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EDITORIAL

Progress of the Single Tax in Australia.

Advices from Australia are to the effect that the two houses of the legislature of New South Wales have agreed upon a local government bill, the enactment of which, now assured, will secure another victory for the followers of Henry George in that state. It establishes a mandatory land

value tax of 1d in the pound, equal to about 4 mills on the dollar of value, and allows municipalities to make the tax 2d in the pound, or about 8 mills to the dollar, in their discretion. There are no exemptions. As far as it goes, therefore, this tax is in strict accordance with the single tax idea.

* *

Woman Opponents of Woman Suffrage.

Why any women should oppose the extension of voting rights to women is an enigma. There is no movement to force these rights upon anybody. But even a greater enigma is the course of certain propertied women in New York, who are actually organized—just like women politicians—to oppose woman suffrage. In the light of the history of the woman suffrage movement these women are not only enigmatic but ungrateful. They would have no legal right to control their own property, if Susan B. Anthony, the great equal suffragist, had not some sixty years ago trudged from door to door asking signatures to a petition for property rights for married women. Suffering all sorts of indignities and insults, Miss Anthony secured 10,000 signatures to her petition, and out of that work came the married woman's property laws, which were then opposed by many women as well as men on much the same grounds that woman suffrage is opposed now.

* *

The Chicago Mayoralty.

As the campaign advances, Dunne's renomination (p. 1,014) grows more and more toward a certainty. The only danger is the possible ability of local politicians, fed with traction money from New York, to falsify the primaries and control the convention. This is not impossible, the primaries being of the old-fashioned kind and the flood of traction money already visible. But the failure of this part of the traction campaign is now so probable that the politicians are falling rapidly into line. They begin to see that Harrison is unlikely to get the nomination, and they wisely realize withal that if he should get it his defeat at the election would be a foregone conclusion. Whatever the Democratic nomination may be, the choice of mayors has dwindled down to Postmaster Busse, the machine Republican, and Mayor Dunne.

* *

Of Dunne's election if nominated there is no

real doubt anywhere, and least of all among the Republican newspapers and the traction interests. These are raising heaven and earth to prevent his nomination, in the full consciousness, evidently, that if he is nominated nothing can stop his election. It is truly a sight to see, this alignment of everybody and everything opposed to what the Democratic party of Chicago professes to stand for, in a concerted effort to prevent the Democratic nomination for Mayor from going again to Dunne. A better tribute to his fidelity in office could not be desired. When the rascals of all degrees and of all parties and interests unite to turn out of office a man whom everyone admits to be honest, it is a good sign—a sign that he ought to be kept in, and a sign that he probably will be.

* * *

The Chicago Traction Conspiracy.

That the settlement ordinances (p. 1,010) deserve all the criticism they have received, and probably more, is no longer doubtful. Mr. Tone's strictures, made as counsel for the Municipal Ownership League, have been confirmed and supplemented by an opinion from Judge Magruder, lately chief justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, a jurist of the highest reputation, and Clarence N. Goodwin, the lawyer who some years ago established in the courts the transfer rights of street car passengers against another conspiracy of the traction interests. Their opinion was given at the request of the Mayor, when his doubts of the good faith of the traction companies were fully aroused. They came into the matter simply as lawyers with no previous connection with it, their opinion relates only to legal questions, and they riddle the ordinance completely and unanswerably.

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It is to be regretted that Mr. Fisher, the Mayor's traction counsel, should have attempted an answer. Not that a conclusive answer from him would be undesirable. It would be exceedingly desirable. But he fails to make a conclusive answer. Mr. Fisher's relation to this whole matter has proved to be unfortunate. With the accusations of bad faith that are made against him we are not in sympathy. The facts that give plausibility to these are better explained by references less harsh. But that he has been overmatched by as gallant a band of buccaneers as ever sailed financial seas, we are bound to believe. This in itself is not to his discredit. What does discredit him is his insistent surrender to their demands.

Mr. Fisher's employment by the Mayor was a wise and proper proceeding. The city had voted for municipal ownership but against municipal operation, and this checked the Mayor in his municipal operation program. It had also given him a hostile Council. Yet he had a responsibility which he could not shirk and he needed a special counsel in the traction matter. Mr. Fisher was conspicuously the proper person. He believed in municipal ownership and operation, his standing at the bar was high, his ability was great, his special knowledge of the subject was both minute and comprehensive, his integrity commanded the respect of those who knew him best, and his personal and political relations to the Council furnished a basis for co-operation between that body and the Mayor. No other man in Chicago united in himself all these imperative qualifications for the service in which Mayor Dunne employed him. He was employed to effectuate the purpose that he and the Mayor outlined in "the Werno letter." This was a highly desirable purpose under the circumstances, and it still is. But Mr. Fisher has not effectuated that purpose. On the contrary, the ordinances which he defends make its effectuation practically impossible, by giving the city over more hopelessly than ever to the private traction interests. We repeat that for this Mr. Fisher is not necessarily blameable. But he is blameable for assuming for himself so completely the point of view of the traction interests and their supporters as to be undistinguishable in the controversy. He appears to the observer as their advocate instead of the city's. He is not even judicial—which would be right if he could hold his balance,—but argues as their lawyers would argue, in the same temper and with the same logical weaknesses, jumping where they would jump and falling where they would fall. In a word, he is on the defensive for them and against the Mayor and Judge Magruder, instead of being on the aggressive, whether with the Mayor and Judge Magruder or not, for the city and against the unreasonable demands of the companies. But to him it seems to be an answer to any objectionable feature of the ordinances that is pointed out, to say, "Well, that's the best the companies will do." The man in Mr. Fisher's place who takes such a position falls down.

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These ordinances are stamped with the marks of conscious fraud. The fact that all the agencies of the traction interests are clamorously demanding their passage without public inspection, stamps them. The fact that their instant passage

is demanded in the interest of good service when they give no guarantee of good service, stamps them. The fact that they are professedly steps toward municipal ownership when their provisions would make municipal ownership practically impossible for twenty years and probably longer, stamps them. The fact that they are stuffed with legal novelties which threaten even the police power of the city, stamps them. The fact that provisions in them nominally for the protection of the city are reported by good lawyers as void in law, stamps them. The fact that the companies would escape certain responsibilities in case of labor-strikes, along with a total absence of provisions requiring just dealings with employes so as to avoid labor-strikes, stamps them. The fact that they are unnecessarily long, inexplicably obscure, studiously intricate, and therefore evidently designed to furnish a never failing resource for litigation, with the company always in possession of the streets to the end of each lawsuit, stamps them. The fact that gray wolf aldermen who take their provender raw, and greyhound aldermen who like theirs cooked, are barking in unison for the adoption of the ordinances instantly, and are howling at intervals against the attempt to let the people know through a referendum campaign what they mean—this also stamps them. Those critics of these ordinances who characterize them as the biggest and boldest grab the traction interests of Chicago have ever attempted to make, are probably not far wrong. All the infallible signs of corrupt and corrupting activity indicate that they are entirely right.

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British Graft.

Whoever has the notion that graft is an American institution, would do well to read Frederick C. Howe's article on the subject in the February number of the American Magazine. The supposed absence of graft in England appears to be first cousin to the supposed exclusion of graft from the City Council of Chicago. It escapes comment by wearing an untarnished name and going in good society.

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The People's Lobby.

The idea of a people's legislative lobby, which has been realized at the capitol at Washington and has taken root at some State capitols, is a gratifying sign of changing times in politics. Lobbies have heretofore been composed of agents of corrupt interests seeking legislative advantages over the public interests. As a method of offset-

ting this malign influence, a people's lobby should be effective if properly organized and controlled. In New Jersey, the People's Lobby, of which Edward A. Whittier, of 185 Market St., Newark, is the secretary, makes its watchword, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," and describes as follows the necessity for its appearance and the character of its work:

Developments in the recent legislative life of the State have led those interested in its welfare to realize that in many instances undue influence, chiefly undue corporate influence, has endangered the interests of the people of this State. To remedy this a People's Lobby has been formed. The organization of the Lobby consists of members from all sections of the State, who have been formed into a General Committee. From this General Committee a Governing Committee has been created in the formation of which the aim has been to represent fairly all sections of the State. The purposes of the People's Lobby will be to have its representatives present at the sessions of the legislature, whose duty it will be to examine all bills offered and to see whether they fairly represent the interests of the people, or whether there be attached to them any incidental clauses, popularly known as "riders" or "jokers," and whether bills be conflicting or contradictory, useless or useful, and to make these bills known to the members of the Lobby. Its second purpose is to suggest legislation, and to secure from the people of the State at large ideas which should be embodied in such legislation. Its third object is to compile records of officials and to submit them to the people at stated times, and in general to supervise legislation at all points in the interests of good government.

A similar organization has been effected in Illinois, under the auspices of the Legislative Voters' League of which George E. Cole of Chicago is president. It is in reality the committee on legislative publicity of that League. Organized to have charge of a bureau of information at the Illinois capital, its proposed object is to act as a safeguard against unwise legislation, the chief causes of which it declares to be comprehended in the words, "ignorance" and "dishonesty." With a liberal interpretation, those terms are complete.

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Of the services of the national People's Lobby, so far as yet disclosed, it is unfortunately not possible to speak in the highest terms of praise. It has turned its attention first to the pending Crumpacker bill forbidding the exclusion of mail matter under so-called "fraud orders" (vol. viii, p. 815), without a judicial hearing. Under these "fraud orders," as now enforced, any man or woman may be victimized at the mere word of a bureau officer. Let the officer decide, rightly or wrongly, honestly or dishonestly, that the object of his irresponsible

power is doing a fraudulent business, and that person ceases thenceforth to receive letters, no matter who may mail them. Letters from his friends, his lawyer, even his wife or children, never reach him, but go back to the writers stamped officially in big letters on the envelope with the word "Fraudulent." This is a species of perpetual outlawry that no one, not even a proved criminal, should be subjected to. But under the existing law there is no relief from the courts. They refuse to interfere. The simple say-so of the Postmaster General's clerk, or in the last resort of the Postmaster General himself, ends the matter. If he says "guilty" the man is guilty, however innocent he may be in fact. To remedy this, the Crumpacker bill proposes giving the courts authority to pass upon the question of guilt or innocence. The only fair objection to the bill, apart from the cumbersome method it proposes, is that it does not go far enough to make just personal rights to mail service secure. Yet the People's Lobby at Washington opposes this bill with repetitions of protests from the postal department whose abuses are the evil crying for correction. In doing so it makes the mistaken assertion that the courts do review the action of the Postmaster General in issuing "fraud orders." It also gives voice to the objection that the bill would necessitate the use of competent testimony in order to deprive an accused person of his right to letters mailed to him, as if any person ought to be deprived of such a right without such testimony. The People's Lobby at Washington ought to find better opportunities for usefulness. Special service for the Post Office department in defense of its censorious methods is not exactly what the people need a People's Lobby for.

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The Postal Censorship.

It is interesting to note the effect upon the big newspapers of the report of the postal commission of the two houses of Congress. They are sitting bolt upright and taking particular notice. For this report recommends a bill which, in the language of one of the Washington correspondents, would "create a press censorship." Yet the bill proposes to enact into laws affecting all periodicals, hardly any requirements which, under the present rules and regulations of the postal department, that department does not now enforce against the less influential periodicals. Of course the bill is one to establish press censorship. But if we are to have press censorship at all, let's have a law of general application and common knowl-

edge, instead of department rules of special application known only to postal bureau clerks.

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Taxing Coal Deposits Into Use.

A tendency toward the just taxation of the value of coal deposits in Pennsylvania is observable in recent reports from the coal regions of that State. At Wilkesbarre, for instance, the grand jury has reported a recommendation that the assessment of property in that county, Luzerne, which consists largely of coal deposits, be increased \$40,000,000. If the coal deposits of Pennsylvania were fairly taxed, not only would the public revenues be increased, but labor lockouts would be discouraged and labor strikes be unnecessary. So long as the value of coal deposits is grossly under-taxed, just so long can the coal barons close their mines at will, and thereby control the coal market and coerce the labor market. But if taxes on the value of coal deposits were heavy, and taxes on mine equipment and product light, an irresistible tendency would be created to compel continuous coal production, thereby lessening the price of coal and increasing the rate of wages. Coal deposits could not be held out of use very long—and thousands of acres in Pennsylvania are now so held, thanks to nominal taxation of un-worked deposits—if taxes were continually and deeply eating into their capital value.

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CARNEGIE'S SIMPLIFIED TAX.

It is a serious matter to question a man's motive, but when the motive is not stated, and the consideration of the motive is necessary to discover the point of view and consequently the object aimed at, in short, the milk in the coconut, it may not come amiss.

More specifically, is Andrew Carnegie entirely disingenuous in advocating an inheritance tax while coincidentally opposing an income tax? Altho Andrew has given expression to something that sounds like "it's a disgrace to die rich," it is difficult to forget that he is a multi-millionaire, and unfortunately multi-millionaires have taught us not to take them at their word. When they advise us in stage whispers to buy stocks, that is pretty apt to be a good time to sell stocks.

The difference between an income tax and an inheritance tax is that the former is a continued struggle with the tax collectors, involving repeated recourse to one or more of the ready-made devices for expiating the sin of lying, not to mention that other decalogue which of course is not oper-

ative when one steals from the public; while the latter necessitates only a single presto change-o which the man with wits enough to accumulate millions can be depended upon to execute with becoming sleight of hand, and which, even if some subsequently devised standard of ethics should declare to be sinful, he need not expiate, as he is already filling his appointed niche beyond the gates ajar with harp in hand, or further down.

Is it possible that Simplified Andrew has heard of other inheritance taxes in operation and how they work, how the shrewd financiers at the first sign of the approach of the Grim Reaper, put all their property in trust, or quietly sign deeds of conveyance, or otherwise nominally and provisionally dispose of their wealth in a way that removes it from the category of inheritance?

Far be it, of course, from the purpose here to insult our millionaires by intimating that they could not also circumvent an income tax. The purpose is merely to show that, as between the two taxes, the millionaire, like the voter at the average election, is confronted with the choice of two evils. If there were an inheritance tax, the average millionaire would most certainly consider it a disgrace to die rich, and that may be the color of one of the aces which Carnegie has thoughtfully concealed in his sleeve.

ELLIS O. JONES.

* * *

A POPULAR REFORM MEASURE— THE INHERITANCE TAX.

No matter how widely the rich and the poor may differ on questions of economic reform in general, there is at least one certain measure of reform now up for discussion which is destined to meet with almost universal favor, and that is the proposed inheritance tax law.

Broach the idea of an income tax, and you instantly develop a line of cleavage between the rich and the poor. The same is true in regard to socialism. But the poor will perceive at once that they would be greatly benefited by an inheritance tax that would appropriate the bulk of the great individual fortunes for the public use; while the possessors of those fortunes, having no possible use for them after death, and realizing, as they have many times declared, that "riches are a curse to the young man," will, of course, hail with delight a scheme that will save their sons from falling under that curse.

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"The love of money is the root of all evil," says The Book, and it is no uncommon thing to hear

a rich man express himself to the effect that to be born rich is a great misfortune; that it is far better for every young man to start in active business life poor, and thus to be under the necessity of earning his own fortune. "Great wealth brings great responsibilities," exclaims his lordship, the famous Thomas Noddy; "I envy the humble peasant, smoking the pipe of contentment before his cottage door."

And who is there that is not familiar with the frequently expressed adjuration to the poor not to envy rich men, for "all that the richest get is—their board and clothes."

This assurance, on the part of many rich men, instructs us that it really is not worth while to be rich, anyhow. And it is comforting to reflect that, since any inheritance tax that will probably be enacted will surely leave to the heirs of the deceased sufficient to provide for their board and clothes, they will still be, essentially, quite as well off as their rich fathers were.

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has declared that the man who dies rich dies disgraced. And in view of the existing laws of inheritance he is consistent in saying so. For, under these laws, the wealth of a rich man goes to his family when he dies. And in view of the general consensus of opinion, namely, that riches are a curse to a young man, is it not indeed a disgraceful thing for a man to die rich, thus leaving the curse of wealth upon his defenceless offspring?

But under the existing laws it is frequently, if not indeed generally, impossible for a man to live up to his own philosophy in regard to this question. Death comes stealthily, and takes a man at unawares! He inadvertently dies rich! Although he has, according to his own frequently and publicly expressed view of the case, doomed his children to a terrible fate, yet that circumstance argues no lack of parental affection on his part, for, it is plain to be seen, he did it accidentally.

Indeed, I think Mr. Carnegie is almost too severe in branding such men with the stigma of disgrace. I incline to the opinion that society is more to blame than the individual. For, though we have long since agreed that great wealth is a curse to the young, yet we have taken no action toward defending them from such a calamity.

At last, however, society is awakening to a sense of its responsibility in the premises. The state will throw itself into the breach left by the improvident billionaire! The inheritance tax is coming to the defence of the unfortunate heirs of plutocracy! Because the millionaire acquires the habit of piling up riches to curse his offspring,

society must discharge its duty in forestalling the fatal culmination!

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All statute law is the deliberate mandate of society for its defence against the shortcomings of individuals. If all men would always do right there would be no need of laws. But because none of us will always do right, the wisdom of society, expressed in law, corrects us.

The millionaires themselves, knowing that to leave their sons rich is to leave them a legacy of woe, will naturally welcome the inheritance tax; for, though the possession of vast wealth may, and often does, dull the sense of general fellowship, yet paternal affection persists. And what father would be so unnatural as to deliberately abandon his offspring to an unhappy fate by opposing the proposition that the state intervene in that offspring's behalf, when the father was no longer able to act?

Of course, the heirs presumptive will protest. But the fact that the young man craves what his father, and everybody else, knows will ruin him, is no valid reason for permitting him to have it. In fact, the more he is bent on self-destruction, the stronger the obligation upon the state to forestall him.

Duty, humanity and self-interest all coinciding to urge both the possessors of great wealth and the general public to enact a law that will effectually remove the dire menace of riches from the path of the young, it is impossible to conceive of any obstacle to the early enactment of a law which will be a blessing to all humanity, inasmuch as the reversion to the state of the bulk of the rich man's estate at death will rob him of nothing, will increase, moderately and therefore beneficially, the general affluence, and will remove the curse that all are agreed now impends over the heads of the rich man's children.

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I am not unaware of a certain technical, or academic, objection to the law in question. There is a fundamental economic law, which, if applied, would render this law unnecessary. And that is the law of equality of opportunity.

But there is no telling how long it will take to educate society up to the point where this law will be generally comprehended. Besides, if circumstances prevent the administering of an effective specific, would it not be foolish to refrain from giving an available alleviative? We do not renounce that by doing this. And who knows but that the distribution of great fortunes at the death

of the possessors will greatly hasten the day when the basic law of economic equity will supersede it?

EDWARD HOWELL PUTNAM.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE STATUS OF PROTECTION IN CANADA.

Winnipeg, Manitoba, Jan. 11.—While things are advancing in the Provincial governments of Canada in the Dominion government they appear to be slipping backward. A dispatch from Ottawa on the 5th stated that it was the Government's intention to impose export duty on electrical power. "At present," so the dispatch states, "there are a couple of Niagara power companies that export all they produce to Buffalo. In future they will have to supply a certain percentage to Canadian consumers, or face an export duty which is practically prohibitory." The Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, when in the West a few years ago, so I am informed, declared himself in favor of free trade; but when pressed added, "as they have it in England."

Canada's status on trade and revenue is shown by this statement from the Manitoba Free Press of Jan. 2:

Canada's foreign trade for the three months ending November, was \$278,513,480, an increase of about \$40,000,000, compared with the same time last year. The imports show an increase of about \$32,000,000, and the exports an increase of over \$3,500,000. The balance of the increased aggregate trade was due to foreign goods. The details of the imports were:

Articles.	1905.	1906.
Dutiable goods	\$ 69,863,976	\$ 86,835,697
Free goods	42,633,145	55,737,922
Coin and bullion	4,038,427	6,018,508
Total	\$116,535,548	\$148,592,127
Duty collected	18,298,144	22,645,142

The exports of domestic produce totaled \$115,212,079, compared with \$111,791,082, for the five months in 1905. There was an increase of about \$400,000 in the produce of the mines, \$5,750,000 in forest wealth; over \$600,000 in manufactures, and \$1,250,000 on animals and their products. On the other hand there was a decrease of \$2,250,000 in fisheries and \$2,500,000 in agricultural produce.

In the month of November there was an increase of over \$3,000,000 in the imports, and decrease of over \$2,500,000 in the exports. For the past two months the exports in agricultural products have been declining.

The "free goods" item appears large.

I can not vouch for the nature of the articles so designated. I presume, however, they are principally of a kind which can not be profitably produced in Canada. The Government is willing to impose protective duties on imports up to the point where they will prevent "dumping" of goods which might come into competition with those of domestic production. A commission was delegated by the last Dominion parliament to secure evidence on the tariff. Organizations of manufacturers were at the same time very active in stirring up sentiment in favor of increased duties.

The work of the commission has resulted in a new tariff measure, which was announced by the minister of finance last week, and is now under discussion in the Dominion parliament. The measure evidently does not contemplate any radical changes in the old

schedule, for out of a number of merchants interviewed, as reported in the Liberal Manitoba Free Press, none appeared to know whether their business was affected for the better or the worse by the measure; and at the time of the reading of the Budget it met with little or no opposition from the Conservatives. To quote the Manitoba Free Press, the debate "collapsed in the house after feeble efforts at criticism" by the Opposition. This expression of a neutralized party opinion the "free trade" Free Press solemnly announces as "a glowing tribute to the new tariff."

PAUL M. CLEMENS.

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, Jan. 30, 1907.

The German Elections.

It will be remembered that the Kaiser unexpectedly dissolved the Reichstag, December 13 (p. 896), immediately following its denial of the Government's request for an increased appropriation for the war in German Southwest Africa. The Kaiser's chief opponents upon this question were his old-time allies, the Center, composed of the Catholic party, and also the Socialists, of the Left. The National Liberals and many of the Radicals of the Left were with him, as was also naturally the Right, or Conservative party. The Chicago Record-Herald of the 27th thus sums up the Government's reasons for the dissolution:

In dissolving the Reichstag the Emperor, according to the frank explanation of Chancellor von Buelow, was governed by the desire to challenge both the Socialists, whom he regards as his bitterest enemies and as men "without a country," and the Catholic or Center party, with which he has for years co-operated and without whose support he could not have carried the most important legislation on the Government's programme. The time had come, in the opinion of the Chancellor and his Imperial master, for a realignment of parties and groups. The Liberals and Radicals—of the individualistic school—should realize that the "let alone" policy had become impossible and modify their platform sufficiently to be able to combine with the Conservatives in support of the "moderate" paternalism of the Government as opposed to the revolutionary demands of the Social Democracy. The Chancellor had discerned signs of a distinct Liberal revival, and in that fact the Government had found the opportunity long sought for a new parliamentary majority.

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The elections for a new Reichstag came off on the 25th, and seem to have been unusually decisive. Second elections in districts where no candidate received a majority of all votes cast, will be held on the 5th, when the two candidates receiving the greatest number of votes in those districts will be

balloted upon. The results of this election indicate on the whole a slight increase of strength for the Center, increases for the National Liberals and for the Radicals, and losses for the Social Democrats. The latter are believed to have lost at least 26 seats, and they will only compete in 96 constituencies in the second elections, as compared with 117 in 1903. Their representation in the Reichstag stands to fall from 82 to below 60. This is the first election since that of 1887, in which the Social Democrats have not gained seats.

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This defeat of the Social Democrats is hailed as a victory by the Government, but as the Record-Herald points out, "the real victors are the National Liberals and the Advanced Liberals or Radicals. What the Socialists have lost these parties have gained, except for a few seats that the Conservatives have captured. Thus the 'Liberal revival' von Buelow spoke of turns out to be a reality."

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Mayor Dunne's Candidacy.

As the Chicago campaign for Mayor (p. 1014) advances, indications of the renomination of Mayor Dunne appear to strengthen. Two meetings of the Democratic County Central Committee—one for Dunne and one for Harrison—were held on the 26th, and the number of committee men attending the Dunne meeting was considerably the larger of the two. On the 27th the Harrison workers were reported by papers hostile to Dunne to be in despair, and reports were given out that Mr. Harrison was being urged to reconsider his determination to remain in California until after the nomination. On the 29th the Chicago Tribune reported that word had "gone around Democratic circles that the present Mayor is to be renominated," but that this was in order that the party leaders, who "had got tired of both Dunne and Harrison," might "wipe them both off the political map with one move" by defeating Harrison for the nomination and Dunne for the election. In the same report Harrison's departure from California was positively announced for Feb. 15; and on the 30th a message from him of the 29th was authoritatively given out, in which he said:

Leave on the ninth to stay until election. Party duty to nominate strongest candidate. If I am considered such shall accept and make hardest fight within my abilities. If some other considered stronger I stand ready to give my heartiest support.

Mayor Dunne's response to this message was the statement that—

Mr. Harrison's telegram will not change the situation one bit. I will have the delegates to the convention and will be nominated.

At a meeting of ward committeemen on the 30th, 44 Democratic ward committeemen were present and joined in the indorsement of Mayor Dunne's candidacy. The regular ward organizations that are reported as having endorsed the Dunne candidacy up to the present, are as follows: 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 15th, 21st, 22d, 24th, 25th, 28th, 31st, 32d, 33d, 35th. The 21st of February has been fixed for the Democratic primaries and the 23d for the convention.

The Chicago Traction Question.

The success of the referendum petitions (p. 1016) will not be determined until the 1st. But that the one authorized by the City Council and circulated by the Mayor and the Referendum League and its coadjutors will contain at least the requisite 87,000 names, is said to be certainly assured. One hundred and fifteen thousand well accredited signatures is the latest report. The opposition has been vigorous, and extremely remarkable in view of the fact that nothing is involved but a right to vote on the proposed ordinances two months hence. One method of opposition has consisted in schemes for filling the petitions with forged signatures and then denouncing it as "saturated with fraud." This was detected by the Referendum League, which began prosecutions of its employes who had connived at the fraud, and threw out petitions from sources discovered to have been utilized for the forgeries. In an address on the 29th on this phase of the subject the joint committee of the Referendum League and its associate bodies said:

Whereas, there is being made in certain interested quarters in Chicago a determined effort to discredit the petition now being prepared by the joint committee of the Referendum League, Municipal Ownership Delegate Convention and the Federation of Labor, we think time has now come to tell the people of Chicago that every possible effort has been made to prepare an honest petition for presentation to the Election Commissioners, and that the character and methods of our adversaries are too well known by us to rely, even were we so inclined, for our success upon a fraudulent petition. Had we contemplated such a course, we would not have attempted to publicly verify our list nor would we have arrested and prosecuted the men who are attempting to impose upon us. The fact that some fraudulent names were discovered should be conclusive evidence to the friends of municipal ownership that the committee is vigilant and is detecting the frauds and when the petition is finally filed it will be legal. We call your attention to the fact that the people who are attempting to discredit this work are not in favor of this or any other referendum petition.

DAVID ROSENHEIM, Charman.
JOHN C. HARDING, Secretary.

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In the City Council on the 28th a resolution for an investigation of the signatures and an appropriation therefor, was made, but immediate action postponed by a vote of 42 to 24. The latest reported move was a proposal in the legislature on the 29th to investigate the reports that department employes, including the police, are required to distribute petitions. To this move Mayor Dunne replies:

Let them investigate, I invite it. I have not received a single verbal or written complaint about the use of police since the petitions have been in circulation. Not a single citizen has felt called on to remonstrate with me. And they have no reason to, as I am simply complying with the Council's expressed orders. The Council demanded by resolution that the heads of departments and the city departments themselves be used to circulate the referendum petitions as widely as possible. In keeping with this mandate, I summoned the heads of the several departments here the day following the Council's order and informed them of what was expected. That was all. Furthermore, the stories about the police using force to get signatures are gross exaggerations. The whole trouble lies in the stories appearing in a few newspapers in Chicago. That is where all the sensations lie, not in the city hall.

I repeat, let the investigators come on. We will welcome them.

Regarding the use of the police for the circulation of petitions, David Rosenheim, president of the Referendum League, is reported to have said:

Now, as to the use of the police, all the talk about its being wrong is foolish. The police are supposed to suppress crime, and if the robbery of the city of a franchise worth \$200,000,000 is not robbery, what is? The police are doing their duty when they circulate the referendum petitions.

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As to the traction ordinances themselves, an important legal opinion in criticism has been given the Mayor by ex-Chief Justice Magruder of the Supreme Court of the State, and Clarence N. Goodwin. The Mayor had requested opinions of these lawyers with a view to satisfying himself as to the safety of the advice of his special traction counsel, Walter L. Fisher. The opinions proving to be adverse to that advice, Mr. Fisher has published a reply and has been replied to in turn by Mr. Goodwin. Commenting upon the matter, David K. Tone, the counsel for the Municipal Ownership League, said on the 27th:

I have just read the opinion of Judge Magruder, wherein he criticises the pending street railway ordinance. It is gratifying to me to learn that practically all the legal objections that I made before the Local Transportation Committee were pronounced well taken by Judge Magruder. This is especially so in view of the fact that I did not even see or consult with him on these various points, but he reached the same result by independent researches of his own. Judge Magruder has been for the last twenty years one of the most distinguished justices of the Supreme Court of Illinois. This opinion is written in the logical and forcible style characteristic of Justice Magruder. To the lawyers who have practiced before his court for the last twenty years it will undoubtedly be accepted as conclusive. An alderman who would support and vote for these ordinances after the many glaring imperfections have been pointed out to him by a jurist of such unquestioned ability and impartiality must be actuated by some motive other than the best interests of his constituents.

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An injunction suit was brought in the Federal Court on the 26th by Jacob Bauer, for himself and other creditors of one of the underlying traction companies, to prevent the granting of the new street railway franchise, to oust the present receivers of the old companies comprising the Union Traction Company, to have the new receivers proceed to have the rights of the companies defined by the courts in accordance with the "ninety-nine-year decision" of the Supreme Court of the United States, and to have the lease of the underlying companies to the Union Traction Company declared forfeited by reason of the failure of the Union Traction to observe its part of the lease contracts.

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The Cleveland Traction Question.

Pending the 30-day truce in the traction war in Cleveland, during which a 3-cent fare regime prevails (p. 992), the president of the Municipal Company, Mr. du Pont, and the president of the "Concon," Mr. Andrews, are negotiating for a price for the transfer of the "Concon" to the Municipal. If these negotiations come to a successful end, the traction sys-

tem of Cleveland will be in the possession and under the operation of a board of directors charged with the duty of operating for the benefit of the city and of turning themselves into a traction bureau of the city government as soon as the city acquires the right to own and operate the traction service.

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The "Threefer" company, which is leased to the Municipal, has made a new 6 per cent. issue of stock, \$100,000, for the purpose of increasing equipment. This stock is offered at par, 10 points higher than the first issue, and is redeemable at \$1.10. The market value of the first issue is 94. On a capitalization of \$50,000 a mile the "Threefer" is now reported to be earning net profits of more than 25 per cent.

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A Traction Question in Toronto.

The impossibility of holding public utility companies to contract agreements is exemplified by the present experience of the city of Toronto. This city owns the traction plant, but instead of operating it as city property it has leased it to a private company. Much difficulty has been experienced in consequence of the unaccommodating and litigious disposition of the lessee, the general circumstances whereof are outlined in the following editorial in the Toronto News of the 22d:

At last the city and the Toronto Railway have come to real grips. For about fifteen years the city has endeavored to secure enforcement of the contract through the courts. Practically every claim of the city has been upheld by the decisions rendered so far—but the citizens are still at the mercy of the whims and the insolence of the law-defying railway. For over fourteen years the citizens have put up with the Toronto Railway Company. From the very year it secured the franchise and signed the agreement the company has persistently, deliberately, callously and cynically ignored the contract rights of the citizens under the plain agreement which the company itself signed. The company has exhibited brazen impudence in its constant violation of the agreement, its refusal to provide sufficient cars, and, more lately, its refusal to obey the orders of the City Engineer as to service. For it must be remembered that for a good many years, the railway did obey the Engineer's orders as to routes. Deliberately, and as a matter of policy, they carried out the instructions of the City Engineer. Thus the company, for some time, at least, sanctioned the reading of the agreement which has been upheld by the three Canadian courts. That the Engineer has power to determine the service has not only been upheld by three Canadian courts, including the Supreme Court of Canada, but this interpretation was accepted for years by the company itself. Then, without any authority whatever, and in open defiance of the rulings of the courts, the company simply reversed its old policy and ignored and defied the authority of the Engineer vested in him by the street railway agreement. It should be distinctly understood that the fight now on does not rest at all on the comparative merits of the routes which are in dispute. It is a question of authority. Shall the company continue to defy the city with impunity? The Canadian courts have upheld the city's rights. No stay of proceedings was granted the company after the decision of the Supreme Court. Had a stay been granted, the company might have a legal right to change routes at will, pending the ruling of the Privy Council. As matters rest, the company has no such right. But it usurps the right, defies the courts and the Engineer and heaps insult on the citizens.

The City Engineer, whose function it was, had ordered certain alterations of routes. The company refused compliance, whereupon the city ordered a cessation of service on the old routes. Absence of all service caused great public inconvenience, and the Railway Municipal Board of the Province of Ontario has interposed with an order for resumption of service on the old routes until the final determination of the point disputed by the company.

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A Possible Modus Vivendi for the French Church.

A plan for re-establishing the French Church on a working basis is set forth in a declaration drawn up by the French episcopate in session at La Muette week before last (p. 1017). The text of this declaration was made public in France on the 29th. It is thus summed up in a press dispatch to the Chicago Tribune: "Wishing to use all means to insure the exercise of public worship and avoid the profanation of churches, the bishops say they will consent to make a trial of organized public worship, if certain obscure points in the law of 1907 shall be cleared up. An administrative contract between bishops, prefects, mayors, and cures to give the last named the use of places of worship is suggested. This contract will have to contain a clause, the bishops' declaration says, insuring the necessary guarantees of the permanence and moral security of religious service and safeguarding the hierarchical principle. The bishops engage to work together to have this contract accepted everywhere, failing which, in order to avoid an arbitrary decision by the magistrates, it is not to be accepted anywhere. The bishops express the hope that the conscience of the country will recognize they are acting solely in the cause of religion. A draft of the proposed contract is appended to the declaration. It formally stipulates that the priest enters into the contract by virtue of the powers conferred upon him by his bishop and with the latter's express authorization. The validity of the engagement, it is stipulated, will fall to the ground in the event of the bishop not maintaining the powers of the priest. According to the contract the mayor must renounce all interference in the religious administration of the parish except when public order is disturbed. The contract is not to be valid unless it is ratified and signed by the bishop of the diocese. The bishops ask for two guarantees—that of the durability of the contract and recognition of the hierarchy."

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The Church Question in Spain.

A Conservative ministry, with Senor Maura at its head, was confirmed by King Alfonso on the 25th (p. 850). Five Liberal ministries have been forced to resign in eighteen months. The issue between church and state that is being worked out in France by means of the separation laws, is at the bottom of the unrest in Spain. The extreme Liberals are insisting upon the introduction of similar laws in Spain, while the Conservatives claim that Spain is not yet ready for such a move. The king suspended the sessions of the Cortes on the 26th. The dispatches say that since it is evident that the new Premier cannot command a majority in the Cortes an early dissolution is to be looked for, that by a

submission of the burning question to the people at new elections, the situation may be cleared. If the dissolution should come, as is now expected, while the Conservatives are in power, the advantage will be in their hands, a situation which is gratifying to the clericals and the reactionaries.

NEWS NOTES

—William J. Bryan is lecturing in the cities of the Pacific Coast.

—United States Senator Russell A. Alger of Michigan died suddenly at his residence in Washington on the 24th.

—Eighty or more miners were killed by an explosion caused by coal dust in the Stuart mine near Fayetteville, in West Virginia, on the 29th.

—George von L. Meyer, Ambassador to Russia from the United States since March, 1906, presented to the Czar his letters of recall on the 26th.

—One hundred and forty-eight miners were killed by a fire-damp explosion in the Reden mine opposite Saarsbrueck, in Rhenish Prussia, on the 28th.

—Earthquakes in central New York were reported on the 24th and 25th, in Switzerland on the 27th, and in Kingston, Jamaica, on the 22d and 28th.

—At a conference of the Labor party of Great Britain and Ireland held in Belfast, a resolution was passed on the 26th in favor of the extension of the franchise to all adult men and women (p. 944).

—Russia has decided to withdraw her troops immediately from Manchuria, according to a dispatch from St. Petersburg dated the 25th, instead of awaiting the date, April 15, fixed by the Russo-Japanese treaty (vol. viii, p. 357).

—A fine of \$4,000 was imposed against the Allis-Chalmers Company on the 27th in the Federal court at Chicago, upon the verdict of a jury finding the company guilty of importing four iron molders, in violation of the alien labor law.

—James Bryce (p. 921) is to be succeeded as Chief Secretary for Ireland by Augustine Birrell who has been President of the Board of Education. The latter place is to be filled by Reginald McKenna, member of Parliament for North Monmouthshire.

—Charles Doolittle Walcott, director of the United States Geological Survey, was elected on the 23d to be secretary and directive head of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. Mr. Walcott has had only two predecessors—Professor Joseph Henry and Professor S. P. Langley.

—The Texas oil fields of the Gulf region are reported as having decreased their production over 45 per cent. after the Jamaica earthquake, while the north Texas oil fields increased their flow 100 per cent. at the same time, and their product is reported as much lighter in color.

—Capital punishment has always been practically inoperative in Kansas through the refusal of all Kansas governors to sign death warrants, but now a bill abolishing the death penalty has passed the Senate (on the 29th) and has gone to the Governor for signature. A bill looking to the abolishment of capital

punishment was introduced on the 29th in the Nebraska Senate.

—Wilbur S. Jackman, professor of natural science and dean of the School of Education of the University of Chicago, died suddenly on the 27th of pneumonia. Mr. Jackman was also the able editor of the Elementary School Teacher, and an educator whose educational ideals were thoroughly democratic.

—Kansas City in Missouri and Kansas City in Kansas have been joined by an inter-city, inter-State viaduct crossing the "Kaw" valley over the railroad yards and the "Kaw" river. This viaduct, which was opened in the 29th, is a steel and concrete trestle stretching from bluff to bluff, with roadways for wagons, pedestrians and street cars. The cost of the structure was \$3,500,000.

—The Rev. Henry Martyn Field, D. D., editor of the Evangelist for 44 years, died on the 26th, at the age of 84. He was the last survivor of the four famous Field brothers: Cyrus W. Field, who laid the first Atlantic cable; Stephen J. Field, who was a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States for 34 years and six months—the longest term ever served in that court, and David Dudley Field.

—Mrs. Isabella Beecher Hooker, youngest daughter of the Rev. Lyman Beecher, and a sister of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, died at her home at Hartford, Conn., on the 26th, at the age of 84. She married John Hooker in 1841, and survived him by only a few years. Mr. Hooker, a lawyer, was a man of marked democracy, which seemed fitting, since he was a descendant of that sturdy democrat, Thomas Hooker, who, in founding the Connecticut colony, wrote the first American constitution. Isabella Beecher Hooker made an especial study of the present right of women citizens of the United States to vote under the Constitution as interpreted by the Declaration of Independence.

—An industrial exhibit showing good and bad conditions under which men and women work in this country, with special attention to the conditions under which they work in Chicago and Illinois, will be presented at Brooke Casino, March 11 to 17, inclusive, by a group of Chicago organizations interested in promoting the industrial welfare of the community. The local exhibition will be supplemented by material from the Exhibit of Industrial Conditions held in Philadelphia in December, 1906 (p. 1,006), and from the Exposition of Safety Devices and Industrial Hygiene given by the American Institute of Social Service in New York in January, 1907. The exhibition will include exhibits illustrating the industrial geography of Chicago, sweated industries, women in industry, safety appliances and occupational diseases, remedial measures in factories and stores. The representations will be made by the use of photographs, charts, models, power machinery, stereopticon slides, moving pictures, full scale reproductions of home and shop conditions with the workers at work and industrial tableaux. Conferences will be held on topics related to each exhibition group.

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Land, properly speaking, cannot be owned by any man; it belongs to all the human race.—J. A. Froude.

PRESS OPINIONS

THE IMPORTANCE OF MAYOR DUNNE'S CANDIDACY.

Economy (Solon, Iowa), Jan. 24.—About the most exciting political event for the spring of 1907 will be the Chicago election. . . . The chief question in Chicago is between municipal ownership or monopoly ownership of the city's transporting plants. The only interest of people outside of Chicago is in the general effect of a municipal victory over the devouring elements that threaten to engulf Chicago in traction leases of practically endless duration. Dunne's contest is for city ownership of the traction system of Chicago. While the monopolistic party is fighting for the power to hold the financial machinery of the city government in their own power. The same contest is going on in every large city of our country. Cleveland is another example of this contest for power over the city government. But Mayor Johnson has so far won the people's contest in that city that the monopolistic elements are compelled to yield to the Mayor's determined course. If Mayor Dunne can win the contest in Chicago the end of monopolistic rule in our large cities will be in sight.

* *

THE GET-WITHOUT-EARNING KIND OF CAPITAL.

Manufacturing (Industrial), October, 1906.—Once property rights are recognized, some forms of wealth increase without effort on the part of the owner. A corner lot in a growing city, a railway right of way, or a gas or telephone franchise may become immensely valuable, not through the efforts of the owners or even the plans or labor of the originator, but because of the growth of population and the creation of wealth roundabout.

* *

COST OF THE STRENUOUS LIFE.

Johnstown (Pa.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), Dec. 29.—At last a safe and sane voice has been raised against the reckless expenditures of this government for its military and naval establishments. The subsidy grafters are beginning to grow restless. Senator Hale of Maine in a recent speech took occasion to point out that two-thirds of the revenue of the government goes to the payment of pensions from past wars and toward preparation for future wars. Two thirds of the revenue of the government for wars of the past and for wars of the future! Little wonder that Hale is alarmed. Here is a lot of good money going to waste. Hale is an advocate of a ship subsidy. What a merchant marine we could have, to be sure, if we could just divert the expenditures that now go to the steel trust into the pockets of the subsidy hunters. "Down with war," exclaims Hale, "and up with the ship subsidy." Even a senator, it would appear, can be right in a wrong way.

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CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

The Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), January 10.—But there can be little question either that the death penalty has no peculiar force as a deterrent of capital crime. An exceedingly strong presumption to this effect can be established from prior reasoning, and it finds in experience what should be convincing support. Maine, for example, has abolished the death penalty, while Connecticut retains it and administers it about as frequently as does any other State. It is reported of Maine that only two murders were committed there during the past year; while it is reported of Connecticut that the number of "homicides" in the same time was 46, which is said to be an unusually high record. This, however, includes accidental killings to the number of 10 at least, but there

remains a large number not only of homicides in passion or in some justification, but of deliberate murders. And Connecticut has a population only about one-fourth as large as Maine. This does not prove that life imprisonment is a more effective deterrent than are the Connecticut hangings, but it does go to prove that the abolition of the death penalty lets down no bars to the commission of capital crime.

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WHAT'S TO BE DONE WITH THE LORDS?

The New Age (London), Dec. 30.—Abolish the House of Lords! Why, who are to lay our Foundation Stones, open our Bazaars, patronize our Charitable Institutions, preside at our Dinners for philanthropic purposes, endow our Race Meetings, and take the chair at our May Meetings if we have no House of Lords? What is to be done with the faithful M. P. who has subscribed largely to the party war chest if no peerage is to reward his cheques and his devoted service? What is to become of the wealthy Whig if in his declining years he is not sent to the House of Lords? . . . It may be in the days to come when manhood is ranked above title, when Radicals leave off desiring knighthoods, and ministers of religion are no longer anxious to be called "Rabbi" and "Rev.," and the magic letters "D. D." or "M. A." lose their decorative charm, that peers and peerages will sink into the limbo of unwanted things. The present rage for affixing initials to a man's name, and covering up his manhood with a plaster of tinsel makes any abolition of the Lords impossible. But it doesn't prevent an immediate end to the veto of the Upper House.

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, Jan. 20-26.

Senate.

Discussion of the Negro regiment episode was resumed on the 21st (p. 1466). On the 22d nothing of general importance was done, and on the 23d the work of the Senate was for the most part devoted to the legislative appropriation bill (p. 1570), which was passed with amendments (p. 1581), and the child labor bill for the District of Columbia (p. 1581). Announcement of the death of Senator Alger having been made on the 24th (p. 1614) no business was done. A large amount of private legislation was enacted on the 25th and 26th.

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House.

Memorial services were held on the 20th (p. 1481), and on the 21st the bill regarding the condition of women and children laborers was discussed (p. 1490) and passed (p. 1492), as was the bill in reference to expatriation and the protection of citizens abroad (pp. 1494-1497). Private legislation and appropriations occupied the attention of the House on the 22d, and appropriations altogether on the 23d and 24th. On the latter day the House adjourned upon learning of the death of Senator Alger (p. 1625). After the enactment of a large volume of private legislation on the 25th, the agricultural appropriation bill was taken up and considered in committee of the whole (p. 1721). Its consideration was resumed on the 26th (p. 1761) and continued until adjournment.

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Record Notes.

Speech of Representative Everis A. Hayes of California on the treaty-making power and the Japanese question (p. 1616).

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

WHAT I LIVE FOR.

I live for those who love me,
Whose hearts are kind and true,
For the Heaven that smiles above me,
And waits my spirit too;
For the human ties that bind me,
For the task by God assigned me,
For the bright hopes left behind me,
And the good that I can do.

I live to learn their story
Who suffered for my sake;
To emulate their glory,
And follow in their wake;
Bards, patriots, martyrs, sages,
The noble of all ages,
Whose deeds crown history's pages,
And Time's great volume make.

I live to hail the season
By gifted minds foretold,
When men shall rule by reason,
And not alone by gold;
When man to man united,
And every wrong thing righted,
The whole world shall be lighted
As Eden was of old.

I live to hold communion
With all that is divine,
To sanctify the union
Twixt nature's heart and mine;
To profit by affliction,
Reap truths from fields of fiction,
Grow wiser from conviction,
Fulfilling God's design.

I live for those who love me,
Whose hearts are kind and true,
For the Heaven that smiles above me,
And waits my spirit too;
For the wrongs that need resistance,
For the cause that needs assistance,
For the future in the distance,
For the good that I can do.

—G. Linnaeus Banks.

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A BAD REMEDY.

Ernest Crosby in the *Pittsburg Leader* of November 22,
1906. Reprinted from a Marked Copy of the *Leader*
Sent by Mr. Crosby at the Time of
Publication.

In so far as the Socialists criticize the present economic system, and allege that labor does not receive its just reward and that opportunities are closed to the public, they are altogether correct, but when they offer as a remedy a vast and complicated governmental system which will assign his work and his wages to each, they are proposing a remedy which would be worse than the disease. This is a task which surpasses human ability and which would substitute artificial activity from the center for the natural energy and initiative of the individual. The recognition of the rights of the individual is one of

the triumphs of our civilization. Trial by jury, habeas corpus, representative government, freedom of speech and of the press—these were all steps toward the enfranchisement of the individual man. Our difficulties to-day arise from the fact that we have not gone far enough along this line. The individual is not yet free from the interference of monopoly, which harasses him at every turn. Monopoly is the foe, and it must be overcome, but not by establishing a new gigantic state monopoly, more powerful and dangerous than any which preceded it.

If any of your readers wish to know what a state is like which insists upon its own predominance and allows the individual to be lost in the community, as socialism promises to do, let him read Lafcadio Hearn's book on "Japan." The remarkable civilization of that country was built upon the complete sacrifice of the individual to the state, and Hearn says that among the Japanese new ideas and original thoughts were rendered impossible, and that any variation from conventional habits of life and belief was punished by complete ostracism. He adds that no European or American would submit to such constraint. And yet it is just such constraint that socialism would exercise, and we already see the promise of it in the Socialist party, which is the most dogmatic, intolerant and narrow minded of all our parties. I read the Socialist press regularly and it is always full of charges and recriminations, and its leading representatives are always engaged in expelling each other. It is the spirit of centralization and state control which cannot but show itself in its advocates.

Let us not allow ourselves to be led along this mistaken trail, but rather insist upon more freedom—the abolition of tariffs and banking and money monopolies, the public ownership of strictly public utilities, and the opening of the raw material of the country to all by the single tax. This would do justice to every man and at the same time secure the benefits of freedom to all, and freedom is more than half of justice.

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THE RAILROAD PROBLEM.

Erving Winslow in the *Boston Herald* of Jan. 15.

The condition of the railway corporations of the United States is not to be regarded hysterically, but obviously it is not likely to be adequately met by resolutions of inquiry or by the official control which is sought as a remedy for existing evils. The condition established has resulted from a perfectly simple cause, the recognized evil of modern life—the haste to become rich. But simple as the cause may be, the result has produced problems of appalling perplexity.

Let it be recognized that the situation is intolerable. Delays and discrimination in commercial transportation cause evils almost as great, although not so transparently obvious as the wholesale killing of travelers and employes. What is the immediate cause of the guilty inefficiency of the railway service? It is not prosperity. It is watered stock, the graft and rake-offs of the promoter and the excessive dividends of the stockholders. The money necessary for putting our roads in proper condition and to keep them running properly must be taken from the div-

dends, as it is probably impossible in any legal manner to cause the promoters to disgorge their plunder.

Let any measures be taken to force the railways to pursue this course and what would be the immediate result? Lower dividends, tremendous shrinkages in the stock market, a Wall street panic which would make the welkin ring with the cries of the "plunderbund" and which incidentally would cause the depletion of the treasury by a compliant secretary in a vain attempt to stop the inevitable.

Government-owned railway systems, whether or no they may exceed roads controlled by private enterprise in cost of service, fulfill their functions with reasonable order and dispatch. They do not kill people. Many government-owned railway systems have been operated for a year without the loss of a single life. Last year three persons lost their lives on the government roads of Switzerland, none of whom were passengers; two were trespassers who wilfully violated the laws and the third was drunk.

Let it not be said that our democracy is a weathercock if we soon see the demand made for what may be considered a conservative remedy, a national trans-continental railway laid out and maintained under the government's constitutional prerogative for the establishment of post roads, with proper handling of merchandise and protection of human life as an illustration that will either demand the extension of the method or an imitation of its conditions. Public ownership of the great trunk railway which was presented as a matter for academic discussion within a year in a speech which met with very wide reprobation, may not improbably be recognized soon as the only remedy for the evils before us. These evils have been treated in various methods, with vituperation, flippantly, and with indifference by the press, by impulsive executive denunciation and by crude legislation of doubtful expediency. They are tremendous evils which cannot long be endured, which public opinion cannot easily reach and which no mere palliatives of the law-makers seem likely to cure.

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HOUSE-MOTHER VS. HOME-MOTHER.

Mary Hanford Ford in the Boston Evening Transcript.

In these busy twentieth century days, when every house-mother is facing not only the natural cares of her family, but the equally legitimate ones which are forced upon her by her position in life, there are certain considerations in regard to the adjustment of the home which constantly claim our attention. The point of view from which these are pondered is of the utmost importance, because the house-mother and the home-mother will find the same details of very different weight and significance.

The house-mother will be attracted first by any suggestion which promises to lessen the labor of the housekeeping, and simplify the servant question; the home-mother, on the contrary, will feel the value of all that tends to strengthen the harmony of the home, and its power as a center of influence for each member of its circle.

An element in the home which is often lost sight of in modern discussion of its quality is the very important one of the workshop. The home, in its perfection, is not merely a pleasant spot where we

sleep—and possibly eat—where we read excellent books, and discuss all questions of progress; it is beyond all this, a place where things are made and done.

There are many thoughtless and some idle people in the world who do not appreciate the fascination of creation—of making and doing. Mothers do not always comprehend the charm of the kitchen, which is almost irresistible to children; but such mothers, as a rule, cannot count the mysteries of doughnut frying among the joys of their childhood. The pleasure of the experience lay not in the mere contact of the crisp finished product with the palate, but in the entire process of confection, which ended dramatically with the consignment of the limp rings of dough to the hot fat, and their emergence some moments later as brown and luscious circles, which were incalculably more delicious eaten upon the very theater of their achievement than when decorously served at meal time upon a pretty china plate!

The tendency of our modern life has been so distinctively in a machine-made direction that the conventional home is too frequently a highly finished interior, where the element of work is eliminated as far as possible, and the spectacle of anyone doing anything—except a butler or a white-capped maid—is so strange as to be almost inconceivable! One remembers with joy—by contrast—the stirring romances of William Morris, where the banquet is always described in fullest detail. The men of the house kill the deer, bring it to the hall, skin it, cut it up, and deliver it to the lady and her maids. The lady herself, in William Morris's tales, always prepares the oaken table, and directs the placing upon it of the smoking viands. Then she listens to narrations of conquest and prowess while she serves her guests—and the reward of valor is her smile!

This does not suggest by any means that the charm of the home lies in the cooking which is carried on within its limits, but it does suggest most positively that when the building process is left too courteously out of sight, a large proportion of the charm of the home disappears. Its atmosphere loses warmth as it gains in conventional elegance, and much of its value as a character maker is lost forever.

The secret of Mother's Bread and Mother's Cake is revealed in the incident of the confection of doughnuts. The modern caterer can bring to our doors far more artistic compounds than those which resulted from the limited culinary appliances of earlier days; but they touch nothing beyond the palate, while memory lingers over the productions of loved hands, eaten in congenial environment, and sentiment and fancy delight to heighten their perfection!

The carpenter shop, where the joy of creation and visible attainment appeals to all senses of the child, offers a fascination akin to that of the kitchen; the freedom of the barn and stable, with their storage of food and kindly care of living creatures, stirs the vital consciousness; the sewing-room, with its mysterious adjustment and manufacture of garments to be worn by members of the family circle, provides another interest of the same class. All these activities constitute the work-shop element of the home, and add immensely to its value, both for old and young.

Beneath the outward show of activity, however, is the hidden and spiritual current which contains the secret of influence. The binding power of love lies in the habit of service, and this disappears to a large degree when wealth introduces the custom of making service merely a matter of commercial profit. When all the labor of the home is done by hired hands, when maid and valet provide all personal assistance, the province and power of love are lessened to a surprising degree.

Love grows by sacrifice. We love deeply the one for whom we labor with unremitting effort. The most persistent doers are the most ardent lovers, and the home where mutual service is eliminated by the perfection of salaried assistance loses a certain fine spiritual power over its inmates which cannot be replaced. In this way the darning of stockings, the concoction of puddings are of spiritual efficiency, and the roof under which the man of the house builds a chair, and his wife covers it, is a much happier spot than that in which nothing more vital is ever done than the reading aloud of Shakespeare.

Mutual help which is kept within the limit of words is good as far as it goes, when words are harmonious, and the home should be unquestionably the spot where the atmosphere is one of forgiveness and comprehension for all; but a deeper current of help is touched when we weary our flesh for one another, when the service we can exchange means an expenditure of vitality which is salaried in love, not money!

This ideal of the home is not to be lost in the progress of the age, and an indication of its stability, and more positive reappearance is found in the new movement which will require the more arduous portions of the housework to be done by paid experts who visit each family for a certain number of hours each day. This will remove the menial aspect of domestic service. It will increase both the freedom and the privacy of the home, and eliminate from that sacred center the class distinction which Emerson deplored! It will lighten the burdens of the house-mother, yet render it still more imperative that she remain the living and loving center of the home organism.

The growing complexity of the world and society with its conflicting duties has roused a constantly widening and deepening appreciation of what is called the simple life, among all classes of people. We realize more and more that happiness is not won through complexities, but through simplicities. The arts and crafts ideal of furniture which is penetrating our homes carries with it a suggestion of the sacredness of labor and service, which renders us instinctively more helpful to one another.

The sunlight falling through a latticed window upon an honest oaken table inspires one to spread upon it a simple meal served by willing and friendly hands, and half the difficulties of home-keeping vanish in such an atmosphere! The feeling of sweet and neighborly helpfulness which actuates the college settlements is the natural one for each home interior, and its realization would render comparatively unnecessary the co-operative dining-rooms toward which Mrs. Charlotte Stetson Gilman points in her very clever volume on "The Home." Such a

dining-room would be a boon to the housekeeper, but would it be desirable to the homekeeper?

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NON-RESISTANCE.

Ernest Crosby in "Garrison the Non-Resistant."

It is not without reason that I am treating Garrison as primarily a non-resistant, and only secondarily as an abolitionist; for it was only by chance that his attention was turned to the abolition of slavery, while his instinctive dislike of coercion and love of freedom were wider and earlier. They accounted for his condemnation of war, and they would have led him in his youth to take the side of liberty in any conflict which the condition of the times might have forced upon him. Garrison recognized fully the profounder claims of non-resistance and the fact that the abolition of slavery was a mere episode in its history. The coercion of man by man was the root of slavery, and it is also the root of a thousand other ills. Between nations it means war and conquest and imperialism and international misunderstandings and hatreds and tariffs. . . .

Garrison saw the wider aspects of his faith. He was one of the heralds of a new instinct—the instinct that man belongs to a higher plane than that of physical violence, and that he must rise above the methods of brute force in dealing with his fellows. The evolution of the race is a mysterious thing. Whence came the ideas of association, of love of neighbor, and of love of enemies? The new seed-thoughts take root at first in a single mind or in a very few select ones, and centuries pass before the stony hearts of men at large are fructified. These are real instincts, like that which sends the chick after its food before it is quite free of the egg. And the faint promise of that desire in the egg may have induced it to make an immense effort in the dark—to attempt the impossible—to break down its old environment, apparently impervious and eternal, and seek a new world of infinite possibilities. There are two sides to evolution—that usually dwelt upon, of conformity to environment—and that far more significant one of dissatisfaction with environment, determination to rise above it, and the actual effort against all nature to discover or create a new one. Life means not submission to, but mastery of, environment, and every seed is at heart a rebel. The parts of chaos were well suited to each other and to the whole. Whence came the whisper that there was something better, and the struggle of the universe to lift itself, as it were, by its own waist-band? It was an effort to do the impossible, and it succeeded. Discontent with environment is a motive power, and Garrison's instinctive aversion to coercion was a new creative principle which will yet have its preponderant part to play in the history of man. Of course, I do not mean to say that he was the first man to feel the novel truth. It had been let loose many centuries earlier, and here and there there had always been witnesses to it; but in his own day and generation Garrison was a pioneer of non-resistance, and he was no imitator or repeater, but he felt its direct claims in his own consciousness.

And men are governed and must be governed by

their feelings. We are in the habit of talking of logic as if it were superior to sentiment; but all logic starts out from sentiment, and every syllogism can be traced back to a feeling—a taste—about which it is not to be disputed. Even mathematics, the most logical of sciences, rests upon axioms, and axioms are feelings. We say that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, because we "feel" that it is; and in the same way we believe that two parallel lines can never meet, and that one and one always make two. But these are all mere feelings, and the new mathematicians are actually arguing today that parallel lines can meet, and that our axiomatic feelings are erroneous. Men often think that they are guided by reason, while as a matter of fact they really feel their way; and it is not a bad plan when logic leads you to some act which shocks your feelings, to use these latter as tests of logic. It is this humble, instinctive way of behaving which we call common-sense, and common-sense is the natural corrective of logic—just as when, sailing by right ascension and declination, we see the breakers ahead, we do not hesitate to fall back on the vulgar assistance of the lead. There is no such thing as pure logic. We are always guided either by feeling or by feeling-plus-logic; and hence logic, so far from adding certainty to our conclusions, rather, by bringing in a new element, adds a new possibility of error. The chief use of logic is not to show me what to do, but to afford me a rational excuse for doing what common-sense dictates. It is not the foundation on which I build my wall, but the prop with which I shore it up when it begins to look shaky. All the good and all the evil in the world have been caused by feelings, but probably feelings-plus-logic have done more harm in the long run than undiluted feelings. Logic is relentless. The logic of Torquemada was unanswerable. Heretics were damned. They made converts who were also damned. It was better to torture and kill a few of them than to consign a large portion of the race to hell forever. Q. E. D. The argument is unassailable, but if Torquemada had consulted his heart for a moment he would have thrown the whole flimsy sophism overboard. If I may indulge in a Hibernicism I would say that it is a good thing to keep your heart at your elbow. For the heart is the root of all, and feeling is the mother of logic, though logic often disowns its mother and endeavors to cut loose from her apron strings, ashamed apparently of its low birth. True logic should be proud of its maternal ancestor, and delight in calling in the good old lady whenever it seems to be coming to grief.

And clearly the idea that logic can independently lay down eternal truths is a fallacy, for the human race is living and growing. Our viewpoints vary and change from day to day. Our feelings are different from those of our fathers, and the logical structure which we rear upon them merely adds to the confusion. Garrison and Draco could not have argued intelligibly together because their root-feelings were different—they belonged to different epochs. Axioms alter from age to age, and the *Quod erat demonstrandum* of one period is the *Reductio ad absurdum* of the next. And the hard logic of an earlier age often survives into a new generation against whose deepest instincts it offends, and

yet we persist in our allegiance to the old truth, become falsehood. There is therefore a grain of truth in the common saying that a rule of action is correct in theory but not in practice. Thus the axiom that it is best to hit a man who differs from you over the head has been fossilized and preserved by the logical institutions founded upon it, into the midst of a period in which men feel instinctively that other less clumsy methods of treatment are better. We owe a lot of trouble to the Q. E. D.'s. And Garrison's mistake was not that he adopted a wrong principle, but that he was ahead of his times. He believed that the declaration of the non-resistant convention would sweep over the country as the Declaration of Independence had done, only with a more profound and intense effect, as it was infinitely wider in scope. But two things are necessary to the success of a cause—not only a prophet, but also a people capable of understanding the prophet; and this audience was lacking to Garrison. He would have liked to be a leader to guide the world into the paths of peace. He had to content himself in this regard with acting as a pioneer to stake out the land which some day mankind will occupy. His immediate leadership was confined to a cause which in comparison was limited and local.

But was this non-resistance principle of Garrison's a true one? And is there any prospect that it will triumph in the future? As an axiomatic statement its final sanction must be found in the individual consciousness. Answer for yourself. Is there nothing at the bottom of your heart which suggests to you at your best moments that the exercise of physical force against your fellows is unworthy of you? Has not the advance of civilization made men more and more skeptical of the virtues of violence? Many men, at any rate, while repudiating the claims of non-resistance, pay it the indirect compliment of worshiping or honoring supremely the men who have taught it. There can be no doubt about it—violence is played out. The use of physical force in the management of rational creatures is a survival of less enlightened times. The tendency is away from violence of all kinds. Most of the evils of the world are caused by violence. Read the history of mankind from the monuments of Assyria and Egypt down to the morning's news, and you will see that it is one long record of violence—man lifting up his hand against man and nation against nation. Murder, arson, robbery—robbery, arson, murder—it is the same old story over and over again. And today the dead and wounded lie all around us, not on the obvious battlefield only, but in city and town and hamlet. Visit the slums of New York or Chicago or London. See the poverty and crime and disease which come from overcrowding and enforced idleness and excessive labor side by side—the necessary consequences of monopolizing by force the natural opportunities of the earth; men and women suffering from a rigid and artificial arrangement of things formed and perpetuated in the last resort by the mailed hand of society, held ever in readiness to crush the offender. The physical struggle has never ceased, disguise it as we may endeavor. Society has always been a Donnybrook Fair, and it is high time that we should be ashamed of our manners,

for nothing could be more vulgar than this everlasting appeal to the cudgel.

And the way to stop is to stop! This seems such a simple remedy that men will have none of it. Yes, violence is an evil, they say; let us put it down by more violence. And we start out, each of us with his own ideas and his own weapons, and we proceed to break each other's heads again, and in so doing we are repeating the old useless conflicts of the Pharaohs. This noisy, bloody business is not the real history of the world. Its real history is the history of ideas. The real battle that counts is in the minds and hearts of men. Let us order our armies up to that plane. And at our best, I repeat it, we all feel a call to rise to that higher level. There is something degrading in the use of force against others, and we are all conscious of it at the time. It is impossible to kick anything, I do not care what, and feel human. Catch yourself flagrante delicto the next time and arraign yourself at your own bar, and I predict that you will find yourself guilty. It is a debasing proceeding. It is not our proper method, and if our environment seems to demand it, we must hope and pray and work for a new one; and the best way to create a new one is (so far as in us lies) to behave as if it had already arrived. Overcome evil with good. That is the truly human way. Let others get the better of us in this matter of violence. Forgive them. Let bygones be bygones. Stop this eternal bookkeeping of offenses between you and your neighbor, and do what you can to bequeath a clean slate to posterity.

And the non-resistant is no weakling. Garrison himself is proof enough of that. The very renunciation of physical force seems to give a new and loftier power to a man. No, the strenuous man is not the soldier on horseback with saber drawn, but rather the man with folded arms who sees a new truth and utters it regardless of consequences. No one can injure the man who refuses to be hurt. You may kill him but you cannot touch the man in him. . . . The most influential men in history have eschewed physical force as an instrument. What man of all has exerted the deepest, widest influence upon mankind? Surely Jesus Christ from whom the very term "non-resistant" is derived. And after him? Siddartha, the Buddha, who absolutely condemned all violence. What man today in the Russian Empire, that home of brute force, has the greatest import for the world? Leo Tolstoy, without doubt, the man who would not lift his hand to compel. And Garrison, how do you explain the fact that he, with his hands tied behind his back, was the main motive power in that movement which has dwarfed all the rest of our history?

* * *

MR. CARNEGIE'S POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Harold Sudell to the Philadelphia North American.

In view of the fact that Mr. Carnegie seems to perceive pretty clearly that a large part of the great fortunes of the day are unearned, being due to their owner's control of some valuable opportunity of nature, it is surprising to find him advocating such an utterly inadequate remedy as the taxation of inheritances.

He is probably led astray by thinking, as he puts it, "that increased population—the community—creates the wealth in each successive generation."

Now population does create land values and these values grow with population. But the value of things that men produce are not dependent in the same way on population, for under ordinary conditions the value of such things tends to decrease with increasing population, their value being governed by the cost of reproduction.

If this be true, then it follows that the possessor of real wealth—houses, grain, steamships or any of those things which men produce—has no such advantage as is given by the possession of the opportunities of nature, "which grow in value while men sleep."

Can it be possible that Mr. Carnegie does not know that there is a method by which this-unearned value can be taken—not when a man dies after he has enjoyed for a longer or shorter period what was not his—but yearly? This method, simple, yet effective, is the taxation of land values, and it has this additional merit, which should commend it to Mr. Carnegie, that it enables us to dispense with the taxation of earned incomes (the larger portion of our present taxes fall there), and so leaves absolutely untouched to the producer everything he earns, while taking for communal use that value which attaches itself to natural opportunities through the presence of population.

* * *

THE UNETHICAL CHARACTER OF AN INHERITANCE TAX.

A Portion of an Address Delivered Before the Spokane (Wash.) Economic Club, Dec. 2, 1906, by George N. Maddock.

The assertion that there is a class provided by nature whose business it is first to receive wealth and then divide it, is assumed as true without examination by many of our fellow citizens who think that landlordism is necessary. But the effects of such laws cannot be hid, and those who are animated by the protective spirit, vaguely feeling that such conditions are unjust, are continually seeking for some scheme to divide wealth, and such schemes are continually being tried, as for example the protective tariff scheme, and others are from time to time invented.

The latest scheme of this character is one proposed by those who have already distinguished themselves in advocating the dividing up of wealth by means of productive tariff laws. This scheme is to levy on those who have what are indefinitely described as swollen fortunes, an inheritance tax, whereby the federal government will, on the death of a man who owns a swollen fortune, compel the heir to pay to the government a tax on the fortune; and if he does not pay, the government will sell the swollen fortune or a part of it to someone who will pay the tax for it. When we seek to discover the reasons which are given for the enactment of such laws we find that they are such as grow out of envy, and do not arise from any desire to do justice to those who are despoiled by the laws that are now in force. For those who advocate such laws seem

to be wholly unconscious of the terrible suffering and want that are produced among the people by the laws which create the monopoly of land and thus forcibly divide wealth. The reasons given for the enactment of such inheritance tax laws are of the character of that given by Senator Beveridge of Indiana, who states as his reason for the enactment of the proposed laws that he does not believe that anyone ought to own a billion dollars, and he even insinuates that he does not believe that anyone ought to own five hundred million dollars. This is merely the expression of the envy of a man who does not think that anyone ought to be better off than himself.

Nor do those who advocate such laws inform us as to what will be done with that wealth that will be secured by the government by means of such taxes. This seems to be a part of their programme that is either too dangerous to be discussed, or has not yet been developed. But we are assured by them that no part of the proceeds of such taxes will be used to lighten the burdens of taxation, for when the advocates of inheritance taxes have their attention called to the terrible exactions of the laws now in force imposing the burdens of taxation on industries, they assure us that those laws must be continued in force, and that we must "stand pat" as to them. And, threatening the people that any change in the revenue laws will disturb business, they secure their re-election to office on the promise that they will continue these laws in force and protect people from the business disturbance that their imagination conjures up as threatening them. Since they have not explained what is to be done with the proceeds of an inheritance tax, and since the present taxes are more than sufficient to meet all the needs of government, we can only infer that the government will collect from these swollen fortunes taxes which it has no need for, simply as a means of punishing those who have the swollen fortunes; and the result will be that the federal government will collect wealth which it cannot dispose of except by means of some new adventure or extravagance, or in the support of a greater number of parasites or worse than useless officials.

But it is reasonable to ask why those who have the swollen fortunes should be punished for having them. If those swollen fortunes consist of wealth, then they must have been produced by labor, and those who produce this wealth are entitled to it. The difference in the size of a fortune cannot affect a man's right to it, and no one could assert that it did except such persons as are so carried away by envy and jealousy as to be incapable of reasoning.

But no one who stops to think is so silly as to believe that those who have what are called the swollen fortunes have real wealth. Does Mr. Beveridge imagine that Mr. Rockefeller, for example, has somewhere piled up a billion dollars in gold, or a billion dollars' worth of machines, or of the product of labor in any other form? The fatuity of even a United States senator could hardly extend so far. But everyone who stops to think knows that these so-called swollen fortunes do not consist in real wealth, but that they consist in the power to secure wealth from others, and that when we speak of

them as being worth a billion dollars we merely express in the terms of dollars the extent of these powers. For to say that a Mr. Rockefeller is worth a billion dollars cannot mean that he will sell for that much as there is no sale for men, nor does it mean that he can by labor produce a billion dollars' worth of wealth, or that he has a billion dollars' worth of wealth that has already been produced. It can therefore only mean that Mr. Rockefeller has a power to secure wealth from others which as compared to the power of one dollar in exchange to secure wealth, is as a billion to one. But where does Mr. Rockefeller or any other possessor of a swollen fortune get this power? To this question political economy returns an unequivocal and indisputable answer, and that is that he gets the power from those laws, which by creating the monopoly of land, force those who produce wealth to turn it over to those who can exclude them from land. It is therefore not to Mr. Rockefeller or to any other possessor of such swollen fortune that this power is due, but it is the power of the people exercised through and by means of law to force by violence the producer of wealth to surrender it, that is, to divide wealth. The people are exercising their power now, and the swollen fortunes consist in the fact that the people continue daily to exercise their power in this way, and to divide wealth as it is produced. Therefore, to speak of such fortunes as being worth a billion dollars is merely another way of expressing the idea that the amount of wealth which the government will force the laborers to give to the owners of the swollen fortunes, is an amount which will be the equivalent in value of an income on a billion dollars at the going rate of interest. The force that operates thus to deprive some of the product of their labor and to give it to others, is just as much the force that originates in the people, and is as much their act as is the force his own which causes the wound when the idiot drives the knife into his own side. For those who have the swollen fortunes have nothing more than some papers purporting that they have title to land. These titles may be in the shape of deeds, mortgages, stocks, or bonds, or franchises; but under whatever shape they may be they are merely the evidence of the extent to which the holders will be entitled to share in that division of the wealth produced in the country which the people through their government causes to be divided as the wealth is produced. This division is made by violence inasmuch as it requires the power of the people exercised through the police and the army to cause this division to be made, for the natural distribution of wealth is altogether different.

The effect, therefore, of all those namby pamby schemes for dividing wealth of which the advocacy of an inheritance tax on swollen fortunes is merely the latest instance, will be to continue those exactions from the people which the lords of lands now make, whereby the wealth is now divided, and then to come upon those who have received the larger share of the division and divide that up among some more who do not produce wealth. But to a person who is not carried away by envy, and who is not moved by jealousy of those who have more than he, the question is suggested as to why those

so-called fortunes should continue to exist. Why should the people continue to exercise their power in this way and deprive the laborer of the fruits of his toil and divide it among people who do not toil at all? Who can say that any good is accomplished by this division, when those who have heretofore been most active and insistent in advocating and maintaining the laws which accomplish this division complain and admit that the division is unsatisfactory?

No one to my knowledge has ever ventured to give a reason why these swollen fortunes should exist except that distinguished Sunday school teacher, the younger Mr. Rockefeller. He has expressed the opinion that they should exist because of their beauty; his expression is that as the American beauty rose is produced by the destruction of many other kinds of roses, so the great fortune is produced in its beauty by the destruction of many smaller fortunes. But political economy shows conclusively that the swollen fortune is not wealth at all, or any material thing whatever, whether beautiful or ugly, but that it consists in the power of the people exercised through the laws that create a monopoly of land to force those who produce wealth to hand it over to those who do not labor. If the younger Mr. Rockefeller would attend an economic club instead of a Sunday school he would learn this truth, and when he did so, it would not suggest to him any simile in which a rose would play the leading role. For he would perceive that the same force which creates his fortune produces necessarily at the same time the misery, want and suffering of him whom it impoverishes, and that

Down all the stretches of hell to its last gulf,
There is no shape more terrible than his.

We need not, however, anticipate that Mr. Rockefeller will inquire into these matters, or that he will seek to determine whether his fortune consists in real wealth or whether it is merely the result of a tyrannical exercise of power by the people through their government. But we can hope that the discussion of these questions will lead some of those who are now animated by the protective spirit because they believe that the inequalities existing in our society are natural because nature provides a superior class who first receive wealth and then divide it, will be led to investigate the science of political economy to determine whether the grounds of their belief are correct. A consideration of those simple truths that political economy reveals will suffice to convince them that these unjust inequalities among men are not due to any natural cause, but that they are due to those man-made laws which by giving to the favored few the monopoly of land, at the same time and of necessity transfer to them all the produce of labor save a fair subsistence for the laborer. If this truth were perceived by a majority of our fellow citizens they would no longer be misled by those various schemes which are advocated for the dividing up of wealth by means of man-made laws. The perception of the fact that nature justly and equally distributes wealth to him who produces it in approximate proportion to his usefulness, puts in glaring clearness the fact that all these inequalities are the necessary effect of those schemes that have been invented to divide

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wealth, and that the principal and most powerful of these schemes for making this unjust division is the institution of land monopoly. The abolition of land monopoly would therefore destroy the cause of this unjust division. When the people become convinced that this is a consummation to be desired they will find that a simple, easy and effective method of accomplishing it has already been pointed out. That method is to abolish all taxes save the tax upon land values and to increase that tax so as to derive from it a revenue sufficient for public needs. If this were done, the monopoly of land would at once cease, for under such a tax, no one could hold land out of use. And labor would have access to all land without the payment of price, except such land as by reason of its situation or location in the community would enable the possessor to receive the advantage of the co-operation of all the members of the community in a greater degree than would those who did not occupy such advantageous situation. But the price paid or exacted for the use of these advantageous sites would be paid by virtue of this tax to the government for the benefit of all the members of the community, and they would all share in it equally. So that labor would receive the whole product of labor, the individual receiving all that which was due to his own exertions and also an equal share in that which is due to the exertions of all.

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THE WORLD IS MY COUNTRY.

For The Public.

My country I bound by the blue-arched sky
And the fleecy clouds that drift idly by;
By the twinkling stars and the silver moon,
By the golden sun and the light of noon.

No mountain or valley or river or sea
Or imagined line, whatever it be,
Shall bound the world of men for me.

With the world my country and right my creed,
With freedom from hate and fear and greed,
With men my brothers, whatever their race,
The earth for me is a perfect place.

And no matter what others may think or be,
Or whatever of evil or good I see;
That evil or good is alone in me.

R. E. CHADWICK.

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"Maria," said Mr. Quigley, entering his home in some excitement, "I want you to promise me not to look at the papers for the next three months!"
"What for?" wonderingly asked Mrs. Quigley.
"I have just been nominated for a public office," he uttered, "and I don't want you to find out what kind of man I really am."—Chicago Tribune.

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It is reported that during the struggles between the Democracy and the Aristocracy at Athens which reatenated a dangerous crisis, Solon let fall the remark that "Equality causes no war." This sentiment was repeated, and so pleased all classes, both rich and poor, that they united in urging him to become

"There Shall Be No Poor."

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BOOKS

NEW ESSAYS.

Varied Types. By G. K. Chesterton. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. Price, \$1.20 net.

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One volume of essays of comparatively recent date is that of G. K. Chesterton, entitled "Varied Types." The nineteen articles are all quite brief, having been adapted to the requirements of certain English journals. Some of them are book reviews, one relates to the character of Queen Victoria and her reign, while all the others deal with individuals who have left lasting impress upon the thought of their own time and of ours.

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But while enjoying these essays, it must be admitted that some of the conclusions are obvious "non sequiturs." We feel that in saying epigrammatic things he has at times strained a point. But yet one is never quite sure that he is aiming at consistency. In some cases there is about as close connection between his author and his essay as between an object and the shadow that it casts. As the shadow cannot exist without the object, so the essay is dependent upon its subject, but only so far as to

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+ + +

A STUDY IN NATIONAL EFFICIENCY.

The German Workman. By William Harbutt Dawson. Published by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1906. Price \$1.50 net.

"To maintain the efficiency of the workers" is the stated purpose of Germany's far-reaching and systematic social legislation of recent years. Paternalism, painstaking, conscientious paternalism, scientific, systematic paternalism is described, unnamed, in "The German Workman." The book in its three hundred pages of exposition tells what is being done for the workman in Germany—not by him, but for him. Here are described all sorts of organized devices for helping the laborer to keep on producing up to his capacity. For this purpose, there are Labor Employment Bureaus, Labor Colonies, Good Housing Associations, Courts of Arbitration, Compulsory Insurance Against Illness and Accident, at his service so long as he is able-bodied and willing to work. As soon as he becomes respectably inefficient, there are Hospitals, Convalescent Homes, Illness Pensions, Municipal Pawn Shops, Poor Relief. If he dies there is a burial fund ready for him. If he lives and grows fond of idleness, predatory wanderings and so forth, he is forced into the most systematic workhouse in the world—where for the good of the State and for his own reformation, he is compelled to labor. In Germany the workman is scientifically worked. A sort of intensive cultivation is practiced upon him, and the result is considered most gratifying—the greatest possible production with the least possible waste.

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The book is written by an Englishman, the author of several other works on Germany, her Socialism, Life in Town and Country and so forth, and of "Social Switzerland,"—a man who is apparently conversant with his subject. With very little personal comment, Mr. Dawson makes careful detailed statements worth the notice of the student of remedial legislation in any of the directions indicated. But this is not a book for the entertainment of the casual reader, nor for the enthusiasm of the apostle of individual freedom.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

INDUSTRIAL AMERICA INTERPRETED TO GERMANS.

Industrial America. By J. Laurence Laughlin. Published by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1906.

The lectures which make up the volume were delivered in Berlin last year by Professor Laughlin of the University of Chicago, at the instance of the German educational authorities. It was suggested to the lecturer that he deal "with the industrial problems which are at present occupying public attention in the United States." The topics, consequently, are Protectionism and Reciprocity, The Labor Trust, Banking Problems, The Railway Question, and the like.

The many who know Professor Laughlin's economic views will find them here briefly applied to definite present-day issues. For those who are unacquainted with the author, it is perhaps enough to say that the speaker's convictions would not demand that he make any remarks very disagreeable to a conservative German audience.

The chapter to be mentioned as of particular interest, is the one on Protectionism and Reciprocity—a brief and clear sketch of how the high tariff came about; its unreasonable continuance, and its result, the corruption of politics.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—*In the Furrow.* Poems by Lewis Worthington Smith. Published by Baker-Trizler Co., Des Moines, Ia. 1906.

—*The Song of the Boy.* By Justin Sterns. Published at the Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass. Price, postpaid, 15 cents.

—*Out of the Silence.* By Almon Hensley. Published at the Ariel Press, Westwood, Mass. Price, postpaid, 50 cents.

—*America's Awakening.* By Phillip Loring Allen. Published by Fleming H. Revell Co., New York and Chicago. 1906. Price \$1.25 net.

—*Class Struggles in America.* By A. M. Simons. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1907. Third Edition. Price 50 cents.

—*The Praise of Hypocrisy.* An Essay in Casuistry. By G. T. Knight, D. D. Published by The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 1906.

—*Capital.* By Karl Marx. Volume I. Translated by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. Published by Chas. H. Kerr & Co., Chicago. 1906. Price \$2.00.

PERIODICALS

The Bookman for February contains, in the department entitled "Chronicle and Comment," some appreciative words upon the character of Ernest Crosby. Of his books The Bookman says: "Of the eight or nine books published over his name—scholarly treatises, biographies of men with natures akin to his, or volumes of poems inspired by sincerity of feeling—there is perhaps no one that could stand alone on sheer literary merit. But they all partake of the warmth and compelling ardor of his personality." In this issue Louise Closser Hale attempts to give some idea of "The Inside Life of the Stage." An interesting account is given of the origin and influence of some of the great social registers of Europe, including "The Almanach de Gotha." In the series of studies—"Some Representative American Story Tellers," a review of the literary career of Booth Tarkington is given by Arthur Bartlett Maurice. Allen Harmon Carpenter writes of "Teaching Ideals," appealing for more human sympathy and stronger character in college professors.

J. G. P.



A discussion upon the best method for the nation to acquire the railways so as to confer a large immediate benefit upon the community without doing any real injustice to the shareholders, is contributed to the January number of the Arena by Alfred Russel Wallace, the famous English scientist and philosopher. In the same issue, Professor Frank Parsons compares the claims of capitalism and socialism, showing that they agree in the advocacy of extreme concentration of capital, and urging a middle course securing "a union that shall contain the maximum of liberty, private initiative and voluntary cooperation, and the minimum of mastery, either in the form of the individual mastery that prevails in capitalism or the mastery of the majority which would be carried to the limit under socialism." The case against California in reference to the schooling of the Japan-

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The order of the speakers will be as follows:

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