of plutocracy with State rights in politics now, would therefore be the same thing in principle as the union of slaveocracy with State rights fifty years ago. And it would result as disastrously to the principle of home rule, of which, after all, the policy of State rights is but an accidental and very inadequate representative.

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State lines were originally determined only by arbitrary grants of land for colonization. As home boundaries they were never much more than

arbitrary. The element of distinctive homogeneity of population was indeed present in the earlier days, but even then the distinction was largely artificial. When new States were created, that element was still less prominent. And whatever of business and social distinctiveness State lines may once have marked off, was destroyed in principle when the Constitution decreed inter-State free trade. It was destroyed in fact when railroad systems, crossing State lines without tariff obstructions, made the internal commerce and associations of our people national instead of inter-State. To this assimilation of business and social commerce in consequence of rapid communication under conditions of free trade, the outcome of the Civil War added political assimilation by subordinating State governments to the national government.

Although the nationalizing effects of these causes were not immediate, the evolution has been so pronounced that it is now plainly visible to any one who has lived and intelligently observed for a generation. The Constitution has in the process been slightly amended but strongly construed against State rights and for centralization; the national army has with impunity invaded States to suppress local disorder in times of national peace, as in Illinois under Cleveland's administration, and distant lands for conquest as in the Philippines under McKinley's. The march from federated republicanism toward centralized imperialism has been as obvious in the United States to contemporary observers as it was in Rome to the apprehension of later historians.

So obvious has it now become that Mr. Root seizes upon the fact, and boldly proclaims the very imperialism which he and his associates of less than ten years ago denied the possibility of, even while they themselves were completing its foundations.

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Mr. Root speaks the solemn truth when he says that State lines are no longer visible. He speaks as truly when he says that the people are looking no longer to State legislatures but to the national Congress for remedial police-power legislation. He prophesies with unerring vision when he predicts a still further decrease of State power relatively to national power. And he admonishes wisely, whether as political friend or political foe, when he warns the advocates of State rights of the uselessness of inveighing against national supremacy over the States. The principle of imperialism has been growing, and now the empire is proclaimed by its builders to be here.

It is indeed useless to pit the doctrine of State rights against the fact of nationalized power. It is useless because nationalized power is an accomplished fact; and it is useless because the States no longer represent, if ever they did, the vital democratic principle of home rule.

But the irrepressible conflict between home rule and imperial power is not over. The States, as States, with their arbitrary boundaries and indistinguishable interests, may have little or no practical existence; but municipalities have sprung up with interests of their own, local and distinguishable; and their autonomy must be fought for and established. Here is the point about which the conflict between home rule and centralized power—be the centralized power in the State, as seems no longer probable, or in the nation as it seems to many of us besides Mr. Root is already a fact,—will hereafter oscillate.

Our municipalities are only in a limited and very insignificant sense, arbitrary political divisions. They are distinctly homogeneous in population and localized in business and social interests. As the individual man looks from the center of his own consciousness and his own interests out upon the world with which his consciousness and his interests are related, so do those centers of population that we call municipalities. As he has individual rights and duties respecting which he must be left in freedom, so the municipality has local rights and duties respecting which it must be left in freedom. The municipality is the natural social unit. Whether in its external relations it be protected and governed by State legislatures or by Congress, is in itself of minor concern. The one thing needful is that it shall not be protected or governed by any superior power in such manner as to destroy self-government respecting its own affairs.

A free national government for national affairs, free local governments for local affairs, and freedom for the individual,—this is the democratic concept. It is opposed to Mr. Root's aristocratic concept of "good government" of the mass by a superior class. It is opposed to the plutocratic concept of exploitation of the mass by a greedy and cunning class. It may therefore hope for little that is really good from either. But those who believe in it should have the acuteness to read Mr. Root's speech aright between the lines. And they should have the political sanity to shun an alliance with plutocrats who demand State rights, not because they believe in local self-government, but because State rights is to them what it was to

the slave oligarchy half a century ago—a base for aggression and a fortress of defense.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Wednesday, Dec. 19, 1906.

The Single Tax in Scotland.

In Great Britain a parliamentary committee has just reported favorably on a measure for the introduction of the single tax in the municipalities of Scotland (pp. 60, 367, 491). As has been heretofore reported in these columns, one of the leading issues in the parliamentary elections (vol. viii, p. 748) was the question of land values taxation. Although an overwhelming majority elected to the House of Commons was pledged to measures for the taxation of land values generally, other measures, notably the education bill, have so engrossed the time and energies of Parliament that no Ministerial bill on land values taxation has yet been introduced. But a municipal bill for Scotland, substantially the same as that which has been several times introduced and voted on (vol. viii, p. 72), has been put forward by private members speaking for Scottish municipalities. This bill was brought to the attention of the Ministry on the 26th of last February by a Parliamentary deputation (vol. viii, p. 838), and on that occasion the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in asking for time, said:

I suppose we are all agreed that, as a preliminary step, there should be a separate assessment (valuation) of site (land) values. . . . We (the Ministry) desire to have time to carefully consider the best way of giving effect to the principles I have enunciated. . . . I believe we shall arrive at a more satisfactory and more permanent result if we allow ourselves a little time and patience for the consideration of this problem, than if we were to introduce a comparatively small and piecemeal instalment of the reform we all desire.

This was understood to mean that the Ministry could not see their way clear to dealing with the question at the first session. The Municipal Councils, however, were not satisfied, and the Scottish bill was brought in on one of the days set apart for the introduction of bills by private members. On the 23rd of March it was carried on second reading by a majority of 258. By prolonging discussion the opposition had so far blocked it as to prevent its going to committee in regular order, something that could not have happened to a Ministerial bill; but the Ministry at once appointed a select committee, with the Solicitor General for Scotland as chairman, and this committee has been taking evidence at intervals ever since. It reported last week, and as we

are advised by cable the report is extremely favorable.

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A principal defect of the bill, from the single tax point of view, is said to be its limitation to municipal taxation. But this defect is only academic. It was necessitated, moreover, by the fact that only the Municipal Councils could be induced to act in concert, the County Councils being largely under the control of territorial landlords, and some even of the Liberal members of Parliament refusing to vote for the taxation of rural land values. The passage of the bill by so large a majority on second reading is reported to have fairly roused the landed classes of Scotland. They have organized and are spending thousands of dollars to discredit it. Several Scottish dukes and other great landlords are among the financial supporters of this organization, which describes its purpose to be the turning of "the question out of the arena of practical politics." The five railway companies of Scotland joined the landlords and sent the manager of the North British Railway Company to the select committee to testify against the bill. The Church of Scotland, also, engaged in the agitation on the side of the landlords. Of course this agitation has reacted upon public sentiment favorably to the reform.

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British Politics

The education bill (p. 372) continues to be the especial subject of contention between the two Houses of Parliament. On the 13th the Commons were reported as having rejected at midnight, after an all day debate, the amendments of the Lords by a vote of 416 to 107. The final scene is said to have been one of intense excitement. Nevertheless when the bill reached the Lords again on the 17th, the Earl of Crewe, Lord President of the Council, announced that though the Government was not prepared to sacrifice the main principles of the bill, concessions of a substantial character would be made. It is now thought that the bill can be saved.

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As already stated in these columns (p. 752), the London County Council elections, to be held next March, are of great significance. The Moderates, or Municipal Reformers, who represent the private utility companies, and whose victories at the recent Borough elections were widely heralded as indicating a reactionary municipal movement, were at that time announced as intending to work hard to secure at the County Council elections next March the election of Councillors pledged to oppose the program of the present Progressive Council, which includes a municipally owned electric supply for all London. The Progressives include also in their program the taxation of land values as a measure of rate relief. The Progressive campaign opened with a crowded and enthusiastic meeting at Holborn Town Hall on the 7th. The London Tribune of the 8th warns against the monopoly menaces of the Moderates, and asserts its belief that now the great opportunity of the Progressives has come:

To-day, with a Government in power which is anxious only to second its efforts, and a contingent in the House of Commons which at last represents progressive Lon-

don, the opportunity for an unhampered advance has arrived. It can be hindered only by a reaction in London itself. The chance of a generation has come, and no Londoner who realizes what clean and democratic government means in a city menaced by so many appetites, or what opportunities of social service are at the command of the party which dominates the next Council, will hesitate for one moment in his duty. . . The inaction of the Council would be the opportunity for all the restless interests with a monopoly to acquire or a privilege to perpetuate. Three years of Moderate rule might mean stagnation in all the activities which are slowly transforming the mean streets and the decaying slums, but it would leave as its permanent memorial monopolies which could be re-purchased for the common good in some future period of sanity and alertness only at a ruinous cost of debt. . . It would mean the dominance of a party which holds the interests of the ground landlord, of the promoter of private tramways, of electric trusts, and, one must add, of the supporter of clerical schools above the interests of the citizen and the consumer. . . There remains the test question of the Council's scheme for supplying electric power. It is hardly possible to devise an alternative which will not in the end burden London with a monopoly as costly and tyrannical as the old water companies. There is no reason why the scheme should not be run at a large profit, as similar schemes in Breslau and Munich already are. The real hope of further economy rests rather with Parliament than with the Council. It can be achieved only by a unification of authority and an equalization of burdens. But a Parliament bused in giving to municipalities larger powers and greater freedom, devising for them the means of dealing with housing, education, and public health, will labor in vain unless the municipality itself is controlled by men whose first thought is of their duty to their city and their obligation to those whose hopes of health, education, and comfort depend so largely on their work.

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The Transvaal to Have Constitutional Government.

A constitution for the Transvaal, debated in the English Parliament at the end of July (p. 418), was issued on the 12th, with the approval of the King and the English Government, and became immediately effective. The constitution provides for a legislative assembly consisting of sixty-nine salaried members elected for a period of five years. Voters, and not population, are taken as a basis of the distribution of seats in the new assembly, and as a result of applying this principle the Rand gets thirty-four seats, Pretoria six, and the rest of the Transvaal twenty-nine. The franchise is given to every male of 21 years of age who has resided in the Transvaal for six months, and is not an officer or soldier of the British garrison.

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The Congo Free State to Be Annexed by Belgium.

King Leopold's bequest to Belgium of his sovereign rights in the Congo Free State (p. 871) was accepted for the nation by the Chamber of Deputies of the Belgian Parliament on the 14th, by a vote of 127 to 30. The next step proposed is the annexation by Belgium of the Free State, after obtaining a full statement of its financial obligations. This annexation has been optional with Belgium since 1900, under the Convention of 1890. In accepting the King's bequest Belgium has guaranteed to maintain the crown lands intact, and to respect existing concessions, including those lately granted to Amer-

icans. That the King is trying to shift the burden, and escape the odium attaching to the alleged misgovernment of the Congo, has been hinted at.

* * *

The Dissolution of the Reichstag.

On the 1st the consideration of the German colonial policy in South Africa came before the Reichstag. Courageous members of the Socialist party, including Mr. Bebel and Mr. Roeren, related horrible details of the inhumanities practiced by the colonial government, and recorded bitter protests against the continuance of such methods. On the 3d the committee on appropriations reported its rejection of the government's request for a supplementary item of \$7,530,000, to be used in defraying the expenses of the African campaign, offering only \$2,500,000. At present there are 12,000 troops in the colony. The Kaiser was willing to bring 4,000 of them home, but a majority in the Reichstag on the 13th, 178 to 168, refused to vote more supplies than would be needed to keep 2,500 men in the colony. It is claimed that the colony could not defend itself against the native races with so small a contingent. The vote divided on different lines than the debate, the Clericals, called the Center, composed of the Catholics standing solidly together, voting against the Kaiser; and the Socialists and Radicals voting largely with him. Immediately upon the result of the vote becoming known, the Chancellor, Prince von Buelow, arose and read an imperial decree dissolving the Reichstag. The astonishment and excitement which followed were not confined to the Reichstag itself, and great political confusion is reported. The elections for the next Reichstag must take place, under the laws of the Empire, within sixty days, and the new session must open within ninety days. It was officially announced on the 15th that the new elections would take place on January 25.

* * *

The French Separation Law in Operation.

The law separating church and state in France has gone into effect with but little of the dreaded violence. In many parishes, both in Paris and in the interior, Catholic laymen have come forward and fled the necessary declarations for the holding of services in their parish churches (p. 872). Cardinal Richard is reported as approving of this move, on the ground that the Pope's prohibitions in the matter only apply to the priests. Violent demonstrations against the Vatican on the part of Italians sympathizing with the step being taken by the French Republic, were reported from Rome on the 16th.

* * *

Revolution in Russian Poland Finally Suppressed.

The revolutionary movement in Russian Poland which seems to have smoldered for more than a year (vol. viii, pp. 580, 613), is at last reported as stamped out, at a terrible cost to the Polish people, the number of victims being estimated as in the thousands. Business is said to have become stagnant, and the trades and industries are bankrupt. But the Poles have not lost heart, and are busy organizing for the coming Douma elections. Party differences are reported as forgotten, and the na-

national spirit has brought about a merger of the three great Polish parties—Conservative, Progressive and Democratic. These are selecting fusion candidates representing Polish national ideals.

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The disabilities of the Jews are reported as removed by a bill approved by the Czar. Under the provisions of this bill Jews will be permitted to live in the country as well as in the cities within the "pale," and certain restrictions placed on Jewish merchants and artisans in cities outside the pale, are removed.

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The Japanese and President Roosevelt.

In transmitting a report of Secretary Metcalf on the Japanese in San Francisco (p. 704), President Roosevelt sent to Congress on the 18th a special message supplementary to those parts of his annual message (pp. 841, 846, 865) which dealt with that subject. The special message, which is brief, summarizes Secretary Metcalf's report:

I inclose herewith for your information the final report made to me personally by Secretary Metcalf on the situation affecting the Japanese in San Francisco. The report deals with three matters of controversy—first, the exclusion of the Japanese children from the San Francisco schools; second, the boycotting of Japanese restaurants; and, third, acts of violence committed against the Japanese. As to the first matter, I call your especial attention to the small number of Japanese children who attend school, to the testimony as to the brightness, cleanliness, and good behavior of these Japanese children in the schools, and to the fact that, owing to their being scattered throughout the city, the requirement for them all to go to one special school is impossible of fulfillment and means that they cannot have school facilities. Let me point out further that there would be no objection whatever to excluding from the schools any Japanese on the score of age. It is obviously not desirable that young men should go to school with children. The only point is the exclusion of the children themselves. The number of Japanese children attending the public schools in San Francisco was small. The government has already directed that suit be brought to test the constitutionality of the act in question; but my earnest hope is that such suit will not be necessary, and that as a matter of comity the citizens of San Francisco will refuse to deprive these young Japanese children of education and will permit them to go to the schools.

The question as to the violence against the Japanese is most admirably put by Secretary Metcalf, and I have nothing to add to his statement. I am entirely confident that, as Secretary Metcalf says, the overwhelming sentiment of the State of California is for law and order and for the protection of the Japanese in their persons and property. Both the chief of police and the acting mayor of San Francisco assured Secretary Metcalf that everything possible would be done to protect the Japanese in the city.

I authorized and directed Secretary Metcalf to state that if there was failure to protect persons and property, then the entire power of the Federal government within the limits of the Constitution would be used promptly and vigorously to enforce the observance of our treaty, the supreme law of the land, which treaty guaranteed to Japanese residents everywhere in the Union full and perfect protection for their persons and property; and to this end everything in my power would be done, and all the forces of the United States, both civil and military, which I could lawfully employ, would be employed.

"Car Famine" in the Northwest.

Reports of inadequate railroad facilities in the Northwest have for several days been attracting attention farther east. The situation is well described by a correspondent in Minneapolis, whose dispatch of the 18th appeared in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 19th. He says: "Inadequate transportation facilities have brought to the people of the Northwest the most severe bodily suffering and to the business interests of the section such enormous losses that they are now in financial straits. This was the story told to-day in distressing detail to Interstate Commerce Commissioners Franklin K. Lane and James S. Harlan by business men and farmers, in person and through a flood of telegrams. All raised in chorus a cry for 'Cars! Cars! Cars!' Residents of towns in which every bit of available combustible material, even to yards of valuable lumber, has been turned into fuel in fighting off suffering caused by blizzards, told their tales of hardships. Farmers who until today had been burning their fences and outbuildings to keep from freezing to death added to the lamentations. Others who had lost all the profits of their year's work because they could not get their products to market contributed their complaints. These told how they had hauled their grain to railway stations and elevators two or three times, each time offering it at a reduced price, and finally had been compelled to dump it on the ground or dispose of it as food for stock because dealers told them it was impossible to make shipments. All these losses are felt indirectly by the tradesmen and others with whom the farmers, with ordinary profits secure, do business. These disclosures were made to the commissioners in scores of telegrams in response to inquiries sent to towns in the district affected by the fuel famine and by witnesses who had been summoned from North Dakota and elsewhere. They made it clear to the investigators that the reports of the last week as to car shortage and consequent suffering had not been exaggerated and that relief measures and the prevention of a recurrence of such conditions are matters of the greatest importance. It was also made clear that the Commissioners had acted none too quickly in securing yesterday the promise of co-operation on the part of the coal companies and the railroads in relieving distress from lack of fuel. The effects of this promise are felt directly in the raising of the blockade that has shut off many towns from supplies for weeks."

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The Traction Fight in Cleveland.

As reported by the news dispatches a new traction company named The Low Fare Company has been organized in Cleveland for the purpose of taking franchises of the routes granted to the "Threefer," in order to guard against the effect of any adverse decision of the courts regarding the validity of the "Threefer" grants. As one judge has decided (pp. 865, 873) that Mayor Johnson's guarantee of investors in the "Threefer" against loss, taints the "Threefer" grants, even though the guarantee were for the benefit of the city of Cleveland, the effect of that decision can be nullified by the granting of the same franchises to The Low Fare Company, which Mayor Johnson does not guarantee and in which he

has no financial interest at all—not even a possibility of financial loss. The Low Fare Company was organized on the 14th with a capital of \$250,000.

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Official Vote of New York Election.

By the official count completed at Albany on the 18th (p. 775) by the canvassing Board the vote at the recent election appears to have been as follows:

Hughes (Republican)	740,002
Hearst (Democrat)	673,268
Hearst (Ind. L.)	17,837
Chase (Socialist)	21,751
Jackson (Soc. Labor)	4,624
Randall (Prohibition)	15,989
Scattering	849
Void ballots	1,261
Total	1,484,581
Hughes' plurality	57,897
Hughes' majority	6,712
Total Socialist vote.....	26,375

NEWS NOTES

—The Shah of Persia, reported last week as fatally ill (p. 875), is believed to be nearing his end.

—King Oscar of Sweden has been reported as very ill during the past week, but the latest dispatches indicate improvement.

—F. L. Barnett, the Negro lawyer of Chicago who was reported as elected last Fall to a municipal judgeship but was officially defeated (p. 818), has brought legal proceedings for a recount of the votes.

—The inhabitants of the Imperial valley which is so seriously menaced by the floods pouring again into the Salton "sink" from the Colorado river through the broken million-dollar dam (p. 873), met with representatives of the Southern Pacific railroad in conference on the 13th. A joint effort to again bar the river will probably be made.

—An Irish trademark, applicable to every article manufactured or produced in Ireland, has been registered. Ireland thus becomes the first country to have a national trademark as a protection against fraud. The design of the trademark consists of an old Irish ornament, with the words, "Deanta I Neirinn," meaning, "Made in Ireland."

—Jeremiah Curtin, a distinguished linguist and philologist, died at Bristol, Vt., on the 14th, at the age of 66 years. Mr. Curtin was credited with being proficient in sixty languages and dialects. He translated into English a number of Russian and Polish novels, was the author of several ethnological works, and edited various compilations of folklore.

—The new Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Straus, decided on the 18th that the contract labor law relative to immigration does not prohibit a State from sending agents abroad to encourage immigration and assist immigrants by paying their passage money and guaranteeing them employment. The State in whose interest this decision was made is South Carolina.

—Upper Alaska is said to be fast becoming a tourist region, and a tourist hotel at Dawson is

promised for next year. The coastwise steamers from Seattle to Skagway, the White Pass trains from Skagway to White Horse, and the river steamers from White Horse to Dawson and down the Yukon to its mouth at Bering Sea, touching the Arctic circle on the way, afford comfortable means for traveling over what was so short a time ago a death trail.

—Wireless telephonic conversation has been held between persons at Berlin and at Nauen, 24 miles apart. The experiments were conducted under the auspices of the German Society of Wireless Telegraphy. The method employed consists in the use of the microphone in connection with the ordinary wireless telegraphy apparatus. Professor Slaby, of the society, believes that the time is coming when a man will be able to speak wirelessly with a friend in any part of the world.

—The Oklahoma Constitutional convention (p. 751) in session at Guthrie has been considering what name to give the Deity in the new constitution they are framing for the State, or whether or not a Supreme Being should be named at all. On the 12th they unanimously adopted the following preamble:

Invoking the guidance of Almighty God in order to secure and perpetuate the blessing of liberty, to secure a just and rightful government, to promote mutual welfare and happiness, we, the people of Oklahoma, do ordain and establish this constitution.

PRESS OPINIONS

OKLAHOMA IDEALS.

The Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), December 13.—Oklahoma's constitutional convention is engaged in animated debate respecting the designation that should be applied to the Deity. This will occasion some surprise in the effete East, where it is generally believed that the Oklahoma designation of Omnipotence is usually indicated by a three-em dash.

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PRICES AND INCOMES.

Machinery (technical), December.—The bulletin of the Bureau of Labor for July is at variance with the generally accepted theory that prices have increased in a greater ratio than have wages during the last few years. This fact is proven by elaborate statistical tables. Whether the Bureau of Labor is right or not in its contention, may be open to discussion, but the fact remains that no statistical figures will be able to convince the salaried man or the wage earner that prices have not gone up out of all proportion to incomes.

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NO LONGER AN INFANT INDUSTRY.

Machinery (technical), December.—The Giornale d'Italia, Rome, Italy, announces that the Midvale Steel Company, Philadelphia, has obtained from the Italian government an order for 2,100 tons of armor plate, valued at \$1,000,000, for a man-of-war. The American company was in competition for the contract with five European firms, including the Krupp's. Its tender was \$180,000 less than that of the Italian Terni factory. Comments seem almost unnecessary, but it is evident that the time has passed when fiscal provisions are necessary in this country to keep foreign steel product out of the competition with our own steel mills. The above seems to amply indicate the latter's ability to successfully compete with European steel concerns even if "unprotected."

TAXING LITTLE CHILDREN.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), December 4.—When you buy the Christmas toys for the little children and when you wish that they did not cost so much so that you might also buy for some other little children you know who are not so well provided for as your own are, it might be well to remember that the tariff tax on these toys is from 25 to 60 per cent., according to the kind and quality. As there is over \$200,000,000 in the treasury more than the government requires, and of that amount \$154,000,000 is loaned without interest to favored national banks, there is no need for this tax on dolls and toys that the Republican party persists in collecting. The tariff operates as an unnecessary tax upon the Christmas generosity of the nation. The tax is not necessary for the support of the government. Besides for every dollar the government gets the trusts collect six. Of all people in the world the Christmas shopper has least reason to be a stand-patter.

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A HOPE FOR THE LITTLE PEOPLES.

The New York Nation (Ind.), December 6.—The great lesson of the Russian revolution for the inferior races of Europe is that constant struggle for the preservation of national identity, no matter how seemingly hopeless, is justified because of the possibility of a political cataclysm that may make the dominant sovereign of today helpless to-morrow. Who would have ventured to predict, three years ago, the chance of dissolution threatening the huge mass of the Russian Empire, or greater liberties for the Armenians or the Jews, or a self-governing Poland? Yet a Russia reorganized as a federation of autonomous states is not beyond the possibilities of the near future. Indeed, federalism as the solution of the racial problem in Europe may prove to be the great contribution of the Russian revolution to the West as democracy was of the French revolution.

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LABORATORIES FOR THE NATIONS.

The New York Nation (Ind.) December 6.—Norway is soon to rank with Belgium and Switzerland as a neutralized state, with its independence and integrity guaranteed by the Powers. While the tendency, nowadays, is to regard the neutrality of such states, in case of a great European war, with a good deal of skepticism, they nevertheless have a certain demonstrable value in times of peace as virtual little museums or laboratories of statecraft, where new political ideas may be tried out and exhibited under special circumstances, on the chance that they may prove acceptable to the more powerful governments. Switzerland, of course, is the classic home of the referendum, and Belgium has demonstrated the fairness and practicability of proportional representation so successfully as to make the adoption of the system in the new Transvaal Constitution a possibility. So, too, the cause of international peace may draw appreciable profit from these small buffer states, as examples of prosperity and content without the drawback of militarism.

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ITCHING EARS AND ITCHING HANDS.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind.), December 1.—President George F. Baer, who has learned much since 1902, deplores "the present tendency to lend itching ears to strange doctrines." It's an age of false prophets, knockers, agitators and pessimists, he says, and we must heed the ancient injunction to beware of such leaders and counselors. The demand for changes in our industrial and social order is not confined to drones, incapables and scolds. It comes from many of those "gifted and capable men who are obeying the primitive mandate to subdue the

earth and have dominion over it," but to whom "dominion" does not mean private and special privilege, greedy monopoly. And it comes from millions of men whom Mr. Baer might not regard as "gifted and capable," for they are "only" wage-workers, farmers, small business men and clerks, but who do "bear the heat and burden of the day in the eternal work of subjugation." Mr. Baer is right in asserting the right of the gifted and capable captains of industry to proper reward for their labor and skill, but he seems to think that the rest of mankind may be left to the tender mercies of these few. To demand justice and opportunity for the many he thinks impertinent and revolutionary, almost impious, meddling with the order of nature. It is the itching palms of many of these gifted but unscrupulous men that are responsible for the preaching of strange doctrines. It is extortion, grab, defiance of laws for the common welfare, to which we owe the spread of false teaching. But there is no occasion for pessimism in Mr. Baer. Let him co-operate with the rational and just reformers in modern society, with those who want fair play for all, and the false prophets will have no terrors for him. Truth is mighty, Mr. Baer, and will prevail, in spite of drones and pessimists—and in spite, too, of short-sighted and rapacious possessors of "swollen fortunes."

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THE ENGLISH PRIME MINISTER.

The Tribune (London, Eng.), November 28.—It is this gift of divining the current of Liberal feeling and expressing it with perfect simplicity and fearlessness which has given Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman his unique position in the hearts of his followers. In him we find none of that tampering with Liberal enthusiasms, that watering-down of ideals, which we have been too often taught to associate with the enjoyment of place and power. The Prime Minister will lead the party as long as his natural force remains unabated, and he will lead it to victory because he throws himself frankly upon the vital forces of Liberalism for support, and is not for ever damping down the ardor of his followers by dwelling on the difficulties which beset men in office.

IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 41 of that publication.

Washington, Dec. 8-15.

Senate.

No business of general interest was done on the 10th, 11th, 12th or 13th. On the latter day the Senate adjourned to the 17th.

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House.

The legislative, executive and judicial appropriation bill was under consideration on the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th and 14th. It was passed (p. 375) on the latter day. Part of the business of the 13th was the adoption of a House resolution (p. 351) against any departure from recognized standards of spelling. The House adjourned on the 15th until the 17th.

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Record Notes.

Speech of Senator Rayner on the question of Japanese pupils in the public schools of California (p. 281). Resolution, adopted on the 13th, calling upon the Secretary of the Interior for a full description of all public lands withdrawn from entry since July 1, 1906, with the character thereof and the reasons therefor (p. 339).

**RELATED THINGS
CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT**

ADVENT.

'Tis winter,
And the night
Is crystal clear.
The trees, with diadems of stars,
Are penciled on the sky.
My heart is all aglow,
Heaven and earth
Are blended so
In one great atmosphere
Of light and shade.

A long low line of hills
Rises above the lake,
Whose restless waters
Voice the night.
The wind sings in the trees;
Their branches readily respond
To every touch,
Gentle or strong.

Above it all,
Far and near
Voices are echoing
Soft and clear:

"Until the daybreak
And the shadows flee away,
The Lord is with thee, with thee,
And lo, alway
Unto the ages of ages,
Allelula!
Glory to God in the Highest,
Allelula!
On earth, peace,
Good will to men,
Entire good will.
Allelula!
Amen."

C. W. S. C.

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**WHAT IS THE CLERKS' CHRISTMAS
GIFT TO CHICAGO?**

Issued by the Woman's Trade Union League of Illinois.

The Clerks' Christmas gift to the State street firms, pauperizing the Employers:

The clerks in the department stores are required to work overtime, without pay, during the holiday season.

In one department store

3000 employes work 4 hours overtime at night...12,000 hours
8 nights, December 15-22..... 8

96,000 hours @ 10 cents an hour..... .10

96,000 hours
\$9,600.00

This is one store's saving in wages:

\$9,600.00.

This is the story in one. What of the others?

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THREE WAR QUESTIONS.

Rev. Charles F. Dole in the Boston Transcript.

I.

A grave question is whether, in the interest of peace and order in the world, it is useful or expe-

cient for individual nations to undertake to safeguard the persons and property of citizens who travel or do business in barbarous or half civilized regions, like Turkey? When people travel in civilized countries there can be no need of the interference of their government in their behalf. When travelers, traders or missionaries go to disorderly parts of the world, may they not be fairly expected to go at their own risks and on their own good behavior, and to receive merely the same measure of safety which the natives of the country possess? The attempt of a foreign government to enforce its own higher standards of order and security upon less civilized peoples seems to go beyond the legitimate scope of a national government; it is fraught with unknown peril of injustice to innocent people; it involves an excessive burden of military and naval expense; it furnishes frequent provocation for meddlesome conduct, and constitutes a standing menace of war.

II.

The relation of the stronger to the weaker races constitutes an international question, as serious as the problem of slavery once was. The difficulty is that no single nation can be trusted, especially in its dealings with a less civilized people, to be a safe judge of the equity of its own claims or of the grievances of its subjects. The time is ripe to call attention to the need of new international law and the possible extension of the use of The Hague Tribunal, so as to remove all ground of excuse for any strong Power to undertake to become judge and executioner in its own disputes with weaker peoples.

III.

Another practical question demands popular inquiry. To engage in war is the most solemn act in the life of a nation. It is far more important than the election of a President. Ought then any war, except under the absolute necessity of defense against invasion, ever to be entered upon without requiring a general plebiscite and receiving the vote in the affirmative of at least two-thirds of the whole adult population? That a minority, or even a few persons, should have power to involve a nation in war seems to be a clear outrage upon the theory of popular government!

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SHAKESPEARE OPPOSED THE ENCLOSURE OF COMMON LANDS.

Extract from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ninth Edition. Page 743, Article on Shakespeare.

Mr. Hallam has stated, in a well-known passage, that "No letter of Shakespeare's writing, no record of his conversation, has been preserved." But we certainly have at least one conversation reported at first hand. It relates to a proposal made in 1614 by some of the local proprietors for the enclosure of certain common lands at Welcombe and Old Stratford. The corporation of Stratford strongly opposed the project on the ground that it would be a hardship to the poorer members of the community, and their clerk, Mr. Thomas Greene, who was related to Shakespeare, was in London about the business in November of the same year. Under date of Novem-

ber 17, Greene says in notes that still exist: "My cosen, Shakespear, comyng yesterdy to town, I went to see him how he did. He told me that they assured him they ment to inclose no further than to Gospell Bush, and so upp straight (leaving out part of the Byngles to the field) to the gate in Clopton hedg, and take in Salisburyes peece; and that they mean in Aprill to survey the land, and then to gyve satisfaction, and not before; and he and Mr. Hall say they think ther will be nothyng done at all." This proves that the agents of the scheme had seen Shakespeare on the subject; that he had gone carefully into the details of their plan, consulted his son-in-law, Dr. John Hall, about them, and arrived at the conclusion that for the present they need take no decided action in the matter. There is evidently on Shakespeare's part a strong feeling against the proposed enclosure, and the agents of the scheme had clearly done their best to remove his objections, promising amongst other things that if it went forward he should suffer no pecuniary loss, a promise already confirmed by a legal instrument.

Nine months later, when the local proprietors seemed bent on pushing the scheme Shakespeare took a more decided stand, and pronounces strongly against the whole business. We have a notice, dated September 1, 1615, to the effect that Mr. Shakespeare had on that date told the agent of the corporation "that he was not able to bear the enclosing of Welcombe." As his proprietary rights and pecuniary interests were not to be affected by the proposed enclosure, this strong expression of feeling must refer to the public advantages of the Welcombe common fields, and especially to what in Scotland would be called their "amenty," the element of value arising from their freedom and beauty, their local history and associations.

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FILIPINOS URGE THE FULFILMENT OF THE ROOSEVELT PROGRAM.

From *La Independencia*, of Manila, Issue of October 19, 1906.

It is some time since President Roosevelt laid down his formula of a "government of the Filipinos assisted by Americans," to show to the Filipinos that it is not the intention of the United States to retain the Philippines indefinitely, but that as soon as the natives are versed in the conditions of true republican government, according to modern ideals, the government is to be turned over to them, so that if they should so desire their country may be transformed into a free and independent state.

President McKinley, for his part, had recommended to the Civil Commission, that, whenever possible, Filipinos should be preferred for the different offices of our administration, and all Americans that have written on the subject have expressed themselves in the same sense.

Thus the good intentions of the Americans were asserted, according to which they did not come hither to place the islands under their yoke, but to free them, and this same idea was expressed by the present governor, General Smith, at the banquet which was given in his honor by the Quill club.

And now we have to ask why is this sentiment

not put into practice as so many opportunities have offered themselves therefor? The occasions to which we refer are the vacancies that have occurred and are still occurring in the different offices in the administration since this good intention was formulated.

We appreciate that it would be a violent, although possible measure to discharge Americans in office to replace them by natives; but at the same time that we recognize the undesirability of such a proceeding, we cannot understand how, face to face with the declared intention of the United States, the authorities, when a vacancy appears, seem to seek far and wide for any American to fill the post, while not making the least effort to find a Filipino, of whom, as a rule, there are not one, but many. Our affirmation must not be ascribed to blind national self love. It is the result of a firm conviction as to our present capacity, pursuant to which we agitate for our speedy independence. In that sense the Independence Party will labor and try to influence the authorities. In view of our assertion that we possess the necessary capacity, and inasmuch as there has been plenty of time and plenty of opportunity for putting into practice the benevolent formula of President Roosevelt, we regret to state that if its application is much longer deferred the Filipinos may easily come to doubt whether this promise was at all sincere, or was only given to quiet a natural impatience. We believe the former. And since we believe it we think that the Government is sacredly bound to materialize this often repeated expression, which has all the importance of a promise given to us from the White House.

If the American authorities disbelieve our capacity we still must remind them that a late and slow apprenticeship implies a slow and late capacity. If there be a doubt, let it be ascertained whether truth is with us or with those who deny our aptness. If we are unfortunate enough to fail, it may then be considered to be demonstrated that our release from American supremacy is denied because we have unsuccessfully tried our hand at self-government.

The present course of affairs necessarily discourages even the most confident amongst us.

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AN INDIAN STORY IN A GOVERNMENT REPORT.

An Editorial in the *Chicago Record-Herald* of November 24, 1906.

The commissioner of Indian affairs, Francis E. Leupp, has a chapter in his annual report for which he seems to offer a wholly unnecessary apology. He is about to describe the annual fair of the Crow Indians in Montana, and says: "At the risk of turning a public report into an entertaining narrative, I feel impelled to present an account of that enterprise here, and to accompany it with the name of the author of the plan and supervisor of its execution, S. G. Reynolds, United States Indian agent for the tribe."

As a result we have a mighty interesting story, for which thanks are due to the commissioner and to Mr. Reynolds. The fair was established in pursu-

ance of a highly intelligent effort to adapt the Indian to a new industrial order. He was living on government rations and spent his time in amusements. When a thousand members of the tribe were stricken from the ration rolls and put upon allotted lands they were still idle and thriftless and given wholly to pleasure. They neglected their farms and gardens to attend dances. The dance "was always associated with horse racing and gambling, gift and adoption ceremonies, and a number of other customs that tended to degrade" them. For their usual pleasures the fair was proposed as a substitute. The first year nothing was exhibited and interest was centered in horse racing, but there was no gambling, and a great advance was made in organization. Officers and committees were appointed, a programme was decided on and a spirit of good-natured emulation was aroused. During the following spring there was evidence of continued interest in the scheme when Indians met to talk the plans over. Fun and satire entered into the contest, as this anecdote shows:

A miniature box was sent by the Indians of Reno district to the Indians of Pryor district labeled: "Put your exhibit in this and send over by mail." An answer came back from Chief Plenty-Coos, who lives in the Pryor district, saying that he would agree to "take Reno's exhibit home in his pocket."

Big colored posters that would do credit to a circus advertiser were distributed over the reservation announcing the coming event in large letters. The Indians were so captivated by these brilliant works of art that "many put them on their houses, and some made frames and hung them by the roadside in front of their places." They were further stimulated by offers of premiums, amounting all told to \$711, and distributed through many small items.

The fair was favored by pleasant weather and was a tremendous success. Old Indians, much to their delight, were allowed to come in their native costumes; there were fine bright badges for the officials, there were races and sports in plenty; groups of old-fashioned tepees made their appeal to the red men. Meanwhile, as the fair progressed, intense interest was shown in its industrial features. Takes-the-Gun and Bird-Horse put all the other Indians to shame with their splendid four-horse teams and new lumber wagons, but after dispersing the others returned with their exhibits, resolved, no doubt, to do better another time. Takes-the-Gun, who was a "full blood and wholly uneducated Big Horn Indian," took first prize in his class. "First prize for meal and table went to Mrs. Pretty-Antelope, and the first prize for well-kept tepee to Mrs. Joseph Stewart. Both were full-blood Indians, and neither had ever been to school or could speak a word of English." They took the prizes, too, though there were educated girls in the competition. Here is the story of another interesting award:

Chief Plenty-Coos, one of the best workers as well as the most eminent Indian on the reservation, competed for the prize for the best driving team, but was beaten by a team owned and driven by a squaw, and the other Indians had a great deal of amusement at his expense, which he took without offense, as became a father of his people, saying that the award was good.

Great pains seems to have been taken throughout to turn the Indians' traits to the Indians' advantage.

Their customs and their likes and dislikes were considered, their pride was aroused, they had much harmless fun, they refrained from gambling and dissipation. Thus a wise and sympathetic policy triumphed over their natural indolence and their vices, and it is gratifying to know that such intelligence is being shown in the administration of Indian affairs. Mr. Reynolds certainly deserves the honorable mention he receives in the commissioner's narrative.

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THE RISE OF THE COMMONER IN JAPAN.

A Letter from Henry George, Jr., Dated Tokyo, November 1, 1906. As Published in the Chicago Daily Journal.

A few paces away from my hotel, building operations are in progress on a railroad viaduct. In places it is necessary to drive small piles for a foundation. A rough derrick had been rigged up, and several ropes, attached to the weight, ran over pulley wheels and down to a group of men and women. There were eighteen persons in this group and most of them were women—to be exact, twelve. To the song of one and the chorus of all this group rhythmically swayed on the ropes, raising and letting go of the weight, which in this way hammered the pile into the ground. The men were mostly young, but the women were of all ages. Several of them had their skirts tucked up, showing sturdy, brown bare legs.

An hour and a half later the group was still working and the pile was not half driven down. At that rate it must have taken three hours to get the whole pile into the ground; and, what with time spent in readjustment of the derrick, a day would be consumed in driving three piles.

This in large degree represents the process of production in Japan. On the large governmental and corporation works steam and the newer processes are employed. But the ordinary works are conducted after the old hand-labor methods, or else are on too small a scale to call in the use of labor- and time-saving devices. The nation is yet in the man-power era.

But the forces that are making such increase in productive power in other parts of the world are coming into Japan, and will within the next decade or two make great strides.

And it would be idle to assume that the Japanese workman is incapable of using machinery. The recent manufacture and use of ships and engines of war would disprove such an assumption.

We commonly speak of the Japanese as imitative, implying that they slavishly follow an example and nothing more. Nothing could be further from the truth. Under the ironclad rule of the military despotism of the shoguns thought and action in all their branches become formalized, precisely as they did in the Nile valley under the Pharaohs. But now in the new age upon which Japan has entered, when every boy is being taught more or less of the principles of democracy, and the idea of equality is superseding that of privilege, all thought is shaking off the shackles of formalism, and the Japanese are not only imitating what they judge to be the points of excellence in foreigners, but are making im-

provements and going beyond them in the field of invention.

Is it to be expected, then, that the Japanese workman, for so long held down to a low standard of subsistence, will remain there? On the contrary, the effort to use, to adopt, to discover better contrivances and processes arises, on the whole, from a new desire—the desire to get better and easier subsistence and all the things that belong to the ideals of Western civilization.

Nothing is of more common remark among observant Japanese than this. Not only does the Japanese gentleman endeavor to obtain, for instance, the household conveniences and luxuries of occidental civilization, but the Japanese workman, under the stimulus of the new political and industrial aspirations, strives to give his family better and more varied food; while the country girl, going into a mill or factory and getting what, to her and her people, are munificent wages, puts more or better ornaments in her hair, and in place of cotton obi (outside sash or girdle) she wears a silk one.

And with these new aspirations have come—in the larger cities, at least—an increase in wages. In the building trades in Tokyo, for instance, wages during the past nine or ten years have doubled. And this is so in some other lines.

But with the new standard of living and the rise in wages has come a new cost of living. This is owing to the same monopoly and taxation causes that are operating in the United States.

In the United States the increasing difficulty of getting a living required by an advancing standard and the industrial depressions that occur have resulted in the formation, defensively and offensively, among the workmen of a larger and larger and more and more centralized trades unionism. In Japan little of this has yet appeared, owing perhaps to the long subjection of the workers, as a class, to the government, to whom they still look for direction and aid.

But, just as the rule of the Shogun and the Daimyo had to give way to that of the samurai, or gentleman soldier class, so now the ascendancy of the new commoner is beginning, and a big coal mine strike not long since and several strikes in woolen and cotton mills, with the riot here in Tokyo over an increase of half a cent in street railroad fares, show the signs of class or trade organization, or at any rate, of harmonious action.

But, curious as it may seem, the first effort at trades union organization, as we know it, has proved a failure in Japan. It occurred within recent years, when the demand for laborers was increasing and wages were on the rise. As we know in the United States, during a period of industrial prosperity is not the time when unions recruit, but, on the contrary, they lose in membership and fall heavily into arrears in dues. And since the majority of workers in the respective trades here could make better terms independently in the sale of their labor than was possible by united demand through a union, they lost interest in the union idea.

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They must be ready to act on the ancient principle of the English law that the nation was the ultimate owner of the soil.—Frederic Harrison.

RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

For The Public.

At the last session of Congress the question of immigration was revived. Congress was called upon to enact laws more restrictive than the ones now in force. Its failure to comply with the demand would have been complimentary to the legislators but for the fact that the enactment of the new law was delayed for partisan reasons.

It is, however, well worth while to review both the causes advanced for the necessity of restriction and the manner in which the restriction was proposed to be secured.

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It has been claimed that immigrants coming to this country from Europe add largely to the number of inmates of the prisons, workhouses and poor-houses. In other words, the immigrants are criminal, vicious, improvident or incapable. If this be true, there can be no reasonable criticism of restrictive legislation, for a nation has a natural right to self-protection, and it would not be desirable to invite an addition of such elements, as the country already has got more than enough of. If we wish to meet the proposition advanced, we must consider whether it is true that the immigrants as a rule can be characterized in the manner stated.

It is, of course, evident that amongst a million men and women arriving during one year at the shores of the republic there must be some with criminal tendencies. So there are also amongst any one million native-born Americans we may please to pick out. It is true that many of the foreigners, especially those who come from southern Europe, are uneducated and illiterate. That is equally true of many American-born citizens. It is true that many of the immigrants are improvident and incapable. That, however, is not as true of them as of a majority of the very class which advocates keeping the foreigners out.

Thus we may at least conclude that as to the unfavorable qualities charged to the immigrants, they are not any worse off than are those who arrived in this country a few years earlier. It seems unreasonable to demand of the immigrants that they should be of a higher moral quality than is the native population. This, however, is a usual human shortcoming. We demand of our fellow-beings a state very near perfection before we are willing to admit that they are not inferior to ourselves.

Statistics amply prove that increase of crime is not necessarily a by-product of increasing immigration. In Massachusetts where the influx of immigrants has been very great during the last decade, the inmates in the prisons have decreased in number. This does not seem to prove the rule that the foreigners are any more viciously inclined than the native population. In fact, it would be a curious thing could it be proved that immigrants who are peaceful and industrious in their home country could be so transformed upon their arrival here. Crime is less frequent in Europe than in America, and if the immigrants show tendencies here which they did not prove to possess in Europe, the only explanation would be that the environments into which they are transplanted are more demoralizing.

Let us not just here be carried away by a feeling of false patriotism. Let us admit that in no other civilized country is there so plainly demonstrated to be one law for the rich and powerful and one for the poor and helpless. Let us not be blind to the facts daily before our eyes, that while financially important criminals may be acquitted of even the most hideous of crimes, murder, the poor man is by the same law convicted for crimes which have not been even sufficiently proved by clear evidence. If in the face of such shameful proceedings the immigrants become demoralized, as well as the population at large, they at least should not be blamed for it.

The great majority of immigrants come to this republic with hopeful determination to earn an honest living. They do not plan to come here to commit crimes. All they ask is permission to work. They are willing to fill the meanest positions. They are willing to endure hardships such as few of those who advocate their exclusion would ever dare to encounter. They exert an energy of a kind such as the man who stays forever in the country where he was born cannot fully imagine, far less appreciate. If any portion of the population exerts an influence toward progress, it is the one which has had hardships to overcome in order to secure progress for themselves.

If the immigrants do fill the poorhouses it would be cruel indeed to charge that to their lack of thrift or to their incapability to do useful work. The average foreigner has far more of a saving disposition than has the average American. What could our legislators in Congress say upon this point any way, in face of the fact of the often heard claim that no poor man can go to Congress because it is not possible for a congressman to live upon his salary of \$5,000 a year?

The charge against the foreigners for being thriftless, because three out of every thousand go to the poorhouse, is a most thoughtless and unjust accusation. Although the foreigners in this country number only about one-seventh of the population, they own one-quarter of the homes. To be sure, their homes may not have brown stone fronts, nor do they have summer cottages at Newport or in the Adirondack mountains. But then, they are to be pardoned for this, because they have usually earned by their own labor the money with which they have built their homes.

Those distinguished gentlemen who advocate the exclusion of a larger proportion of immigrants know that the charges as to criminality and thriftlessness are futile. They know that these charges were invented to serve as a cloak for the real reasons. It is easy enough to blame the immigrants for every social maladjustment. As a rule the immigrants cannot reply by stating the facts as they see them. And the soothing influence of the unwarranted charges upon the restless labor unions is remarkable. The wise politician knows that whenever the masses of the people begin to indicate tendencies to want to look into the real facts, to investigate into the actual causes for the morbid competition in the labor market, to inquire about why commodities should rise out of all proportion to wages, then it is time to divert the general dissatisfaction by blaming the influx of "cheap labor" from Europe for the whole diffi-

culty. Should this alone not suffice, he will be willing to slightly adjust the tariff so as to prevent the products of that "cheap labor" from flooding the American market. As a rule this has proved to be enough to quiet the ordinary man. But may we not hope that in the future the American citizen will not be satisfied with explanations so superficial?

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The real reason for the agitation against the immigrants is a deep and subtle one. For, although it seems evident to the superficial observer that an increase of the supply of labor must necessarily be detrimental to high wages, it cannot be denied that those who advocate restrictions are neither men influenced personally by the difficulties due to competition, nor men who have proved by previous acts that the true welfare of American workingmen lay near their hearts. Rather do they represent the interests which would be disturbed should Americans look for a deeper cause than immigration as the foundation of the industrial inequity. They represent the interests of monopoly in this country; and although the influx of cheaper European labor and a consequent increased competition in the labor market is of great value to them, still they are wisely willing to sacrifice a little of this advantage if they can only divert the public mind from an inquiry into the nature of the monopolies they possess.

The proposition that this country has not got employment for all who so far have chosen to come here is ridiculous. It is everywhere recognized that no country in Europe has so enormous natural resources as has the United States. Still the population in this country is more sparse than that of nearly all European countries, and the closest settled countries in Europe have populations ten times or more to the square mile larger than the United States. Yet it is claimed that the country is crowded. In one sense it is. It is crowded in the same sense as our cities are crowded, where homeseekers are forced to go many miles from the center of the city, while between them and the city are lying hundreds of acres vacant, unoccupied and useless to anybody, except to that parasite upon society, the land speculator, whom we have created by our inequitable laws. If the workmen of America would inquire into the causes of the industrial maladjustment a little nearer home, and not blame their difficulties upon industrious men and women who come to these shores intending to give an honest equivalent for all they receive, they would find that, instead of being too crowded, this country is far too sparsely settled to be able to make the most advantageous use of its abundant resources.

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Having considered the futility of the claimed necessity for restricting immigration let us consider to what extent the proposed means for restriction would fill the requirements.

We must then, of course, assume that what is actually wanted is to keep out the criminal element, and that portion which would be likely by its thriftlessness to become a public burden. Both of these classes are already covered by existing legislation. The lack of earnestness on the part of those who propose new legislation for the reasons quoted above,

is therefore apparent. The comedy is still more apparent when we consider the means by which the desired end is proposed to be secured.

The main provisions are the requirement of elementary education, and the levying of a head tax, a kind of tariff on immigrants, who are thus treated as ordinary merchandise.

As to the educational test, the less said about it the better for American ears. In this country, especially in the Southern part, there is a great deal of illiteracy, and there is in all about five per cent. of the native born population over 16 years of age in this country who cannot read and write. It is not enough to say that most of these are colored. The estimate made by persons well versed upon the subject, that more than a million white men of voting age, born in America, are illiterate, is not easily refuted. Why should a test be applied to foreign-born citizens which is not applied to the native born? On the other hand, because the immigrant can read and write, that is not a proof of higher moral instincts. It is perhaps a proof of his greater capability of taking care of himself, but the immigrants who are illiterate are as a rule employed in such a class of work as does not in the least require knowledge of reading or writing. In the last place it may be added that to test the fitness of immigrants by their ability to read and write, although it may be appropriate to those coming from Southern Europe, is little short of insult when applied by the United States to those coming from the Northern European countries, if we compare the standard of elementary education in those countries with that of the United States.

If we now consider the proposed head tax, or the tariff on immigrants, the unreasonableness of the measure is equally evident if really designed to accomplish the alleged purposes. What guarantee is there that the person who can pay his admission ticket to this country is any more honest or capable than his brother who has got a few dollars less? Shall we go so far in measuring the value of men by the dollar-standard as to impose a tax on immigrants, and consider those who can pay as fit to eventually become citizens? Is it not to deviate to some extent from the maxims on which this republic was founded, to only propose such a thing?

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The very principle which has caused this whole agitation is the principle of monopoly. This principle has insinuated itself into the whole nation, until it has become an accepted axiom that this country belongs to those who incidentally happened to be born here, to the exclusion of all others. The evil of monopoly is at the root of the very sentiment which has demanded the proposed legislation.

When monopoly shall have been overthrown, such sentiments will disappear with it. Then shall again this republic be truly "a land of the free," and shall again welcome those who seek its shores. The establishment of a true democracy, where opportunity is equal to all, will make the country open to all, and there will be no crowding. There will be no infringement on anybody's rights by the admission of the equal rights of others. The establishment of such conditions in the republic should be the sole aim of American citizens, and it would be surprising

to see how many "problems" would disappear in the solution of this one: The problem of equal opportunities.

ERIK OBERG.

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Of men who come and will produce
With willing hands the wealth we need,
The wealth of merit and of use,
And not the gold that's piled by greed;

Of men who come prepared to toll,
Of men who flee from despots' sway,
Who ask their right to God's own soil—
Let's welcome them and bid them stay.

Of men like these let come who will,
Where'er their native home may be,
From Russian Steppe, or Grecian Hill,
From every land across the sea.

Our country vast can well provide
For all who would our number swell;
On Texas' fertile prairie wide
All men of earth in peace may dwell.

So need we fear these men who ask
What is their own, by God's own will—
A bit of earth, an honest task,
To live and love, and labor still?

R. E. CHADWICK.

BOOKS

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

The Nature of Capital and Income. By Irving Fisher, Ph. D., Professor of Political Economy, Yale University. Published by Macmillan, New York and London. Price \$3.00 net.

Prof. Fisher undertakes in this book to expound "a sort of philosophy of economic accounting." At the close of the book, in describing briefly the nature of Capital and Income, he summarizes by saying that "we may say that those parts of the material universe which at any time are under the dominion of man constitute his capital-wealth; its ownership, his capital-property; its value, his capital-value; its desirability, his subjective-capital;" but that "capital in any of these senses stands for anticipated income, which consists of a stream of services as its value."

By "capital" Prof. Fisher means, as other economists do, a portion of wealth, but not in the same sense either as to the nature of wealth or the characteristic of capital.

He defines "wealth" far more comprehensively than would seem to be useful for a distinctive term of political economy—so comprehensively, indeed, as to include in one mass everything with which the

reasoning of political economy is concerned. Since his definition is "material objects owned by human beings," it comprehends not only all natural objects in the environment of man to which the law creates titles, and all artificial objects in that environment which fall within the category of things owned by man, but also man himself. This is evidently Prof. Fisher's deliberate intention; for farther on he says that wealth consists of land, of improvements, of moveables, and of "human beings, not only of slaves who are owned by other human beings but also of freemen who are their own masters."

It is difficult to see what object can be served by such a definition, other than to confuse man with artificial products and with his natural environment in such manner as to rid questions of property rights of every consideration of moral law and to make municipal law alone the test. And this motive seems clear when we read that "right" is a term of jurisprudence, and brings economics into contact with the whole subject of legal and custom-sanctioned relations. The "higher law" of morality is thereby brushed aside, and chattel slavery, land monopoly and other forms of institutional and legislative theft are economically legitimized.

Having thus defined "wealth," Prof. Fisher defines "capital," not as wealth devoted to productive purposes, but as "a stock of wealth existing at an instant of time." Consequently the stock of land, of artificial products, and of men, existing at an instant of time is the capital or fund of that time, and the "flow of services" from this capital through a period of time is "income." It is with the nature of Capital and Income so defined that the book has to do.

Prof. Fisher's method of analysis and definition does not work out so badly as might be inferred from the bare statement of it. It is especially effective, possibly upon the principle of "similia similibus curantur," in uprooting several of the subtle fallacies of the "mumbly-cum-spludge" schools of political economy. An instance is the reduction, by double-entry balances as in bookkeeping, of the ultimate item of all cost to labor cost, meaning by labor cost such irksome sensations as are produced by "labor, anxiety, trouble, annoyance and all the other subjective experiences of an undesirable nature which are necessary in order that the experiences of an agreeable nature may be secured."

Prof. Fisher does not make a very good case for blending land and products as one in economic character. He finds that when both land and "so-called capital" are regarded in terms of value there is no margin of production to either, and that when both are regarded in terms of quality there is a margin of production to both. Hence he infers that "interest" and "rent" are one, the margin of production having been heretofore regarded as the distinguishing characteristic. This reasoning leaves out of consideration the fact that capital is quantitatively determined by labor, which produces capital when more is needed, whereas land is quantitatively determined by nature and can neither be increased nor diminished by labor, and that consequently the volume of the one oscillates continually about its labor cost, whereas the volume of the other has no labor cost.

As an attempt to systematize commercial or pluto-

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cratic economics as distinguished from social economics or political economy, Prof. Fisher's book is entitled to a high rank. It is a business man's text book rather than a sociologist's treatise; and yet it is so loyal to the truths of the accountant's science that it furnishes frequent gratifying surprises even to the less commercial mind.

One of its business distinctions is peculiarly interesting—the distinction between the speculator and the gambler. "A gambler," writes the author, "seeks and makes risks which it is not necessary to assume, whereas the speculator is one who merely volunteers to assume those risks of business which must inevitably fall somewhere." We doubt if the difference has ever been more concisely and accurately distinguished.

* * *

DOLE'S DEMOCRACY.

The Spirit of Democracy. By Charles Fletcher Dole, author of "The Coming People," "The Religion of a Gentleman," etc. Published by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price \$1.25 net.

Mr. Dole's "Religion of a Gentleman" touched a chord which the author strikes again in his "Spirit of Democracy." One feels after reading both books that the religion of a gentleman—a true gentleman, not a man of mere conventional manners—must be vitalized by the spirit of democracy.

While there seems to be too much in this book of subordination of the individual, too much of the idea of sacrifice, the book is nevertheless dominated by a wholesome principle. Its keynote is "good will all the time and to all men," sacrifice being translated into positive terms implying service for the happiness of serving. It is this principle of universal and perpetual good will that the author puts forth as the democratic gospel. The defects of the book are due to a one-sided dependence upon that principle to the exclusion of a careful consideration of methods.

Good will is of course the spirit of democracy. But it is only the spirit, and in a material world there must be material modes of giving expression to the spirit. The spirit of democracy prevails in aristocratic circles. It prevailed at the South before the Civil War; but the spirit without the methods of democracy perpetuated chattel slavery. It is the same with reference to economic institutions and customs now. The spirit of democracy permeates society, but is exceedingly crude in outward form as yet.

Recognizing this, Mr. Dole writes suggestively of many democratic forms with which we are more or less familiar, but he does so as if they were unrelated. Consequently, while he writes democratically and with great persuasiveness of the suffrage, for instance, and of crime, pauperism, taxation, etc., a certain lack of satisfaction must be felt, even by sympathetic readers, for his failure to recognize the same universality of natural law with reference to economic and political forms and methods that he recognizes with reference to spirit and principle.

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subject of democracy than this: "The success of democracy fortunately does not depend upon a high degree of intellectual education, limited to the few, so much as upon a constant appeal to the sense of justice." The book, so charmingly written that every intelligent reader will enjoy it, is best adapted to minds accustomed to undemocratic channels of thought. To such minds, unless they love the wallows of despotism, it will open up new worlds of intellectual life.

* * *

TOLSTOY ON SHAKESPEARE.

Tolstoy on Shakespeare. A critical essay on Shakespeare by Leo Tolstoy. Translated by F. Tchertkoff and I. F. M. Followed by "Shakespeare's Attitude Toward the Working Classes," by Ernest Crosby, and a letter from G. Bernard Shaw. New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, Chicago. Price 75 cents net.

In this small, well-printed volume, an excellent example of book-making, the foremost literary figure in the world of to-day reviews the dramatic work of the one who has been considered the greatest literary figure of modern times. Shakespeare, so long secure upon his pedestal, never before received such a severe jolt as Tolstoy here gives him. Bernard Shaw tilted a lance against the great dramatist, but Shaw finds Shakespeare "enormously entertaining," and admires his "extraordinary literary power, his fun, his mimicry, and the endearing qualities" and his "word-music," while despising him as a thinker and artist in dramatic construction. Tolstoy, however, can find nothing admirable in Shakespeare except at times a certain skill in portraying human emotions. Tolstoy tells us that during fifty years he has read Shakespeare in every possible form, in Russian, in English, in German, and that invariably his feelings have been "repulsion, weariness and bewilderment;" and that before writing the present essay he, an old man of seventy-five, has again read the whole of Shakespeare, experiencing the same feelings, but with greater force, except that instead of bewilderment he has come to a firm conviction that the glory of a great genius which Shakespeare enjoys distorts the esthetic and ethical understanding of men and is a great evil. The great Russian, in this final review of Shakespeare, concludes that he is an "insignificant, inartistic writer—not only not moral, but directly immoral." Tolstoy challenges any of Shakespeare's admirers to open his pages anywhere, at random or by choice, and "find ten consecutive lines which are comprehensible, unartificial, natural to the character that says them, and which produce an artistic impression."

The explanation in Tolstoy's mind, of the wonderful fame of Shakespeare, is that it is "one of those epidemic 'suggestions' to which men constantly have been and are subject." He compares it to the mediaeval crusades, the witchcraft delusion, the agitation against Dreyfus, etc. He discusses the external and internal reasons for the Shakespearian fame, finding its historical beginnings in the authoritative dicta of Goethe. Tolstoy also classes the dramatic works of Goethe, Schiller and Hugo as "empty pieces."

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These special offers include the great books by Henry George, Henry George, Jr. Louis F. Post, Ernest Crosby, Bolton Hall, Frederic C. Howe, Clarence S. Darrow, John P. Altgeld, Patrick Edward Dove, and a number of others. Henry George, Jr.'s latest book, his splendid and successful story, "The Romance of John Bainbridge," is included.

The fine set, in ten volumes, of the New Library Edition of the Complete Works of Henry George (including the life of Henry George by Henry George, Jr.), is a notable bargain at its regular spot cash price, \$15.00. But the special offers on page II include opportunities for immediate buyers to get this set at figures that will seem startling. This handsome set of great books will enrich and adorn any library, private or public.

A year's subscription to THE PUBLIC is a graceful and intelligent gift. So is a year's subscription to THE TIMES MAGAZINE. They can be bought together for almost half price, or the price of the magazine alone, as announced on page V of this issue.

All books, whether in our list or not, can be bought from us, and comfort and advantage is gained by doing so. We give every order immediate and intelligent attention. With any order we will, when requested, gladly insert or forward any card, message, or inscription.

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To illustrate his point of view and method of criticism, Tolstoy makes a detailed and merciless analysis of the tragedy of King Lear, which he selects as the "most extolled" of Shakespeare's dramas. To Tolstoy this drama is a series of unnatural events by unnatural characters, expressed in language which is pompous, characterless and absurd; and he thinks this drama is greatly inferior to the old play of King Lear from which it was taken. Similar criticisms are given concerning the other Shakespearian dramas usually considered the greatest.

In his forceful and sweeping criticism, Tolstoy gives always his reasons. He is in revolt against the very spirit of authority, and appeals to the individual judgment and conscience. He judges Shakespeare according to an intense and positive conviction as to what constitutes the merit of any poetic work. Such merit, he maintains, depends on three things: (1) the subject of the work; (2) the external beauty achieved by technical methods proper to the particular kind of art; (3) sincerity, i. e., that the author should himself keenly feel what he expresses. In these three essentials Shakespeare fails. The subject of his plays is "the lowest, most vulgar view of life, which regards the external elevation of the lords of the world as a genuine distinction." As to the second essential, Shakespeare "does not grasp the natural character of the positions of his personages, nor the language of the persons represented, nor the feeling of measure without which no work can be artistic." "The third and most important condition, sincerity, is completely absent in all Shakespeare's works. In all of them one sees intentional artifice; one sees that he is not in earnest, but that he is playing with words."

Tolstoy holds the drama to be the most important department of art, and will not tolerate a conception of art without a religious essence. And by the religious essence of true art he means "the exhibition of a definite view of life corresponding to the highest religious understanding of a given time."

This essay on Shakespeare owes its origin to Tolstoy's desire to contribute a preface to Ernest Crosby's article, "Shakespeare's Attitude Toward the Working Classes," which follows Tolstoy's essay in the same volume. This is an enlightening review, enriched by abundant quotations, of Shakespeare's conception of the place of the workingman in society, showing Shakespeare's contempt for democracy, and his worship of authority and the ruling classes. It is an exposition of Shakespeare that well deserves to be read in comparison with Crosby's "Tolstoy and His Message" and "Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster."

J. G. P.

* * *

CONVERSATION.

Conversation and Effectual Ready Utterance. By William E. Watt. Published by The School Weekly, Chicago. Price, \$1.00, postpaid.

For an unassuming little book on a hackneyed topic, this volume by Dr. Watt, principal of a grammar school in Chicago,—holds many pleasant surprises. It is straightforwardly frank and personal.

ROOSEVELT WINS

The President of the United States Chosen by the Readers of THE PUBLIC to Receive a Set of the Complete Works of Henry George

We announced in our issue of November 17, and each week thereafter, that, as an acknowledgement to our readers who are sending in new subscriptions, we would celebrate the coming Christmas by sending, to the person or institution they should choose, a complete set of the new Library Edition of the Complete Works of Henry George and Life of Henry George by Henry George, Jr.

The choice was made by votes cast by new and paid subscriptions to THE PUBLIC, every new subscription for three months (price 25 cents) casting one vote, every one for six months (price 50 cents) two votes, every subscription for one year (price one dollar) four votes, and so on.

At the close of the voting on December 22, Theodore Roosevelt has a small plurality over William R. Hearst, his leading competitor. We have, therefore, at once sent to Mr. Roosevelt, at the White House, a complete set of these great books by Henry George, with a letter to Mr. Roosevelt advising him that he has been elected by the readers of THE PUBLIC to receive them and that they hope he will very soon read them, knowing that when he does so he will be thereby strengthened and inspired and better equipped for the duties of his high office.

This set which President Roosevelt receives is in ten volumes, handsomely bound in buckram, with gilt tops, untrimmed edges, etc. It contains a full set of portraits, and is in all respects equal to the well known Memorial Edition, issued in 1898, which is now out of print. The New Library Edition is the standard edition of the works of Henry George.

Not only President Roosevelt, but also every thinking man and woman, ought to have at hand this set of books. It is included in our Special Holiday Offers on pages II and III of this issue, and is there quoted at a remarkably low price.

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LITTLE THINGS WHICH REALLY HELP

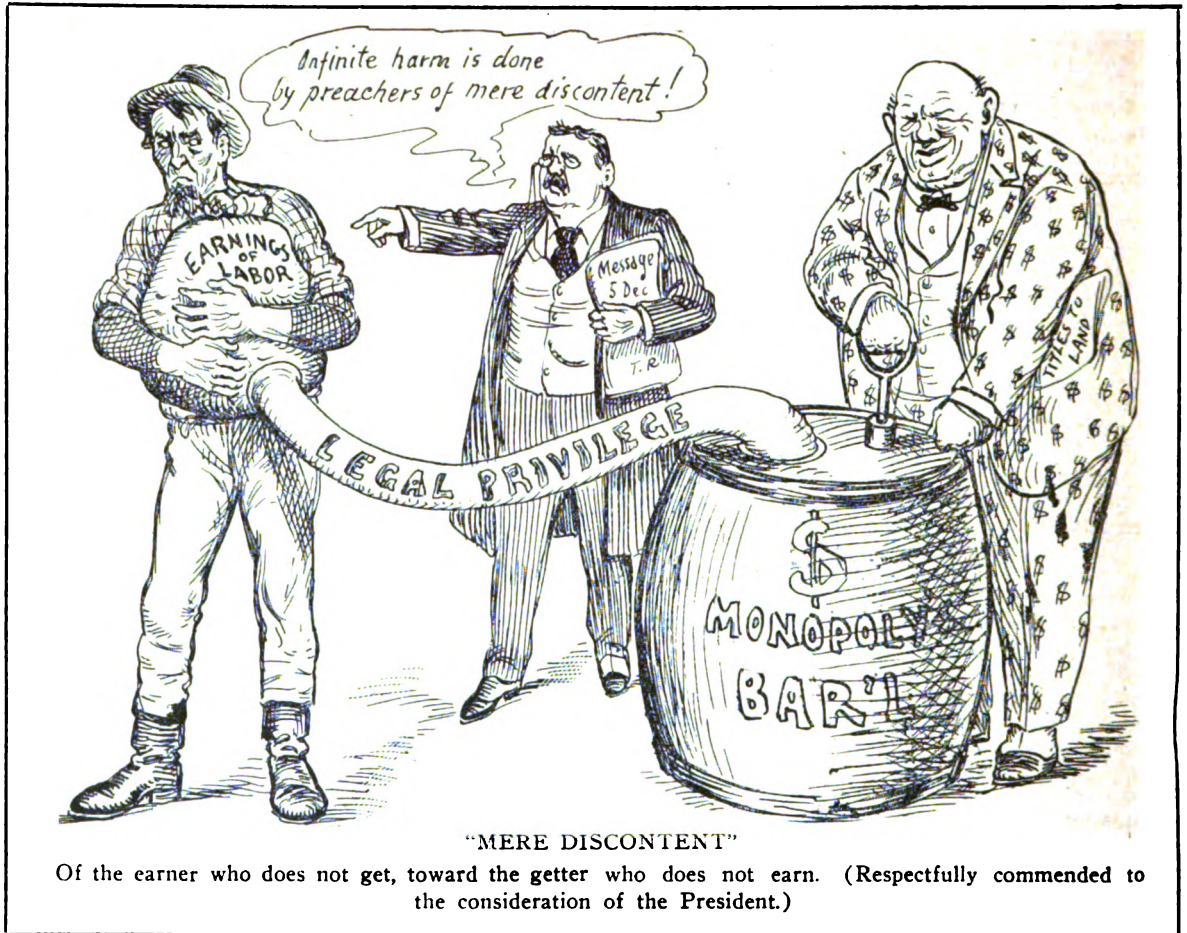
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Many of our readers make their own subscriptions to THE PUBLIC perform a multiplied service by mailing their copies to others who ought to see the paper. Some keep lists and regularly send each issue through a circuit of a dozen or more and then follow up the recipients. This is enterprise and produces results.

We almost always have copies of recent issues to spare and will gladly send, free of charge, extra copies to all who will use them in some effective way to make THE PUBLIC better known to others.

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The book does not in the least pose as a work of art. The author has a good many ideas to express, and he wishes to persuade his readers to try his schemes. He therefore speaks briefly and to the point.

First of all he advises simple candor. Without hesitations, reservations or frills utter exactly what you have in your mind. Do not fiddle around for different words from those in which the thought comes to you first. Out with it. Never mind grammar, pronunciation, and so on. The thought's the thing. If your thoughts are unfit to be uttered, away with them and get some better ones. Be quick in expression—never long-winded. Practice; don't be selfish about it, but talk.

Secondly, draw out the other fellow, intentionally; not by direct questions, but by opening up subjects in an enticing way, subjects which you know will interest him.

Third, be of pure mind and whole heart. Kindly, sincere sympathy with others' interests and points of view; noble feelings and thoughts within yourself are the foreground and the background, and the only soil for real conversation. Equality "is the life of conversation," our author quotes from Steele, "and he is as much out who assumes to himself any part above another, as he who considers himself below the rest of the society."

Saying something sincerely oneself, luring others on to do the same, being a man—these three principles, and practical every-day suggestions for working them out, make up the book—a book which, far from being trivial, is worth every young person's and every parent's reading.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

* * *

A MIRROR FOR LAWYERS.

Foibles of the Bar. By Henry S. Wilcox, of the Chicago Bar. Published by Legal Literature Co., Chicago.

Mr. Wilcox, a practitioner at the Bar for many years, gives us his views of its foibles in a humorous style by selecting types which he nicknames, after the manner of Bunyan, to indicate a conspicuous defect in the personality. Colonel Bombast, Billie Goodfellow, Reginald Writer, Lawrence Lobby, Handy Skinner, Grabbem & Fleecem, Captain Jehosphat Jehu, General Bluff, Thomas Doubt, Paul Proud and Lycurgus Law are thus named and sketched with fascinating drollery.

Mr. Wilcox advocates throughout his work a high ethical standard for the Bar, and his genial satire is evidently designed to purge its members of the imperfections that lessen

their efficiency. It may be remarked, incidentally, that every lawyer will gleefully recognize some other practitioner in Col. Bombast, etc., and even the layman will joyously identify his neighbor in one of these fictitious personages, and be made happy by reading the book.

W. H. S.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—In the Fire of the Heart. By Ralph Waldo Trine. Published by McClure, Phillips & Co., New York, 1906.

—Scorn of Women. By Jack London. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York and London. 1906. Price \$1.25.

—"Boy Wanted." A Book of Cheerful Counsel. By Nixon Waterman. Published by Forbes & Co., Chicago, 1906. Price \$1.25, postpaid.

—A History of Socialism. By Thomas Kirkup. Third edition, revised and enlarged. Published by the Macmillan Company, New York, 1906. Price \$2.25, net.

PAMPHLETS

Public Playgrounds.

The American Civic Association has just issued two most useful and attractive little pamphlets. The first, by Joseph Lee, Vice-President of the Boston Department of Public Recreation (101 Tremont St.), is entitled "Play and Playgrounds," and dwells on the necessity of play in every child's life and therefore the importance for the social welfare of well-conducted public playgrounds. Practical, definite suggestions are given as to equipment of playgrounds and play material for children of different ages. The second leaflet is an abstract of a lecture by Graham Romeyn Taylor on "Recreation Centers in Chicago Parks" (American Civic Association, North American B'ld'g, Philadelphia). Both pamphlets are handsomely printed and generously illustrated.

A. L.

PERIODICALS

Myra Kelly's familiar and funny little Russian Jewish children become tragic figures in the December McClure's. Most pitifully close to every heart comes the story of "Little Bo-Peep"—a tiny, tortured fugitive from Russia, orphaned by the persecutions and brought over to her aunt in America.

A. L.

+

The Circle, "a modern department magazine," which has just appeared, has for its excellent purpose "to assert and employ the inspirational and curative power of the good and the beautiful in the everyday life of the people." There is certainly much that is fine and breezy in its handsome pages, though it runs the risk of furnishing a sweetness that may cloy. (Funk & Wagnalls, Publishers, New York.)

A. T. P.

+ + +

The public may not be ready for the Government ownership of railroads, but neither is it quite pre-

A New Book by Ernest Crosby

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pared for railroad ownership of the Government.—
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—*The Public.*

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