

press; his next to authorize a call for an imperial conference at St. Petersburg, November 19th, of representatives of the Zemstvos. This in itself is tantamount in Russia to revolution. "Zemstvo" is the name of the provincial legislatures of the Russian Empire in Europe. Though the word legislature fairly describes these bodies, they are not really legislatures in the American sense. They simply administer the local economical affairs of their respective districts and provinces, but are elected by popular vote—the electors being the landed proprietors, the peasants of the country and the householders of cities. From latest data (1897) it would appear that there are Zemstvos in 361 districts of 34 provinces of European Russia, with an aggregate electorate of 40,172 landowners, 48,091 city householders, and 196,773 peasants. Apparently these electors are themselves elected. The membership of Zemstvos aggregates 13,196, of which about 35 per cent. belong to the nobility, 15 per cent. to the merchant class, and 38 per cent. to the peasantry. The remainder are probably of the mechanic class. The plan of a St. Petersburg conference of representatives of these bodies, called for the 19th as stated above, was bitterly opposed by the reactionary elements of Russia, represented especially by the head of the Greek church, Mr. Pobyedonostseff, who is on the Czar's Committee of Ministers (the Russian cabinet) as Procurator-General of the Holy Synod. Their first effort was to postpone the conference until January. In this they failed. But they did succeed in inducing the Czar to withdraw all indications of official approval of the conference. Its being permitted to meet at all, however, is evidence of a great advance. Prince Sviatopolk Mirsky guaranteed the meeting immunity from police interference.

The conference of the Zemstvos met, therefore, on the 19th at St. Petersburg, but in a private house instead of the public building in which its deliberations were to have been conducted. The American dispatches explain that official sanctions were withdrawn because the delegates refused to

limit their deliberations to specified subjects.

At the first session of the Zemstvos delegates, on the 19th, and 20th, they endorsed the first seven of the following ten sections of a memorial on the subject of Russian government:

Preamble of proposals on the question of general conditions preventing the normal course and development of our social life, submitted to a private conference of zemstvo workers, Nov. 19 and Nov. 20, in St. Petersburg.

Section 1. The abnormal system of government prevailing among us, and especially noticeable since the '80's, is due to complete estrangement of government and people, and the absence of the mutual confidence so necessary to national life.

Sec. 2. These relations between the government and the people originate from apprehension of development of popular initiative and persistent efforts to exclude the people from participation in internal government. With this object the government endeavored to extend centralized administration to all branches of local government, and impose a tutelage in every branch of national life, admitting cooperation with the people solely for the purpose of bringing popular institutions into harmony with the views of the government.

Sec. 3. The bureaucratic system of causing estrangement of the supreme power and the people creates a field for a wide scope of administrative arbitrariness and personal caprice. Such a condition deprives the nation of the necessary assurances that the rights of each and all will be protected, and undermines confidence in the government.

Sec. 4. The normal current and evolution of state and nation is possibly only under the condition of close living and union and the cooperation of the imperial power with the people.

Sec. 5. In order to exclude the possibility of the display of administrative arbitrariness and to guarantee personal rights, it is necessary to establish and consistently apply a principle by which no one will be subjected to punishment or to the restriction of rights without the decision of independent legal authorities.

Sec. 6. For the unrestricted expression of public opinion and the free exposition and satisfaction of popular needs, it is essential to guarantee freedom of conscience and speech and of the press, and also freedom of meeting and association.

Sec. 7. Self-reliance is the chief condition of the proper and successful development of the political and economic life of the country. A considerable majority of the population of Russia belonging to the peasant class, it is neces-

sary, first of all, to place the latter in a position favorable for development of self-reliance and energy, and this is attainable only by a radical alteration of the present unequitable and humiliating condition of the peasants. For this purpose it is necessary (a) to equalize the civil and political rights of peasants with the other classes; (b) release rural self-government from administration tutelage; (c) safeguard peasants to proper courts of justice.

Sec. 8. Zemstvo institutions, in which local and popular life is mostly concentrated, must be placed in conditions in which they may successfully carry out their duties. For this purpose it is necessary that the zemstvo representation be based on a no-class basis, and all the forces of the local population be admitted to share in zemstvo work; that zemstvo institutions be brought into closer touch with the people by the creation of a small zemstvo and unite upon a basis guaranteeing absolute independence, and that zemstvo institutions be assured the necessary permanency and independence essential to their proper development and activity and mutual cooperation of governmental with popular institutions.

Sec. 9. But for the creation and maintenance of close and healthy communion, a unison of the imperial authority with the people upon the basis above pointed out, and in order to assure the correct development of life, state and nation, it is unquestionably necessary for national representation in the form of a specially elective body to participate in legislation.

Sec. 10. This conference, considering itself an informal gathering of which the members express personal views, considers that settlement of the question on the basis which form the relationship of government and popular representation in the life of the country should be submitted to representatives of the nation chosen under the conditions above indicated as essential for freedom in elections.

On the 21st the ninth section was significantly strengthened. By a vote of 105 to 3 the latter half of that section was amended to read as follows:

In order to secure the proper development of the life of the State and the people, it is imperatively necessary that there be regular participation of national representatives, sitting as an especially elected body, to make laws, regulate the revenue and expenditure, and control the legality of the actions of the administration.

This memorial of the Zemstvos Delegates was completed on the 22d, after having been altered in form so as to express "the hope

that it is the wish of the Czar to summon a national assembly." It was to be presented to the Minister of the Interior, Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky on the 23d, by a delegation composed of Presidents Shipoff, Petrunkevitch, Prince Lyoff, Count Heider and Rodziansky, the most prominent participants in the meeting.

A communication from Finland was received on the 21st by the Zemstvos conference. It was signed by 26 prominent Finlanders and is in these terms:

The undersigned, citizens of Finland, interested in the evolution of social and intellectual life of Russia, send their sincere and cordial salutations to the zemstvo representatives assembled in St. Petersburg to study the general circumstances which prevent regular development of Russian life. Now that the government has just proclaimed confidence in the people, the development of their moral, intellectual and social forces is henceforth opened to the powerful, generous Russian genius. We wish you complete success in your work of peace and concord, and hope it will redound to the glory and happiness of your country.

The local excitement over the conference is reported by St. Petersburg dispatches to be intense. "Nothing else," says an Associated Press dispatch of the 21st, "is talked of. Liberals from all parts of the Empire are flocking hither, including many from Poland and Finland. The hotel lobbies are crowded, almost resembling convention times in American cities. The permission granted by Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky was for an assembly of 300. The situation altogether is unparalleled. Nothing approaching such a gathering has ever before been permitted in Russia. As evidence of the remarkable state of affairs it is sufficient to mention that one of the most prominent speakers yesterday was M. Petrunkevitch, of Tyer, who spent 24 years in exile and who had only been allowed at the capital since Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky's advent. Sympathetic demonstrations are reported in various parts of Russia." Speaking of the future of the memorial, an unnamed member of the Zemstvos Delegates conference, described as one of the most prominent, was reported by the Associated Press on the 22d as saying:

The general opinion of my colleagues

is the reverse of optimistic. Therefore it is a mistake to raise hopes that are doomed probably to disappointment, but hope exists. Probably there will be the usual attempt to temporize. We may not get all, but we should get something. The Emperor is kind-hearted and sincerely desirous of helping the people if he becomes convinced where the interests of the people and government lie, but he is surrounded by influences. The court and the imperial family are opposed to anything like a suggestion of a constitution. Of only one thing we are certain—Interior Minister Sviatopolk-Mirsky will present the memorial to the Emperor. How far or whether he will indorse it at all is not yet known, but he will place it before his majesty if it costs him his position in the ministry. No matter what the immediate result, however, we have gained a remarkable victory. We have put into concrete form our opinion that the present system in the end must spell ruin or revolution. The Emperor knows the character of the men whose names are attached to the memorial. They represent the best blood and thought of the Empire. We are not revolutionaries. We do not believe the people are prepared for a republic. We support the monarchical idea, but we believe it must be a constitutional monarchy, and that the Emperor must choose between the moderate programme we offer or eventual revolution. If there is no result now, we will continue the work of agitation and education. There will be a larger and a stronger meeting next year. If the meeting is forbidden in St. Petersburg, then it will take place in Moscow, Kieff, or in an open field, if necessary. The movement will gather headway as time elapses. We have risked our liberties, and we shall not retreat. The law which makes agitation for a change in the form of government punishable with penal servitude is still in force. We are all amenable, but so long as Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky is minister we know we are safe. If he falls we take our chances, although we feel sure the government would not dare to reverse the policy of liberalism which has received such an impetus since Von Plehve's death. The moment is propitious for concessions. The government is in a difficult position and needs the support and sympathy of the people. I believe something at least will be granted. A free press would be the greatest step short of calling a national assembly. If only the A B C's of the programme are conceded the rest of the alphabet will inevitably be drawn in their wake.

NEWS NOTES.

—Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge, Congressman from Kentucky from 1884 to 1893, died at Lexington, Ky., on the 19th.

—Ex-Judge Alton B. Parker, late Democratic candidate for President,

has opened a law office in New York city in the suite occupied by William F. Sheehan.

—The annual memorial meeting of Chicago, in memory of Robert G. Ingersoll, is to be held at 40 Randolph street, on the 27th at 8 o'clock in the evening. The admission fee, 25 cents, is for the benefit of the Ingersoll Memorial Association, and the oration is to be by ex-Senator William E. Mason on "Liberty."

—The bronze statue of Frederick the Great of Prussia, presented to the American people by the Emperor of Germany (p. 344), was unveiled at Washington on the 19th by Baroness Speck von Sternberg, wife of the German ambassador to the United States. President Roosevelt made the address of acceptance.

—At the session of the American Federation of Labor at San Francisco, on the 22d, two resolutions presented and supported by socialists, namely, abolition of the militia, as it now exists in the United States, and the substitution of the Swiss system, and old-age pensions for workmen, were overwhelmingly defeated.

—Thomas A. Moran, one of the leading members of the Chicago bar, and formerly an appellate judge, died suddenly in New York city on the 18th at the age of 65. Although not an active advocate of single tax doctrine, Judge Moran was a believer in and at times a spokesman for single tax principles, especially in their fiscal aspects.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States (p. 458) for the four months ending October 31, 1904, as given by the statistical sheet of the Department of Commerce and Labor for October, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports.	Imports.	Balance.
M.....	\$71,499,929	\$35,162,159	\$36,337,770 exp.
G.....	18,446,164	28,555,047	10,108,883 im p.
S.....	19,247,319	7,588,766	11,658,553 exp.
	\$99,193,412	\$71,295,972	\$27,897,440 exp.

—The Jefferson club, of Chicago, was incorporated on the 22d, with the following board of directors: Clarence S. Darrow, Judge E. F. Dunne, J. R. Gregg, H. R. Eagle and William Prentiss. Its declared purposes are "To oppose government banks of issue; to oppose monopolies; to oppose a large standing army and the spread of militarism; to oppose political connections with foreign countries; to oppose expansion of territory, excepting contiguous territory, which may be carved up into States; to promote free commerce, free speech, and friendliness among nations; to develop and spread the principles of Jefferson."

PRESS OPINIONS.

FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY. Elizabeth (N. J.) Evening Times (Dem.), Nov. 15.—It is no longer for the Democratic party to attempt to play to the fortunes of both of the widely separated elements in